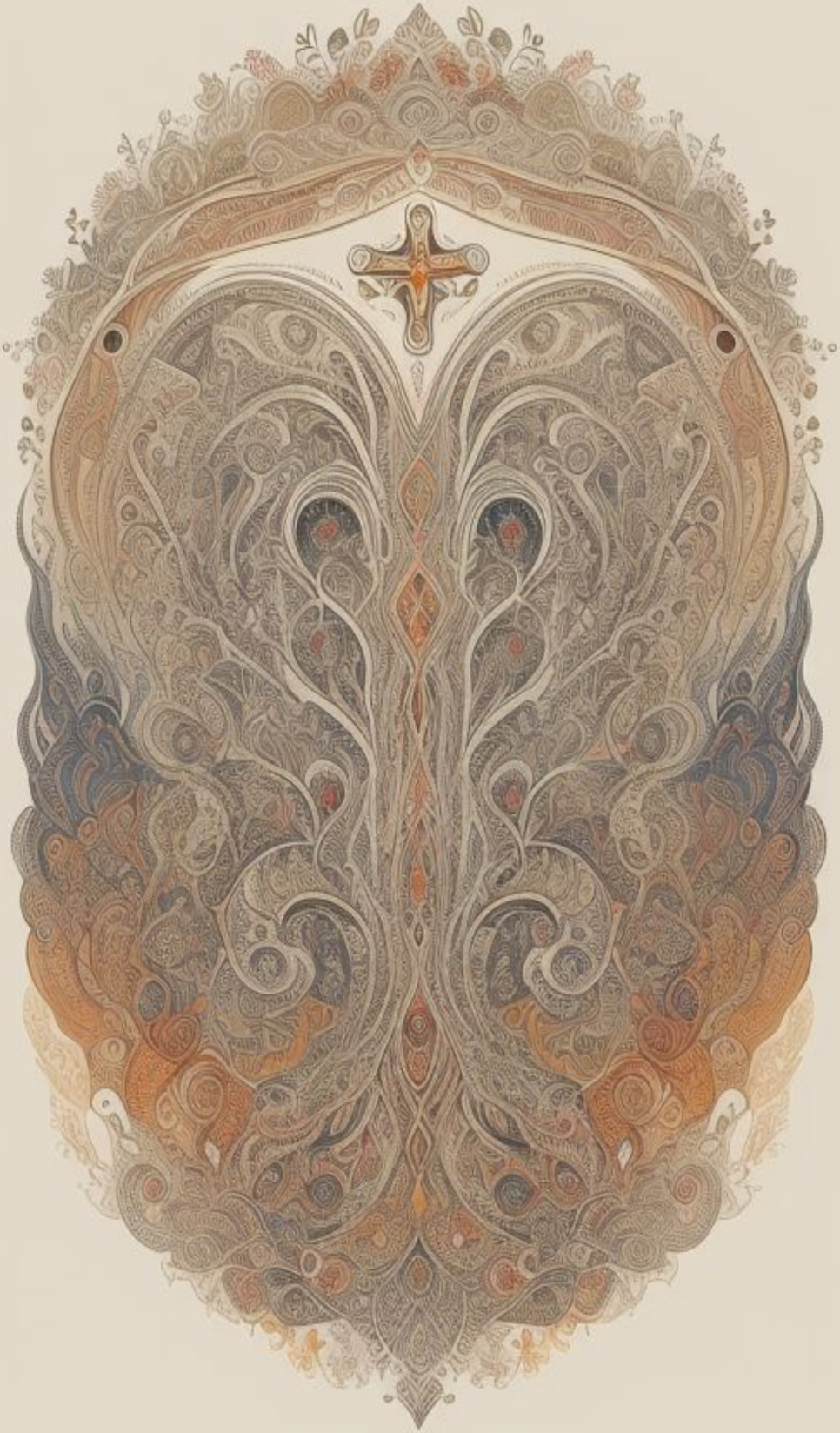

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TO THE DEAR MEMORY OF

SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER

Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford,

AN EMINENT SCHOLAR
A GENIAL AND KINDLY MAN
AND MY DEAR FRIEND

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ASSYRIAN, BABYLONIAN, AND PERSIAN EMPIRES

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Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest (Berichte der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1906).

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Early in the history of Assyriology Professor Eberhard Schrader, of Berlin, published his *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Giessen, 1872), which appeared in a second edition rewritten and doubled in size (Giessen, 1883), and was then translated into English by the Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse (London, 1885). In this great book the Assyrian and Babylonian inscription material illustrative of the Old Testament was collected under the biblical passages in transliteration and translation. In German or in English dress this book went everywhere, every student of Hebrew or of Assyrian consulted it, every Old Testament commentator quoted from it or made reference to it; its influence was incalculable. The rapid progress of exploration, decipherment, and explanation soon left it antiquated, and the eagerly desired new edition appeared, entirely rewritten by Professors Heinrich Zimmern and Hugo Winckler (Berlin, 1902), and upon a new plan. In this new edition, far more learned than the former and crowded with matter of high importance, suggestive, brilliant, instructive, the original texts, as Schrader had given them, were omitted and their place supplied by elaborate discussion of all the questions involved. The loss of the inscription material was partially supplied by the exceedingly useful *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* by Professor Winckler (Leipzig, first edition, 1892; second, 1903; third, 1909), which gave in transliteration and translation the important historical and mythological texts necessary to the understanding of the Old Testament.

Shortly after the publication of the third edition of Schrader's book I began the collection and translation of inscriptions with the purpose of supplying to English readers a complete Corpus of all the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian inscriptions which are parallel to or illustrative of the Old Testament. I had then no idea that it would grow to so great a size, or that its preparation would occupy so long a series of years, or that the labor involved would be so arduous. I should hardly have dared to undertake with a light heart a task which has taxed my energies during many an hour between lectures, and absorbed nearly all my summer holidays since it began. It has, indeed, cost so much that my early hopes and enthusiasm for it have slipped away, and, like Johnson with his Dictionary, "I therefore dismiss it with frigid tranquillity, having little to fear or hope from censure or from praise."

The plan involves a number of very different kinds of scholarship, in all of which no man dare pretend equally to excel. In the first place, the texts are all translated into English, and they come from almost every type of cuneiform literature, and every type has its specialists. For the thoroughness and skill with which this fundamental task has been done I can only claim to have spent many years upon the historical and chronological texts as a specialty, and to have worked diligently and independently and sought carefully to know all that my colleagues have produced on the other fields. I hope that the translations represent fairly well the present state of the science of Assyriology, and I have confidence that experts will find not a few cases in which progress has been made beyond previous editions of others. The transcriptions are

printed to make possible the control of the translations without immediate recourse to the widely scattered original texts. They will be useful, not only to those who have actually studied Assyrian, but almost equally to those who know Hebrew or other Semitic languages. There are, I fear, some uneven places in the transliteration, ever a pitfall in all languages, but they will probably serve sufficiently their practical purpose. The introductions, especially those which deal with the historical sections, are intended to enable the ordinary reader to find the relationship between the text which follows and the period or situation to which it belongs. I could easily have made them much more extensive had I chosen to thresh out every theory and make every possible comparison with the Old Testament. The purpose of the book was, however, very different. My idea was to supply the materials and let the student exercise his own judgment upon them. It would be a most useful reformation in much of our academic, and even of our graduate teaching, if our pupils were compelled to do a little more for themselves. Here, assembled in one book, are the texts, here the absolutely necessary fundamental materials for the understanding of their bearing, and here also references to the publications of the original cuneiform texts, and to the most important discussions already held concerning them. I venture to hope that professors, teachers, and preachers who wish to lecture upon the manifold relations between Palestine and Babylonia and Assyria will here find the means by which they may introduce themselves, and especially their pupils, directly to the sources. I believe that this book contains the largest body of cuneiform literature yet assembled in any language for the illustration of the Old Testament.

I have had much encouragement and some help from colleagues on both sides of the sea during the years spent upon the work. It would be impossible to name them all, and it may seem invidious to mention any. It ought, however, to be said that Professor Stephen Langdon, of Oxford, has read in manuscript most of the religious texts and has pointed out a number of amendments and improvements. My friend, Professor Brünnow, of Princeton, has read the whole book in proof and has helped me in many places to find errors and inconsistencies which a mind polarized by so many rereadings of the same matter had failed to observe. I know of no way adequately to express my gratitude for these services. As I now set the book on its journey I find myself wishing that others had seen this or that within its covers before the type had placed it beyond correction. This desire comes to me the more readily because in the writing of it I have silently corrected literally hundreds of mistakes made by my predecessors in translations and in transcriptions. I may surely anticipate the discovery by others of many mistakes of my own. But, as Johnson said (it is surely time to quote him again), "I soon found that it is too late to look for instruments, when the work calls for execution, and that whatever abilities I had brought to my task, with those I must finally perform it. To deliberate whenever I doubted, to inquire whenever I was ignorant, would have protracted the undertaking without end, and, perhaps, without much improvement; for I did not find by my first experiments that what I had not of my own was easily to be obtained; I saw that one inquiry only gave occasion to another, that book referred to book, that to search was not always to find, and to find was not always to be informed; and

that thus to pursue perfection was, like the first inhabitants of Arcadia, to chase the sun, which, when they had reached the hill where he seemed to rest, was still beheld at the same distance from them."

My obligations to the books and papers which have been published in this field before me are acknowledged with almost meticulous scrupulousness on every page. I have been so fearful of robbing somebody's treasure that I have printed references of acknowledgment in many cases where I had already reached the same conclusion long before. If I have overlooked anyone in this distribution of footnote compliments, here's an apology to him, and a letter will follow as soon as my attention is drawn to the matter.

The book was practically completed long ago, and its publication delayed by the absurd demands made upon American scholars by the machinery amid which many of them are compelled to sacrifice their larger usefulness. The delay has, however, permitted me to compare my translations with the admirable work of Professor Arthur Ungnad in Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, to my profit in many cases and to my comfort in all. I am under special obligations also to Professor Ungnad's treatment of the Hammurapi code in his joint work with Professor Köhler. I doubt whether this work of his has yet found adequate appreciation at the hands of other scholars. I have adopted so many suggestions from him that it seemed impossible to acknowledge every one of them in foot notes.

Earnestly and eagerly do I hope that the book may prove useful, may help some inquiring mind, or—most wonderful boon—may rouse some young mind to an interest in, or even to lifelong devotion to, the study of

the ancient Orient. "When I am animated by this wish" (here is Johnson again to relieve the tedium of this long preface), "I look with pleasure on my book, however defective, and deliver it to the world with the spirit of a man that has endeavoured well."

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

The Bodleian Library, Oxford,
September 13, 1911.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

After the lapse of fourteen years of service and of modest usefulness this book has returned for a little revision in minor particulars, and then to be despatched upon a second adventure. I am very grateful for the remarkably generous reception it received at the hands of many scholars, even more in England than in America. Nobody attacked it in a fury, and many found it serve its simple purpose quite well enough for a very friendly word.

Our tools outlive us mortal men, and this little book has witnessed the passing of many of the greatest scholars in its own and in related fields. The incomparable Driver to whom it was dedicated; Friedrich Delitzsch, my own master in Assyriology in Leipzig thirty-eight years ago; Leonard W. King of the British Museum, greatest of copyists of cuneiform texts; George Buchanan Gray and Charles Fox Burney of Oxford, both dear and intimate friends who quoted and used the book much; Karl Marti of Berne, one of the greatest Semitic scholars of our day, whose passing leaves me sorely bereaved; and now so recently even Albert T. Clay of Yale, a friend of many years, able interpreter of many texts. What a sad necrology—and where are their successors?

I have read the book through and made many small corrections, for a number of which I have to thank the skilful mind and sharp eyes of Professor William J. Hinke of Auburn. Under the battering of time and the illumination of new discoveries the Chronological

Table has changed most, the historical texts least. I hope I have revised sufficiently to make the book fairly dependable. I should have wished to do more but for the high cost of all the work of our brothers, the printers. I have no reason to believe that their rewards are too great, but the compensation of scholars and teachers has not always kept even pace with them, and the publication of learned books is hardly so easy as it was when this book first saw the light.

I send it forth to the men of good will, not knowing, or thinking it very likely, that I shall revise it again. It ought, before that time arrives, be mine to join the men whose names I have written down above.

I have written a solemn and serious preface. Let it close with some apposite words of Samuel Johnson. "I am now to stand the judgment of the public; and wish that I could confidently produce my commentary as equal to the encouragement which I have had the honour of receiving. Every work of this kind is by its nature deficient, and I should feel little solicitude about the sentence, were it to be pronounced only by the skilful and the learned."

Robert W. Rogers.

Madison, New Jersey,
October 17, 1925.

MYTHOLOGICAL TEXTS

I. THE CREATION

1. THE STORY OF CREATION[1]

When above the heaven was not named,
And beneath the earth bore no name,
And the primeval Apsu, who begat them
And Mummu and Tiamat, the mother of them all,—
Their waters were mingled together,
And no field was formed, no marsh seen,
When no one of the gods had been called into being,
And none bore a name, and no destinies [were fixed]
Then were created the gods in the midst of [heaven],
Lakhmu and Lakhamu were called into being . . .
When they grew up they became mighty . . .

[1] The text is published by King, in Cuneiform Texts, xiii. See further for additional fragments, King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, where also are to be found transcription, translation, and a valuable commentary. Earlier editions, which are still valuable, are Heinrich Zimmern, in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 401ff.; Delitzsch, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*. (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Bd. xvii, 1896); Jensen, in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 2ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 94ff.; Bezold, *Die Schöpfungslegende* (Kleine Texte für theolog. Vorlesungen und Uebungen. Litzmann, Heft 7, Bonn, 1904); P. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 2ff. The literature in explanation of this difficult text and of its relations to the religion of Israel is very extensive. The following may be mentioned: Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (1898), pp. 407ff., and *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1904–1912); A. Loisy, *Les Mythes Babyloniens et les Premiers Chapitres de la Genèse* (1901); A. T. Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* (1907); Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, especially in its relations to Israel (1908).

e-nu-ma e-liš la na-bu-u ša-ma-mu
šap-liš am-ma-tum šu-ma la zak-rat
Apsû-ma riš-tu-u za-ru-šu-un
Mu-um-mu Ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at[1] gim-ri-šu-un
mê-šu-nu iš-te-niš i-ḫi-ḳu-u-ma
gi-pa-ra la ki-iṣ-ṣu-ra ṣu-ṣa-a la še-'
e-nu-ma ilâni la šu-pu-u ma-na-ma
šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-tu la [ši-ma]
ib-ba-nu-u-ma ilâni ki-ri[b] [ša-ma-mi[2]]
(ilu) Laḫ-mu u (ilu) La-ḫa-mu uš-ta-pu-u [. . .]
a-di ir-bu-u i- [. . .]

[1] Variant mu-um-ma-al-li-da-at, British Museum, No. 93015.
[2] King's restoration, accepted by Ungnad, but with a query.

Anshar and Kishar were created, and over them . . .
Long were the days, then came there forth . . .
Anu, their son . . .
Anshar made Anu, his first born, his equal.
And the god Anu . . .
Nudimmud, whom his fathers, his begetters . . .
Abounding in all wisdom . . .
He was exceeding strong . . .
There was no rival . . .
So were established and . . . the great gods.
But [Tiamat and Apsu] were in confusion
They were troubled and . . .
In confusion
Apsu was not diminished in might
And Tiamat lapsed into silence
She smote their deeds . . .
Their way was not good, they
Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,
Summoned Mummu his messenger and said unto him
"O Mummu, messenger that rejoicest my heart,
Come, let us go unto Tiamat."

An-šar u (ilu) Ki-šar ib-ba-nu-u e-li-šu-[nu . . .]
ur-ri-ku ûmê uṣ-ṣi-[ṣu . . .]
(ilu) A-nu[1] a-pil-šu-nu [da-ni]-nu [. . .]
An-šar (ilu) A-num [. . .]
u (ilu) A-num ut-[. . .]
(ilu) Nu-dim-mud ša abê-šu a-lit-[ti-šu . . .]
pal-ka uz-nu ḫa-sis e-[im-ḳu . . .]
gu-uš-šur ma-a-di-iš [. . .]
la i-ši š[a]-ni-na [. . .]
in-nin-du-ma . . . u
e-šu-u Ti-[amat u Apsû . . .]
da-al-ḫu-nim-ma [. . .]
i-na šu-'-a-ru šu [. . .]
la na-ši-ir Apsû [. . .]
u Ti-amat [šu]-ḳa-am-mu-ma-[at . . .]
im-ḫaṣ-ṣa-am-m[a i]p-še-ta-šu-un [. . .]
la ṭa-bat al-kat-su-nu šu-nu-[t]i i-ga-me-la
i-nu-šu Apsû za-ri ilâni ra-bi-u-tim
is-si-ma (ilu) Mu-um-mu suk-kal-la-šu i-zak-kar-šu
Mu-um-mu suk-kal-li mu-ṭib-ba ka-bit-ti-ia
al-kam-ma ṣi-ri-iš Ti-amat i-ni-[il-li-ik]

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[1] Some copies read *num*.

They went and before Tiamat they lay down,
They consulted on a plan concerning the gods, their sons.
Apsu opened his mouth and said,
And unto Tiamat, the brilliant, he spake a word:
. . . . . their way . . .
By day I cannot rest, I cannot lie down
I will destroy their way, I will [disperse them]
That the clamor may be appeased, that we may lie down."
When Tiamat heard these words,
She was furious, and cried for . . .
She went into a terrible anger
She conceived evil in her heart:
"All that which we have made, we will destroy
Lo, their ways are become evil, and let us . . .
Mummu answered, and gave counsel unto Apsu,
An hostile counsel was the counsel of Mummu
"Come, their way is strong, but destroy thou it.
So shalt thou have rest by day, by night thou shalt lie down."

---

il-li-ku-ma ḳu-ud-mi-iš Ti-[amat] sak-pu
a-ma-ti im-tal-li-ku aš-šum ilâni [mâ-rî -e-šu-un]
Ap[su pa]-a-šu i-pu-[šam-ma i-ḳab-bi]
a-na [T]i-am[at] el-li-tu-ma i-zak-k[ar a-ma-tum][1]
im-[. . .] al-kat-su-n[u e-li-ia]
ur-[r]a la šu-up-šu-ḫa-ak mu-ši [la ṣal-la-ak][2]
lu-uš-ḫal-liḳ-ma al-kat-su-nu lu-[šap-pi-iḫ][3]
ḳu-u-lu liš-sa-kin-ma i ni-iṣ-lal [ni-i-ni]
Ti-amat an-ni-ta i-na [še-mi-ša]
i-zu-uz-ma il-ta-si e-li [ḫar-mi . . .]
[. . .] mar-ṣi-iš ug-[gat] e[-diš-ši-ša]
li-mut-ta it-ta-di a-na [kar-ši-ša]
[mi]-na-a ni-i-nu ša ni-i[p-pu-uš] nu-uš-ḫal-laḳ[4]
[a]l-kat-su-nu lu šum-ru-ṣa-at-ma i-ni-[. . .]
[i]-pu-ul-ma (ilu) Mu-um-mu Ap-su i-ma-al-[li-ku]
[. . .] u la ma-gi-ru mi-lik mu-[um-mu(?)]
[a]-lik li-'-at al-ka-s[u]-u[n] e-ši-[. . .]
[ur-r]iš lu š[u]p-šu-ḫa-at mu-šiš lu ṣal-la-[at]

[1] King's restoration here seems highly probable.
[2] Restored from line 50, King.
[3] Restored from the fragment K. 7871.
[4] Also restored from K. 7871.

Apsu hearkened to him and his face brightened
The evil designs which he had conceived against the gods, his children,
. . . . . he feared . . .
Upon his knees *he took him* (?), and kissed him, . . .
Because of the evil, which they all had planned
. . . . . they changed their . . .
. . . . . they were agitated . . .
Lamentation . . . they sat in sorrow
. . . . . .
Then Ea who knoweth all things, perceived their design
. . . . . he fixed . . .
. . . . . he went to make a pure incantation
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . misery
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

[Lines 68–82 are wanting]

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . Anu

[iš-me]-šum-ma Apsû im-me-ru pa-nu-u-š[š]u
[ša lim]-ni-e-ti ik-pu-du a-na ilâni m[a]-ri-e-šu
[. . . .] i-te-dir ki-[šad-ṣu]
[. . . -u]š-[. . .] bir-ka-a-šu [u]-na-aš-ša-ḳu ša-a-šu
[eli lim-ni-e-ti] ik-pu-du pu-[u]ḫ -ri-šu-un
[. . . . . .]-ri-šu-nu uš-tan-nu-ni
[. . . . . i-dul]-lu
ku-l[u . . . ša-ḳu-um]-mi-iš uš-bu
[. . . . . šu-te-li' . . .]
[e-l]i-e (ilu) E-a ḫa-sis mi-im [b]a-[š]u i-še-'-a me-ki-šu-un
[. . . . . u-kin-šu]
[. . . . . k]i il-ku šu(?)-tu-ru ta-a-šu el-lum
[. . . . . ..]-te-eš ša kit-tu kit-[. . .]
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .] ku-tal-la [. . .] ku-u-ru
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . na]m

[Lines 68–82 are wanting]

[. . . . . -r]a
[. . . . . -a]m-ra
[. . . . .] (ilu) A-num

. . . . . an avenger.
. . . . . .
. . . . . he shall confound Tiamat
. . . . . he . . .
. . . . . forever.
. . . . . the evil,
. . . . . he spake:
. . . . thy . . . . he hath conquered and
. . . . . he weepeth and sitteth in tribulation
. . . . . of fear
. . . . . we shall not lie down.
. . . . . Apsu is laid waste (?)
. . . . and Mummu, who were taken captive
in . . .
. . . . . thou didst . . .
. . . . . that we may lie down
. . . . . they will smite
. . . . . that we may lie down
. . . . . thou shalt take vengeance for them
. . . . . in the tempest shalt thou . . .
And Tiamat hearkened unto the word of the bright god (and said)

[. . . . . mu-tir gi]-mil-li
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]-ga-am-ma i-dal-lah (ilu) Ti-amat
[. . . . . .] i-du-ul-[li]
[. . . . . .] da-a-ri-šam
[. . . . . .] li-mut-tum
[. . . . . .] tur-ṣa iz-zak-kar
[. . . . . .]-ba-ki i-na-ru-ma
[. . . . . .]-ki-ma ḳa-li-iš uš-bu
[. . . . . .] ša pu-luḫ-tum
[. . . . . .] ul ni-ṣa-al-lal ni-i-ni
[. . . . . .] Ap-su-u ḫar-ba-[. . .]
[. . .]-šu u (ilu) Mu-um-mu ša ik-ka-mu-u ina su-[. . .]
[. . . . . .]-ḫi-iš ta-du-ul-l[i]
[. . . . . .] i ni-iṣ-lal ni-i-[ni]
[. . . . . .] ḫu-um-mu-ra e-na-tu-u [. . .]
[. . . . . .] i ni-iṣ-lal ni-i-[ni]
[. . . . . .] gi-mil-la-šu-nu tir-ri-[. . .]
[. . . . . .] a-na za-ki-ḳu šu-uk-[. . .]
[. . . . . .] a-ma-tum i-lu el-[lu]

. . . thou shalt give; let us make [war]!"
. . . . . the gods in [the heavens]
. . . . . for the gods, the creators.
[They banded themselves together, and] at the side of Tiamat advanced
They were furious, they devised mischief night and day without rest.
They take up the combat, they devastate, they rage.
[They join their forces], they organize battle
[Ummu-Khubu]r, who formed all things
Made also weapons invincible, she spawned monster serpents,
Sharp of tooth, and merciless in carnage;
[With poison instead of] blood she filled [their] bodies
[Terrible dragons] she clothed with terror,
[With splendor] she decked them, she made them of lofty appearance.
[Whoever beheld] them, terror overcame him,
Their bodies reared up and none could withstand [their attack]
[She set up] serpents, and dragons, and the monster Lakhamu,
[And hurricanes], and furious dogs, and scorpion men

[. . . . . .] lu-ta-ad-di-nu i ni-pu-uš [. . .]
[. . . . . .] ilâni ki-rib [. . .]
[. . . . . .] an ilâni ba-ni-[. . .]
[im-ma-aṣ-ru-nim-ma] i-du-uš Ti-amat ti-bi-[u-ni]
[iz-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu] mu-ša u[im-ma]
[na-šu-u tam-ḫa-r]a na-zar-bu-bu la-[ab-bu]
[unken-na šit-ku-nu]-ma i-ban-nu-u ṣu-l[a-a-ti]
[Um-mu-Hu-bu]r pa-ti-ḳa-at ka-l[a-ma]
[uš-rad-di ka]k-ku la maḫ-ru it-t[a-l]ad ṣirmaḫê
[zaḳ-tu-ma šin]-ni la pa-[du-u] at-ta[-'-i]
[im-tu ki-ma] da-mu zu-mur-[šu-nu] uš-ma-al-[li]
[ušumgallê] na-ad-ru-tum pu-ul-ḫa-[a]-ti u-šal-[biš-ma]
[me-lam-m]e uš-daš-ša-a i-li-iš [um-taš-šil]
[a-mir]-šu-nu šar-ba-ba [l]iš-ḫ[ar-mi-im]
[zu]-mur-šu-nu liš-taḫ-ḫi-dam-ma la i-ni-'-u [i-rat-su-un]
[uš-ziz] ba-aš-mu ṣir-ruš u (ilu) [La-ḫa-mu]
[ugall]ê UR-BE aḳrab-am[êlu]

And mighty [tempests], and fish men and [rams];
They bore pitiless weapons, without fear of the fight.
[Puissant] were her orders, [none] could resist them
In all, eleven monsters of this kind, she created.
Among the gods who were her first born, who formed her troop,
She exalted Kingu; among them she made him great.
To march before the troops, to lead the throng,
To seize the weapons, to advance, to begin the attack,
The primacy in the combat, the control of the fight
She entrusted to him, in costly raiment she made him sit.
"I have uttered the spell, in the assembly of the gods I have made thee Lord,
The lordship over all the gods I have entrusted to thee.
Be thou exalted, thou mine only spouse.
May the Anunaki exalt thy name over all."
She gave him the tablets of destiny, on his breast she placed them.
"Thy command shall not fail, the word of thy mouth shall be established."
When Kingu was exalted, and had received the power of Anu,

[u-me] da-ab-ru-te nûn-amêlu u ku-[sa-riḳ-ḳu]
[na-ši] kak-ku la pa-du u la a-di-ru [ta-ḫa-zi]
[gab-ša] te-ri-tu-ša la maḫ-ra ši-[na-a-ma]
ap-pu-na-ma iš-ten eš-rit kima šu-a-ti u[š-tab-ši]
i-na ilâni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-ut iš-ku-nu-[ši pu-uḫ-ri]
u-ša-aš-ki (ilu) Kin-gu ina bi-ri-šu-nu ša-a-š[u uš-rab-bi-iš]
a-li-kut maḫ-ri pa-an um-ma-ni-mu-'-ir-ru-[ut puḫri]
[na]-aš kakku ti-iṣ-bu-tu te-bu-[u] a-na-[an-tu]
šu-ud tam-ḫa-ru ra-ab šik-ka-tu-tu
ip-ḳid-ma ḳa-tuš-šu u-še-ši-ba-aš-šu ina [kar-ri]
ad-di ta-a-ḳa ina puḫur ilâni u-šar-bi-ka
ma-li-kut ilâni gim-ra-at-su-nu ḳa-tuš-[šu uš-mal-li]
lu šur-ba-ta-ma ḫa-'-i-ri e-du-u at-ta
li-ir-tab-bu u zik-ru-ka eli kalî-[šu-nu . . . (ilu) A-nun-na-ki]
id-din-šu-ma dupšimâti i-ra-[tu-uš] u-šat-mi-iḫ
ka-ta ḳibît-ka la in-nin-na-a l[i-kun ṣi-it pi-i-ka]
e-nin-na (ilu) Kin-gu šu-uš-ḳu-u li-ḳu-u [(ilu) A-nu-ti]

He decreed destiny among the gods his sons, (saying:)
"The opening of your mouth shall quench the fire god
The strong in combat shall increase his strength."

THE SECOND TABLET

Tiamat made strong her handiwork,
Evil she devised among the gods her children.
[To avenge] Apsu, Tiamat planned evil
As she had collected her [army, against] Ea she marshalled them.
Ea [listened] to this word and
He was [sadly] afflicted and sat in sorrow.
The days went by, and his anger was appeased,
And to *the place of* Anshar, his father, he made his way.
He went before Anshar, the father who begat him,
All that Tiamat had planned, he announced to him:
Tiamat our mother has conceived a hatred against us,
An assembly has she made, she rages in anger.
All the gods have turned to her,
Even those whom ye have created march at her side

---

ina ilâni [ma-r]i-e-šu ši-ma-[ta iš-ti-mu
ip-ša pi-ku-nu (ilu) Gibil[1] l[i-ni-iḫ-ḫa]
nâ'id ina kit-mu-ru ma-ag-ša-ru liš-[rab-bi-ib]

THE SECOND TABLET

u-kab-bi[t]-ma Ti-a-ma-tum pi-ti-iḳ-šu
[lim-ni-e-ti iḳ]-ta-ṣar a-na ilâni ni-ip-ri-šu
[ana tu-ur gi-mil]-li Apsu u-lam-mi-in Ti-amat
[. . . . . -u]š ki-i iṣ-mi-da a-na (ilu) E-a ip-ta-šar
[iš-me-ma] (ilu) E-a a-ma-tum šu-a-tim
[mar-ṣi]-iš uš-ḫa-ri-ir-ma ša-ḳu-um-mi-iš uš-bu
[ûmê u]-ri-ku-ma uz-za-šu i-nu-ḫu
[ur-ḫa-šu aš-ri]-iš An-šar a-bi-šu šu-u uš-tar-di
[il-lik]-ma maḫ-ru a-bi a-li-di-šu An-šar
[mim-mu]-u Ti-amat ik-pu-du u-ša-an-na-a a-na ša-a-šu
[um-ma Ti]-amat a-lit-ti-a-ni i-zi-ir-ra-an-na-a-ti
[pu]-uḫ-ru šit-ku-na-at-ma ag-gi-iš la-ab-bat
[iš]-ḫu-ru-šim-ma ilâni gi-mi-ir-šu-un
[a-di] ša at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-a-ša al-ka

[1] Variants Bil-gi and Giš-bar.

They have banded together, they advance at Tiamat's side;
They are furious, they plan without rest night or day
They prepare for battle, they fume, they rage,
They have joined their forces, they prepare battle.
Ummu-Khubur, who created all things,
Hath made in addition invincible weapons, she hath spawned monstrous serpents,
Sharp of tooth, merciless in carnage.
With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies
Terrible dragons she clothed with terror,
With splendor she decked them, she made them of lofty appearance.
Whoever beholds them terror overcomes him,
Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack.
She set up serpents, and dragons, and the monster Lakhamu,
And hurricanes and furious dogs, and scorpion men
And mighty tempests and fish men and rams;
They bear pitiless weapons, without fear of the fight.
Puissant are her orders, none can resist them
In all, eleven monsters of this kind, she created

---

15 [im]-ma-aṣ-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš Ti-amat te-bu-u-ni
[iz]-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-ša u im-ma
[na]-šu-u tam-ḫa-ra na-zar-bu-bu la-ab-bu
unken-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-u ṣu-la-a-tum
[U]m-ma-Ḫu-bu-ur pa-ti-iḳ-ḳa-at ka-la-mu
20 uš-rad-di kak-ku la maḫ-ru it-ta-lad ṣir-ma-ḫu
zaḳ-tu-ma šin-nu la pa-du-u at-ta-'-um
im-tu ki-ma da-am zu-mur-šu-nu uš-ma-al-lu
ušumgallê na-ad-ru-ti pu-ul-ḫa-a-ti u-šal-biš-ma
me-lam-mu uš-daš-ša-a i-li-iš um-taš-ši-il
25 a-mi-ir-šu-nu šar-ba-bi-iš li-iḫ-ḫar-mi-im
zu-mur-šu-nu liš-taḫ-ḫi-da-am-ma la i-ni-'-e i-rat-su-un
uš-zi-iz-ma ba-aš-mu (ilu) ṣiruššu u (ilu) La-ḫa-mu
u-gal-la UR-BE u aḳrab-amêlu
u-me da-ab-ru-ti nûn-amêlu u ku-sa-riḳ-ḳu
30 na-ši kak-ku la pa-du-u la a-di-ru ta-ḫa-zi
gab-ša te-ri-tu-ša la ma-ḫar-ra ši-na-ma
ap-pu-na-ma iš-ten eš-rit ki-ma šu-a-ti uš-tab-ši

Among the gods who were her first born, who formed her troop
She exalted Kingu; among them she made him great.
To march before the troops, to lead the throng
To seize the weapons, to advance, to begin the attack,
The *primacy* in the combat, the control of the fight
She *entrusted* to him, in costly raiment she made him sit, *saying*,
'I have uttered the *spell*, in the assembly of the gods I have made thee Lord,
The lordship over all the gods, I have entrusted *to thee.*
Be thou exalted, thou mine only spouse,
May the Anunaki exalt thy name over all'
She gave him the tablets of destiny, on his breast she placed them.
'Thy command shall not fail, the word of thy mouth shall be established.'
When Kingu was exalted, and had received the power of Anu,
He decreed destiny among the gods his sons, *saying*
'The opening of your mouth shall quench the fire god

---

i-na ilâni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-ut iš-ku-nu-ši pu-uḫ-ru
u-ša-aš-ḳa (ilu) Kin-gu ina bi-ir-ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu uš-rab-bi-iš
a-li-ku-ut maḫ-ru pa-ni um-ma-nu mu-ir-ru-tum pu-uḫ-ru
na-še-e kak-ku ti-iṣ-bu-tum te-bu-u a-na-an-tum
[šu-u]d ta-am-ḫa-ra ra-ab šik-kat-u-tum
[ip-ḳid-m]a ḳa-tu-uš-šu u-še-ši-ba-aš-ši i-na kar-ri
[ad-di ta-a]-ka i-na pu-ḫur ilâni u-šar-bi-ka
[ma-li-kut] ilâni [gim-rat-su-nu ḳa-tuk-ka] uš-mal-li
[lu-u šur-ba-ta-ma ḫa-i-ri e-du-u a]t-ta
[li-ir-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli kalî-šu-nu E-nu]-uk-ki[1]
[id-din-šum-ma dupšîmâti i-ra-tu-uš] u-[šat-m]e-iḫ
[ka-ta ḳibit-ka la in-nin-na-a] li-kun ṣ[i-i]t pi i-ka
[in-na-nu (ilu) Kin-gu šu-uš-ḳu]-u li-ḳu-u (ilu) A-nu-ti
[an ilâni mârê-ša] ši-ma-ta iš-ti-mu
[ip-šu pi-ku-nu] (ilu) Gibil li-ni-iḫ-ḫa

[1] E-nu-uk-ki for Anunnaki. Bezold, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xi, March, 1889.

The strong in combat shall increase his strength'
When Anshar heard that Tiamat was mightily in revolt
he smote his loins, he bit his lips
. . . . . his mind was not at peace,
His . . . , he sounded a cry:
. . . . . battle
. . . . . .
Mummu and Apsu thou hast cast down
But Tiamat has exalted Kingu, where is her rival?
. . . . . reflection
. . . . . the gods, Nudimmud

[Lines 59–71 are wanting]

Anshar unto his son addressed *the word*
. . . . . my mighty warrior
Whose power *is great*, whose onslaught resistless
Go and stand before Tiamat
That her spirit may be appeased, her heart calmed.
But if she hearken not to thy word,
Then shalt thou speak our *message*, that she may be pacified."
He heard the word of his father Anshar,

[nâ'id ina kit-mu-ri] ma-ag-ša-ra liš-rab-bi-ib
iš-me-ma (ilu) Anšar ša Ti-a-ma]-tu rabiš dal-ḫat
[. . . . . ša]-pat-su it-taš-ka
[. . . . . .] la na-ḫat ka-ras-su
[. . . . . .]-šu ša-gi-ma-šu uš-taḫ-ḫa-aḫ
[. . . . . .]-u tu-ḳu-un-tu
[. . . . . .]-pu-šu i-taš-ši at-ta
[(ilu) Mu-um-mu u] Apsû ta-na-ra
[Ti-amat u-ša-aš-ki (ilu) Kin]-gu a-li ma-ḫar-ša
[. . . . . .]-e ta-šim-ti
[. . . . . .] il [âni (ilu) N[u]-di[m-mud]

[Lines 59–71 are wanting]

[(ilu) An-šar ana] ma-ri-šu [a-ma-tu i]-zak-kar
. . . . . a]n-nu-u ka-šu-[šu] ḳar-ra-di
[ša ša-ḳa-a e-mu]-ḳa-a-šu la ma-ḫar te-bu-šu
[al-kam]-ma mut-tiš Ti-amat i-ziz-za at-ta
[. . . . .] kab-ta-taš lib-bu-uš lip-pu-uš
[šum-ma-ma] la še-ma-ta a-mat-ka
[a-ma-t]u-ni at-me-šim-ma ši-i lip-pa-aš-ḫa
[iš-me-e]-ma zik-ri abi-šu An-šar

And turned his path to her, toward her he made his way,
Anu drew nigh, he looked into the opened jaws of Tiamat
But he could not endure her presence, he turned back
. . . . . Anshar
. . . . . he spoke to him,
She drew nigh (?) her . . . hand toward me[1]
Anshar was silent in sorrow, he looked at the ground,
And moaned. Unto Ea he lifted up his head
The leader; (?) the chief of them all *has put* Anu *to flight* (?)
Their might (?) has been made surpassingly great . . .
A god nowhere leads against thee . . .
Before Tiamat he went not up . . .
. . . . Anshar, father of the gods, greatly . . .

[Lines 93–109 are wanting or are too broken to yield sense]

Thou art my son, who opens wide his heart,
. . . . . to the battle shalt thou approach,
. . . . . he shall see thee in peace."

[1] Lines 85–92 are supplied from a fragmentary duplicate preserved in the Royal Scottish Library, Edinburgh. It was first published by Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, January, 1911, p. 6. It is discussed by Langdon, *Expository Times*, March, 1911, who has kindly supplied these lines to me after a fresh collation of the original.

80 [uš-te-šir ḫar]-ra-an-ša-ma u-ru-uḫ-ša uš-tar-di
[it-ḫi-ma] (ilu) A-num me-ku-uš Ti-a-ma-ti i-še-'-am-ma
[ul i-li-'-a ma-ḫar-ša] i-tu-ra ar-kiš
[. . . . . .]-šu An-šar
[. . . . . i]-zak-kar-šu
85 [tuštaḫ]-ḫi ḳa-ti-ša ka-mi-di ina muḫḫi-ia
uš-ḫa-ri-ir-ma An-šar ḳak-ḳa-ri i-na aṭ-ṭa-[al]
i-kam-ma-am a-na (ilu) E-a u-na-ši ḳakkad-su
pa-aḫ-ir (?) ma-an-za-za ka-li-šu-nu (ilu) A-nu [. . .]
šam (?)-me-šu-nu šu-ut-tu-ḳat-ma ḳa-li (?) [. . .]
90 ilu ai-ka-ma ul ia-ar-ki [. . .]
ma-ḫa-ri-iš Ti-amat ul uṣ-ṣi-i [. . .]
[. . . . .] An-šar a-bi ilâni ra-bi-iš (?) [. . .]

[Lines 93–109 broken or wanting]

110 at-ta-ma ma-ri mu-nap-pi-šu lib-bi-šu
[. . . . . ḳ]it-ru-bi-iš ṭi-ḫi-e-ma
[. . . . . .] e-ma-ru-uk-ka ni-i-ḫu

And the lord rejoiced at his father's word,
And he drew nigh and stood before Anshar
Anshar looked upon him and his heart was filled with joy
He kissed his lips and fear departed from him.
"*O my father*, let not the word of thy lips be covered,
O let me accomplish all that is in thy heart
O Anshar, let not the word of thy lips be covered
O let me accomplish all that is in thy heart."
What man is it, that hath brought battle against thee?
. . . Tiamat, who is a woman, attacks thee with arms
. . . . . rejoice and be glad,
The neck of Tiamat, shalt thou soon trample under foot.
. . . . . rejoice and be glad,
The neck of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under foot.
O my *son*, who knowest all wisdom,
Appease *Tiamat* with thy pure incantation
Set out speedily on thy way,
Thy blood shall not be poured out, thou shalt return again."
The lord rejoiced at his father's word,

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iḫ-du-ma be-lum a-na a-ma-tum a-bi-šu
it-ḫi-e-ma it-ta-zi-iz ma-ḫa-ri-iš An-šar
i-mur-šu-ma An-šar lib-ba-šu tu-ub-ba-a-ti im-la
[i]š-ši-ik šap-ti-šu a-di-ra-šu ut-te-is-si
[a-bi] la šuk-tu-mat pi-ti ša-ap-tu-uk
lu-ul-lik-ma lu-ša-am-ṣa-a ma-la lib-bi-ka
[An-šar] la šuk-tu-mat pi-ti ša-ap-tu-uk
[lu-ul-li]k-ma lu-ša-am-ṣa-a ma-la lib-bi-ka
ai-u zik-ri ta-ḫa-za-šu u-še-ṣi-ka
[. . .] Ti-amat ša si-in-ni-ša-tum ia-ar-ka i-na kak-ku
[. . . . .]-nu-u ḫi-di u šu-li-il
ki-ša-ad Ti-amat ur-ru-ḫi-iš ta-kab-ba-as at-ta
[. . . . .]-nu-u ḫi-di u šu-li-il
[ki-ša-ad] Ti-amat ur-ru-ḫi-iš ta-kab-ba-as at-ta
[ma]-ri mu-du-u gim-ri uz-nu
[Ti-ama]t šu-up-ši-iḫ i-na te-e-ḳa el-lu
[ur-ḫa-ka] ur-ru-ḫi-iš šu-tar-di-ma
[. . . . .] la ut-tak-ka šu-te-e-ri ar-ka-niš
[iḫ-d]u-m[a b]e-lum a-na a-mat a-bi-šu

His heart exulted and he spoke to his father:
"O lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods,
If I, your avenger,
Do enchain Tiamat, and give you life
Make an assembly, exalt my destiny.
In Upshukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully together,
When I speak even as you may I decree fate
That which I do shall remain unchanged,
It shall not be changed, it shall not fail, the word of my lips."

THE THIRD TABLET

Anshar opened his mouth, and
Unto Gaga, his *minister*, spoke the word
"*O Gaga, thou minister* that rejoicest my heart,
Unto Lakhmu and Lakhamu will I send thee.
The order of my heart thou canst comprehend,
. . . . . thou shalt bring before me
. . . . . let the gods, all of them,
Make ready for a feast, at a banquet let them sit,
Let them eat bread, let them mingle wine,
For *Marduk* their avenger, let them decree destiny
Go Gaga, stand before them,

---

[e]-li-iṣ lib-ba-šu-ma a-na a-bi-šu i-zak-kar
be-lum ilâni ši-mat ilâni rabûti
sum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un
a-kam-me Ti-amat-ma u-bal-laṭ ka-a-šu-un
šuk-na-ma pu-uḫ-ra šu-te-ra i-ba-a šim-ti
i-na Up-šu-ukkin-na (ki) mit-ḫa-riš ḫa-diš tiš-ba-ma
ip-šu pi-ia ki-ma ka-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-ta lu-ši-im
la ut-tak-kar mim-mu-u a-ban-nu-u a-na-ku
ai i-tur ai i-in-nin-na-a se-ḳar ša-ap-ti-ia

THE THIRD TABLET

An-šar pa-a-šu i-pu-šam-ma
[a-na (ilu) Ga-ga suk-kal-li-] šu a-ma-tu i-zak-kar
[(ilu) Ga-ga suk-kal]-lum mu-ṭib ka-bit-ti-ia
[a-na (ilu) Laḫ-mu u (ilu) La-ḫ]a-mu ka-a-ta lu-uš-pur-ka
[te-rit lib-bi-ia] ti-iṣ-bu-ru te-li-'
. . . . . šu-bi-ka a-na maḫ-ri-ka
. . . . . ilâni na-gab-šu-un
[li-ša-nu liš-ku-n]u i-na ki-ri-e-ti liš-bu
[aš-na-an li-k] u-[l]u lip-ti-ḳu ku-ru-na
[a-na (ilu) Marduk mu]-tir-ri gi-mil-li-šu-nu li-ši-mu šim-ta
[a-lik (ilu) Ga-ga ḳud-me-šu-nu i-ziz-ma

All that I say to thee, repeat thou to them, *saying,*
Anshar, your son, hath sent me,
The command of his heart, he hath made me to know
He saith, that Tiamat our mother, has conceived a hatred against us,
An assembly has she made, she rages in anger.
All the gods have turned to her,
Even those whom ye have created, march at her side.
They have banded together, they advance at Tiamat's side;
They are furious, they plan without rest night or day,
They prepare for battle, they fume, they rage,
They have joined their forces, they prepare battle.
Ummu-Khubur, who created all things,
Hath made in addition invincible weapons, she has spawned monstrous serpents,
Sharp of tooth, merciless in carnage,
With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies.
Terrible dragons she clothed with terror,
With splendor she decked them, she made them of lofty appearance.
Whoever beholds them, terror overcomes him.

[mim-mu-u] a-zak-ka-ru-ka šu-un-na-a ša-a-šu-un
[An-šar] ma-ru-ku-nu u-ma-'-i-ra-an-ni
[te-rit] libbi-šu u-ša-aṣ-bi-ra-an-ni ia-a-ti
[um-ma Ti-a]mat a-lit-ta-ni i-zir-ra-an-na-ši
[pu-uḫ-ru šit-k]u-na-at-ma aḫ-giš lab-bat
iš-ḫu-ru-šim-ma ilâni gi-mir-šu-un
a-di ša at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-ša al-ka
im-ma-aṣ-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš Ti-amat te-bu-u-ni
iz-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-ša u im-ma
na-šu-u tam-ḫa-ri na-zar-bu-bu lab-bu
unken-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-u ṣu-la-a-[ti]
Um-mu-Hu-bur pa-ti-ḳat ka-la-[ma]
uš-rad-di ka-ak-ki la maḫ-ri it-ta-lad ṣirmaḫê
zaḳ-tu-ma šin-ni la pa-du-u at-ta-'-[i]
im-tu ki-ma da-mi zu-mur-šu-nu uš-ma-al-l[i]
ušumgallê na-ad-ru-u-ti pul-ḫa-a-ti u-šal-biš-[ma]
me-lam-me uš-daš-ša-a e-liš um-taš-[šil]
a-mir-šu-nu šar-ba-ba liš-ḫar-[mi-im]

Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack
She set up serpents, and dragons, and the *monster* Lakhamu,
And hurricanes and furious dogs, and scorpion men
And mighty tempests and fish men and rams;
They bear pitiless weapons, without fear of the fight.
Puissant are her orders, none can resist them;
In all, eleven monsters of this kind, she created
Among the gods who were her first born, who formed her troop
She exalted Kingu; among them she made him great.
To march before the troops, *to lead the throng*,
To seize the weapons, to advance, to begin the attack,
The primacy in the combat, the control of the fight
She entrusted to him, in costly raiment she made him sit, *saying*,
'I have uttered the spell, in the assembly of the gods I have made thee lord,
The lordship over all the gods, I have entrusted to thee.
Be thou exalted, thou mine only spouse,
May the Anunaki exalt thy name over all.'

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zu-mur-šu-nu liš-taḫ-ḫi-dam-ma la i-ni-'-u i-rat-su-[un]
uš-ziz ba-aš-mu ṣir-ruš-šu u (ilu) La-ḫa-[mi]
u-gal-lum UR-BE u aḳrab-amêl[u]
u-mi da-ab-ru-ti nûn-amêlu u ku-sa-riḳ-[ḳu]
na-aš kakkê la pa-di-i la a-di-ru ta-ḫ[a-zi]
gab-ša te-ri-tu-ša la ma-ḫar ši-na-a-[ma]
ap-pu-un-na-ma eš-tin eš-ri-tum kîma šu-a-tu uš-tab-[ši]
i-na ilâni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-ut iš-kun-ši [pu-uḫ-ri]
u-ša-aš-ki (ilu) Kin-gu ina bi-ri-šu-[nu ša-a-šu] uš-rab-[bi-iš]
[a]-li-kut maḫ-ri pa-an um-ma-ni [mu-ir-ru-ut puḫri]
[na-a]š kakkê ti-iṣ-bu-tu ti-[bu-u a-na-an-tu]
[šu-ud tam-ḫa-ri ra-ab šik-[ka-tu-ti]
[ip-ḳid]-ma ḳa-tuš-šu u-še-ši-ba-aš-[šu ina kar-ri]
[ad-d]i ta-a-ka ina puḫur ilâni [u-šar-bi-ka]
[ma]-li-ku-ut ilâni gi-mir-[šu-nu ḳa-tuk-ka uš-mal-li]
[lu-u] šur-ba-ta-ma ḫa-'-i-ri e-du-[u at-ta]
li-ir-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli kališu-n[u . . . (ilu) A-nun-na-ki

She gave him the tablets of destiny, on his breast she placed them, *saying*,
'Thy command shall not fail, the word of thy mouth shall be established.'
When Kingu was exalted and had received the power of Anu
He decreed destiny among the gods his sons, *saying*,
'The opening of your mouth shall quench the fire god;
The strong in combat shall increase his strength.'
I have sent Anu, but he could not withstand her presence,
Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.
But Marduk is ready, the director of the gods, your son;
To set out against Tiamat, his heart has moved *him*.
He opened his mouth and spoke to me, *saying*,
'If I, your avenger,
Do enchain Tiamat and give you life
Make an assembly, exalt my destiny.
In Upshukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully together
With my word, in your stead, will I decree destiny.
That which I do shall remain unchanged.
It shall not be changed, it shall not fail, the word of my lips.'

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id-din-šum-ma dupšimâti i-ra-tu-uš u-šat-mi-iḫ
ka-ta ḳibît-ka la in-nin-na-a li-kun ši-it pi-i-[ka]
in-nan-nu (ilu) Kingu šu-uš-ḳu-u li-ḳu-u [(ilu) A-nu-ti
an ilâni mârê-ša ši-ma-ta iš-t[i-mu]
ip-šu pi-ku-nu (ilu) Gibil li-ni-iḫ-ḫa
nâ'id ina kit-mu-ri ma-ag-ša-ri liš-rab-bi-ib
aš-pur-ma (ilu) A-nu-um ul i-li-'-a ma-ḫar-ša
(ilu) Nu-dim-mud i-dur-ma i-tu-ra ar-kiš
'-ir (ilu) Marduk ab-kal-lu ilâni ma-ru-ku-un
ma-ḫa-riš Ti-amat lib-ba-šu a-ra ub-la
ip-šu pi-i-šu i-ta-ma-a a-na ia-a-ti
šum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un
a-kam-me Ti-amat-ma u-bal-laṭ ka-šu-un
šuk-na-a-ma pu-uḫ-ru šu-ti-ra i-ba-a šim-ti
i-na Up-šu-ukkin-na-ki mit-ḫa-riš ḫa-diš taš-ba-ma
ip-šu pi-ia ki-ma ka-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-tu lu-šim-ma
la ut-tak-kar mim-mu-u a-ban-nu-u a-na-ku
ai i-tur ai in-nin-na-a se-ḳar šap-ti-ia

Hasten therefore, and fix quickly your destiny
That he may go and attack your strong enemy!"
Gaga went, he made his way and
Before Lakhmu and Lakhamu, the gods his fathers,
Humbly did he make obeisance, and kissed the ground at their feet
He humbled himself; then he stood up and spoke to them, *saying*,
Anshar your son has sent me,
The purpose of his heart he has made known to me,
He says that Tiamat, our mother, has conceived a hatred against us,
An assembly has she made, she rages in anger.
All the gods have turned to her,
Even those whom ye have created, march at her side.
They have banded together, they advance at Tiamat's side;
They are furious, they plan without rest night or day,
They prepare for battle, they fume, they rage,
They have joined their forces, they prepare battle.
Ummu-Khubur, who created all things,
Hath made in addition invincible weapons, she has spawned monstrous serpents,

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ḫu-um-ṭa-nim-ma ši-mat-ku-nu ar-ḫiš ši-ma-šu
lil-lik lim-ḫu-ra na-kar-ku-nu dan-nu
il-lik (ilu) Ga-ga ur-ḫa-šu u-šar-di-ma
aš-riš (ilu) Laḫ-mu u (ilu) La-ḫa-me ilâni abê-šu
uš-kin-ma iš-šik ḳaḳ-ḳa-ra ša-pal-šu-un
i-šir iz-ziz-ma i-zak-kar-šu-un
An-šar ma-ru-ku-nu u-ma-'-ir-an-ni
te-rit lib-bi-šu u-ša-aṣ-bi-ra-an-ni ia-a-ti
um-ma Ti-amat a-lit-ta-ni i-zir-ra-an-na-ši
pu-uḫ-ru šit-ku-na-at-ma ag-giš lab-bat
iš-ḫu-ru-šim-ma ilâni gi-mir-šu-un
a-di ša at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-ša al-ku
im-ma-aṣ-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš Ti-a-ma-ti te-bu-ni
iz-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-ši u im-ma
na-šu-u tam-ḫa-ri na-zar-bu-bu lab-bu
unken-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-u ṣu-la-a-ti
Um-mu-Ḫu-bur pa-ti-ḳat ka-la-ma
uš-rad-di kakkê ša maḫ-ri it-ta-lad ṣirmaḫê

Sharp of tooth, merciless in carnage,
With poison instead of blood, she filled their bodies.
Terrible dragons she clothed with terror,
With splendor she decked them, she made them of lofty appearance
Whoever beholds them, terror overcomes him.
Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack.
She set up serpents and dragons, and the *monster* Lakhamu
And hurricanes and furious dogs, and scorpion men,
And mighty tempests and fish men and *rams;*
They bear pitiless weapons, without fear of the fight.
Puissant are her orders, none can resist them;
In all, eleven monsters of this kind, she created.
Among the gods, who were her first born, who formed her troop
She exalted Kingu; among them she made him great.
To march before the troops, to lead the throng,
To seize the weapons, to advance, to begin the attack,
The primacy in the combat, the control of the fight

---

zaḳ-tu-ma šin-ni la pa-du-u at-ta-'-i
im-ta kîma da-a-mi zu-mur-šu-nu uš-ma-al-li
ušumgallê na-ad-ru-ti pul-ḫa-a-ti u-šal-biš-ma
me-lam-me uš-daš-ša-a i-liš um-taš-šil
a-mir-šu-nu šar-ba-ba li-iḫ-ḫar-mi-im
zu-mir-šu-nu liš-taḫ-ḫi-dam-ma la i-ni-'-u i-rat-su-un
uš-ziz ba-aš-mu ṣir-ruš-šu u (ilu) La-ḫa-mi
u-gal-lum UR-BE u aḳrab-amêlu
ûmê da-ab-ru-ti nûn amêlu u [ku-sa-riḳ-ḳu]
na-aš kakkê la pa-di-i la a-di-ru ta-ḫa-zi
gab-ša te-ri-tu-ša la ma-ḫar ši-na-ma
ap-pu-un-na-ma 1iš-tin eš-rit ki-ma šu-a-tu uš-tab-ši
i-na ilâni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-ut iš-ku-nu-ši pu-uḫ-ri
u-ša-aš-ki (ilu) Kin-gu ina bi-ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu uš-rab-bi-iš
a-li-ku-ut maḫ-ri pa-an um-ma-ni mu-ir-ru-ut puḫri
na-aš kakkê ti-iṣ-bu-tu te-bu-u a-na-an-tu
šu-ud tam-ḫa-ri ra-ab šik-ka-tu-ti

She entrusted to him, in costly raiment she made him sit, *saying,*
'I have uttered the spell, in the assembly of the gods I have made thee Lord,
The lordship over all the gods, I have entrusted to thee.
Be thou exalted, thou mine only spouse,
May the Annuna*ki* exalt thy name over all.'
She gave him the tablets of destiny, on his breast she placed them, *saying,*
Thy command shall not fail, *the word of thy mouth shall be established.*
When Kingu was exalted and *had received the power of Anu*
He decreed destiny among the gods his sons, *saying,*
The opening of your mouth shall quench the fire god,
The strong in combat shall increase his strength
I have sent Anu, but he could not withstand *her presence,*
Nudimmu was afraid and *turned back*
But Marduk is ready, the director of the *gods, your son;*
To set out against Tiamat, *his heart has moved him.*
He opened his mouth *and spoke to me, saying,*
If, I, *your avenger,*

---

ip-ḳid-ma ḳa-tuš-šu u-še-ši-ba-aš-šu ina kar-ri
ad-di ta-a-ḳa ina puḫur ilâni u-šar-bi-ka
ma-li-kut ilâni gim-rat-su-nu ḳa-tuk-ka uš-mal-li
lu-u šur-ba-ta-ma ḫa-i-ri e-du-u at-ta
li-ir-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli kalî-šu-nu . . . (ilu) A-nun-na [-ki]
id-d[in-š]um-ma dupšimâti i-ra-a[t-su u-šat-mi-iḫ
ka-ta ḳibît-ka la in-nin-[na-a li-kun ṣi-it pi-i-ka]
in-na-na (ilu) Kin-gu šu-uš-ḳu-[u li-ḳu-u (ilu) A-nu-ti]
an ilâni mârê-ša ši-[ma-ta iš-ti-mu]
ip-šu pi-i-ku-nu (ilu) Gibil [li-ni-iḫ-ḫa]
nâ-id ina kit-mu-ru ma-ag-š[a-ri liš-rab-bi-ib
aš-pur-ma (ilu) A-nu-um ul i-[li-'-a ma-ḫar-ša]
(ilu) Nu-dim-mud e-dur-ma i-[tu-ra ar-kiš]
'-ir (ilu) Marduk ab-kal-[lu i]lâ[ni ma-ru-ku-un
ma-ḫa-riš Ti-amat li[b-ba-šu a-ra ub-la]
ip-šu pi-i-šu [i-ta-ma-a a-na ia-a-ti]
šum-ma-ma a-na-ku [mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un]

Do enchain Tiamat and *give you life*
Make an assembly, *exalt my destiny*
In Upshukkinaku *seat yourselves joyfully together*
When I speak, even as you may I decree fate.
That which *I* do shall remain unchanged.
It shall not be changed, it shall not fail, the word of *my lips'*
Hasten therefore, and fix quickly your destiny
That he may go and attack your strong enemy"
Lakhmu and Lakhamu heard, they cried aloud,
All of the Igigi complained bitterly, *saying,*
Because of what enmity is it that they . . .
We do not understand the *deed* of Tiamat"
Then they gathered together, they went
The great gods, all of them, who decree *destiny.*
They entered before Anshar, they filled . . .
They kissed one another, in the assembly . . .
They made ready the feast, at the banquet *they sat,*
They ate bread, they mingled *the wine.*
The sweet drink made them drunken . . .
By drinking they were drunken, their bodies were filled.

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a-kam-me Ti-amat-m[a u-bal-laṭ ka-šu-un]
šuk-na-a-ma pu-uḫ-ru š[u-ti-ra i-ba-a šim-ti]
i-na Up-šu-ukkin-na-ki mi[t-ḫa-riš ha-diš taš-ba-ma
ip-šu pi-ia ki-ma k[a-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-tu lu-šim-ma]
la ut-tak-kar mim-m[u]-u a-ban-nu-u [a-na-ku]
[a]i i-tur [ai in]-nin-na-a se-ḳar [šap-ti-ia]
ḫu-um-ta-nim-ma ši-mat-ku-nu ar-ḫiš [ši-ma-šu]
[I]il-lik lim-ḫu-ra na-kar-ku-nu dan-nu
[i]š-mu-ma (ilu) Laḫ-ḫa (ilu) La-ḫa-mu is-su-u e-li-tum
(ilu) Igigi nap-ḫar-šu-nu i-nu-ḳu mar-ṣi-iš
mi-na-a nak-ra a-di ir-šu-u ṣi-bi-it n[e . . .]
la ni-i-di ni-i-ni ša Ti-amat e-pi[š-ti-ša]
ik-ša-šu-nim-ma il-lak-[ku-ni]
ilâni rabûti ka-li-šu-nu mu-šim-[mu šim-ti]
i-ru-bu-ma mut-ti-iš An-šar im-lu-u [. . .]
in-niš-ḳu a-ḫu-u a-ḫi ina puḫri [. . .]
li-ša-nu iš-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti [uš-bu]
aš-na-an i-ku-lu ip-ti-ḳu [ku-ru-na]
ši-ri-sa mat-ḳu u-sa-an-ni [. . .]-[r]a-[d] i-šu-[un]
ši-ik-ru ina ša-te-e ḫa-ba-ṣu zu-um-[ri]

They shouted aloud, their heart was exalted,
Then for Marduk, their avenger, did they decree destiny.

THE FOURTH TABLET

They prepared for him a princely seat,
Before his fathers, he took his place as sovereign.
'Thou art most honored among the great gods,
Thy destiny is beyond compare, thy command is Anu.
O Marduk, thou art most honored among the great gods,
Thy destiny is beyond compare, thy command is Anu.
In all time thy command shall not be changed,
To exalt and to abase lie in thy hand.
Established shall be the word of thy mouth, resistless thy command,
None among the gods shall transgress thy limits.
Maintenance is the desire of the shrines of the gods,
In their sanctuary shall thy sanctuary be established.
O Marduk, thou art our avenger.
We give thee lordship over the whole world.

---

ma-'-diš e-gu-u ka-bit-ta-šu-un i-te-el-[li]
a-na (ilu) Marduk mu-tir gi-mil-li-šu-nu i-šim-mu šim-[tu]

THE FOURTH TABLET

id-du-šum-ma pa-rak ru-bu-tim
ma-ḫa-ri-iš ab-bi-e-šu a-na ma-li-ku-tum ir-me
at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta i-na ilâni ra-bu-tum
ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an se-ḳar-ka (ilu) Anum
(ilu) Marduk kab-ta-ta i-na ilâni ra-bu-tum
ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an se-ḳar-ka (ilu) A-num
iš-tu u-mi-im-ma la in-nin-na-a ki-bit-ka
šu-uš-ḳu-u u šu-uš-pu-lu ši-i lu-u ga-at-ka
lu-u ki-na-at ṣi-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar se-ḳar-ka
ma-am-ma-an i-na ilâni i-tuk-ka la it-ti-iḳ
za-na-nu-tum ir-šat pa-rak ilâni-ma
a-šar sa-gi-šu-nu lu-u ku-un aš-ru-uk-ka
(ilu) Marduk at-ta-ma mu-tir-ru gi-mil-li-ni
ni-id-din-ka šar-ru-tum kiš-šat kal gim-ri-e-ti

Thou shalt take thy seat in the assembly, thy word shall be exalted.
Thy weapon shall not lose its power, it shall break in pieces thy foe.
O lord defend the life of him that trusteth in thee.
But, as for the god, who undertook evil, pour out his life."
Then they placed among them a garment,
And unto Marduk, their first born, they spoke:
Thy destiny, O lord, is supreme among the gods,
To destroy and to create, when thou dost command, it shall be fulfilled.
Thy command shall destroy the garment,
And if thou dost command, the garment shall be intact."
Then he spoke with his mouth, the garment was destroyed,
He commanded again, the garment was restored.
When the gods, his fathers, beheld the *efficacy* of his word
They rejoiced, they paid homage, "Marduk is king."
They bestowed upon him the sceptre, the throne, the *palu*,[1]

[1] The *palu* was some badge of authority. King translates 'ring,' but we have no proof of its correctness.

ti-šam-ma i-na pu-ḫur lu-u ša-ga-ta a-mat-ka
kak-ki-ka ai ip-pal-tu-u li-ra-i-su na-ki-ri-ka
be-lum ša tak-lu-ka na-piš-ta-šu gi-mil-ma
u ilu ša lim-ni-e-ti i-ḫu-zu tu-bu-uk nap-šat-su
uš-zi-zu-ma i-na bi-ri-šu-nu lu-ba-šu iš-ten
a-na (ilu) Marduk bu-uk-ri-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-ru
ši-mat-ka be-lum lu-u maḫ-ra-at ilâni-ma
a-ba-tum u ba-nu-u ki-bi li-ik-tu-nu
ip-ša pi-i-ka li-'-a-bit lu-ba-šu
tu-ur ki-bi-šum-ma lu-ba-šu li-iš-lim
iḳ-bi-ma i-na pi-i-šu '-a-bit lu-ba-šu
i-tu-ur iḳ-bi-um-ma lu-ba-šu it-tab-ni
ki-ma ṣi-it pi-i-šu i-mu-ru ilâni ab-bi-e-šu
iḫ-du-u ik-ru-bu (ilu) Marduk-ma šar-ru
u-uṣ-ṣi-pu-šu (iṣu) haṭṭa (iṣu) kussâ u palâ(a)

They gave him an invincible weapon, which destroys the enemy.
"Go and cut off the life of Tiamat,
Let the wind carry her blood into secret places."
After the gods his fathers had decreed for the lord his destiny
They made his way a path of salvation and success.
He made ready the bow, appointed it as his weapon,
He seized a spear, he fastened . . .
He raised the club, in his right hand he grasped it,
The bow and the quiver he hung at his side.
He put the lightning in front of him,
With flaming fire he filled his body.
He made a net, to enclose Tiamat within it,
He set it up at the four winds, that naught of her might escape,
At the South wind, and the North wind, and the East wind and the West wind,
Beside he attached the net, the gift of his father Anu.
He created an evil wind, a tempest, a hurricane,
A fourfold wind, a seven fold wind, a whirlwind, a wind beyond compare,
He sent forth the winds, which he had created, the seven of them,

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id-di-nu-šu kak-ku la ma-aḫ-ra da-'-i-bu za-ai-ri
a-lik-ma ša Ti-amat nap-ša-tu-uš pu-ru-'-ma
ša-a-ru da-mi-ša a-na pu-uz-ra-tum li-bil-lu-ni
i-ši-mu-ma ša (ilu) bêl ši-ma-tu-uš ilâni ab-bi-e-šu
u-ru-uḫ šu-ul-mu u taš-me-e uš-ta-aṣ-bi-tu-uš ḫar-ra-nu
ib-šim-ma (iṣu) ḳašta kak-ka-šu u-ad-di
mul-mul-lum uš-tar-ki-ba u-kin-šu ba-at-nu
iš-ši-ma (iṣu) miṭṭa im-na-šu u-ša-ḫi-iz
(iṣu) ḳašta u (mašku) iš-pa-tum i-du-uš-šu i-lu-ul
iš-kun bi-ir-ḳu i-na pa-ni-šu
nab-lu muš-taḫ-mi-ṭu zu-mur-šu um-ta-al-la
i-pu-uš-ma sa-pa-ra šul-mu-u kir-biš Ti-amat
ir-bit-ti ša-a-ri uš-te-iṣ-bi-ta ana la a-ṣi-e mim-mi-ša
šûtu iltânu šadû aḫarrû
i-du-uš sa-pa-ra uš-tak-ri-ba ki-iš-ti abi-šu (ilu) A-nim
ib-ni im-ḫul-la šâra lim-na me-ḫa-a a-šam-šu-tum
šar arba'i šar sibi šara êšâ šâra lâ šanân
u-še-ṣa-am-ma šârâ ša ib-nu-u si-bit-ti-šu-un

To disturb the inner parts of Tiamat, they followed after him.
Then the lord took the flood, his mighty weapon,
He mounted the chariot, the storm incomparable, the terrible.
He harnessed four horses and yoked them to it,
Destructive, pitiless, overwhelming, swift,
. . . . their teeth carry poison
They know how . . . , they are trained to trample under foot,
. . . . . fearful are they in battle
Left and right . . .
His garment . . . he was clothed with terror,
With overpowering brightness his head was crowned.
He took his road, he followed his path.
Toward Tiamat, the raging, he set his face.
On his lips he held . . .
. . . . . he grasped in his hand
Then they beheld him, the gods beheld him,
The gods his fathers beheld him, the gods beheld him.
And the lord drew nigh, he gazed upon the inward parts of Tiamat,
He perceived the design of Kingu, her spouse.

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kir-biš Ti-amat šu-ud-lu-ḫu ti-bu-u arki-šu
iš-ši-ma be-lum a-bu-ba kakka-šu rabâ(a)
(iṣu) narkabta u-mu la maḫ-ri ga-lit-ta ir-kab·
iṣ-mid-sim-ma ir-bit na-aṣ-ma-di i-du-uš-ša i-lul
[ša]-gi-šu la pa-du-u ra-ḫi-ṣu mu-up-par-ša
[. . . . . .]-ti šin-na-šu-nu na-ša-a im-ta
[. . . . . i]-du-u sa-pa-na lam-du
[. . . . . .]-za ra-aš-ba [t]u-ku-un-tum
šu-me-la u [im-na . . .]-a i-pat . . .
na-aḫ-l[ap-ti-šu . . .]-ti pul-ḫa-ti [ḫa]-lip-ma
me-lam-mi-šu saḫ-[pu a]-pi-ir r[a]-šu-uš-šu
uš-te-šir-ma [ḫar-ra-an-šu u]r-ḫa-šu u-šar-di-ma
aš-riš Ti-amat [ša ag]-gat pa-nu-uš-šu iš-kun
i-na šap-ti [. . . . .] u-kal-lu
u-mi-im-ta [. . .]-ti ta-me-iḫ lak-tuš-šu
i-na u-mi-šu i-ṭ[ul]-lu-šu ilâni i-ṭul-lu-šu
ilâni abe-šu i-ṭul-lu-šu ilâni i-ṭul-lu-šu
iṭ-ḫi-ma be-lum ḳab-lu-uš Ti-a-ma-ti i-bar-ri
ša (ilu) Kin-gu ḫa-'-ri-ša i-še-'-a me-ki-šu

As he gazed, he was troubled in his motions,
His resolution was destroyed, his action was disordered,
And the gods, his helpers, who marched by his side,
Beheld their leader's . . . their vision was troubled.
But Tiamat uttered *a cry*, she turned not her neck,
With full lips, she held fast rebellion,
. . . . . thy coming as lord of the gods
"From their places have they gathered, in thy place are they."
Then the lord raised the flood, his mighty weapon,
And against Tiamat, who was raging, he sent it with the words.
Thou hast made thyself great, thou hast exalted thyself on high,
And thy heart has moved thee to call to battle.
. . . . . their fathers . . .
. . . . their . . . thou hatest . . .
Thou hast exalted Kingu to be thy spouse,
Thou hast . . . him, to issue decrees like Anu,
. . . . . thou hast followed after evil,
And *against* the gods my fathers thou hast wrought evil.

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i-na-aṭ-ṭal-ma e-ši ma-lak-šu
sa-pi-iḫ ṭe-ma-šu-ma si-ḫa-ti ip-šit-su
u ilâni ri-ṣu-šu a-li-ku i-di-šu
i-mu-ru [. . . -a]m-ṭa a-ša-ri-du ni-ṭil-šu-un i-ši
[i]d-di [. . .] Ti-amat ul u-ta-ri ki-šad-sa
i-na šap-t[i] ša lul-la-a u-kal sar-ra-a-ti
[. . .]-ta [. . .] ša be-lum ilâni ti-bu-ka
[aš]-ru-uš-šu-un ip-ḫu-ru šu-nu aš-ruk-ka
[iš-ši-ma be-lum a-bu-ba kakka-šu rabâ(a)
[. . . . . Ti]-amat ša ik-mi-lu ki-a-am iš-pur-ši
[. . . . . .]-ba-a-ti e-liš na-ša-ti-[ma]
[. . . . . .]-ba-ki-ma di-ki a-na-an-[ti]
[. . . . . .] abê-šu-nu i-da-[. . .]
[. . . . . .]-šu-nu ta-zi-ri ri-e-[. . .]
[. . . . . (ilu) Kin-g]u a-na ḫa-'-ru-t[i-ki]
[. . . . . .]-šu a-na pa-ra-aṣ (ilu) An-nu-ti
[. . . . . lim-n]i-e-ti te-še-'-e-ma
[. . . . . il]âni abê (e)-a li-mut-ta-ki tuk-tin-ni

When thou hast prepared thy army, hast girded on thy weapons,
Come on, I and thou, let us join battle.
When Tiamat heard these words,
She was beside herself, she lost her reason,
Tiamat cried wild and loudly,
She trembled, she shook to her foundations.
She recited an incantation, she uttered her spell,
And the gods of the battle consecrated their weapons.
Then advanced Tiamat and Marduk, counsellor of the gods;
To the combat they marched, they drew nigh to battle.
The lord spread out his net, and caught her,
The storm wind, that was behind *him*, he let loose in her face.
When Tiamat opened her mouth to its widest
He drove in the evil wind, that she could not close her lips.
The terrible winds filled her belly,
And her heart was taken from her, and her mouth she opened wide.
He seized the spear, and tore her belly,
He cut her inward parts, he pierced her heart.

[lu ṣ]a-an-da-at um-mat-ki lu-rit-ku-su šu-nu kakkê-ki
en-di-im-ma a-na-ku u ka-a-ši i ni-pu-uš ša-aš-ma
Ti-amat an-ni-ta i-na še-mi-ša
maḫ-ḫu-tiš i-te-mi u-ša-an-ni ṭe-en-ša
is-si-ma Ti-amat šit-mu-riš e-li-ta
šur-šiš ma-al-ma-liš it-ru-ra iš-da-a-[ša]
i-man-ni šip-ta it-ta-nam-di ta-a-[ša]
u ilâni ša taḫâzi u-ša-'-lu šu-nu kakkê-šu-u[n]
in-nin-du-ma Ti-amat abkal ilâni (ilu) Marduk
ša-aš-meš it-tib-bu ḳit-ru-bu ta-ḫa-zi-iš
uš-pa-ri-ir-ma be-lum sa-par-ra-šu u-šal-mi-ši
im-ḫul-lu ṣa-bit ar-ka-ti pa-nu-uš-šu um-daš-šir
ip-te-ma pi-i-ša Ti-amat a-na la-'-a-ti-šu
im-ḫul-la uš-te-ri-ba a-na la ka-tam šap-ti-šu
iz-zu-ti šârê kar-ša-ša i-ṣa-nu-ma
in-ni-ḫaz lib-ba-ša-ma pa-a-ša uš-pal-ki
is-suk mul-mul-la iḫ-te-pi ka-ras-sa
kir-bi-ša u-bat-ti-ḳa u-šal-liṭ lib-ba

He made her powerless, he destroyed her life;
He cast down her body and stood upon it.
When he had slain Tiamat, the leader,
Her power was broken, her army was scattered.
And the gods, her helpers, who marched at her side,
Trembled and were afraid and turned back.
They broke away to save their lives,
But they were surrounded, they could not escape.
He took them captive, he broke their weapons,
In the net they were thrown, and in the snare they remained,
The . . . of the world they filled with cries of sorrow,
They bore his punishment, they are shut up in prison,
And on the eleven creatures, which were full of fearfulness,
Upon the troop of devils, who marched *before* her,
He cast fetters upon them, their side he . . .
Them and their opposition he trampled under his feet.
And Kingu, who had been exalted over them
He conquered, and with the god Dugga he counted him,

---

ik-mi-ši-ma nap-ša-taš u-bal-li
ša-lam-ša id-da-a eli-ša i-za-za
ul-tu Ti-amat a-lik pa-ni i-na-ru
ki-iṣ-ri-ša up-tar-ri-ra pu-ḫur-ša is-sap-ḫa
u ilâni ri-ṣu-ša a-li-ku i-di-ša
it-tar-ru ip-la-ḫu u-saḫ-ḫi-ru ar-kat-su-un
u-še-ṣu-ma nap-ša-tuš e-ṭi-ru
ni-ta la-mu-u na-par-šu-diš la li-'-e
[e]-sir-šu-nu-ti-ma kakkê-šu-nu u-šab-bir
sa-pa-riš na-du-ma ka-ma-riš uš-bu
[. . .]-du tub-ḳa-a-ti ma-lu-u du-ma-mu
še-rit-su na-šu-u ka-lu-u ki-suk-kiš
u iš-ten eš-rit nab-ni-ti šu-ut pul-ḫa-ti i-ṣa-nu
mi-il-la gal-li-e a-li-ku ka-[. . . n]i-ša
it-ta-di ṣir-ri-e-ti i-di-šu-n[u . . .]
ga-du tuk-ma-ti-šu-nu ša-pal-šu [ik]-b[u]-us
u (ilu) Kin-gu ša ir-tab-bu-u ina [e-li]-šu-un
ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti (ilu) Dug-ga(-)e šu-a [. . .] im-ni-šu

He took from him the tablets of Destiny, which belonged not to him,
He sealed them with a seal and laid them in his own breast.
After he had conquered and cast down his enemies,
And had beaten down the arrogant enemy,
And had fully established Anshar's victory over the enemy,
And had attained the will of Nudimmud,
And over the captive gods had made the prison fast,
Then he turned back to Tiamat, whom he had conquered,
And the lord stood upon the foundations of Tiamat,
With his merciless club he broke her skull.
He cut through the channels of her blood,
And he made the North wind bear it away to secret places.
His fathers saw, and they rejoiced and were glad,
Presents and gifts they brought unto him.
Then the lord rested, he gazed upon her dead body,
As he divided the flesh of the . . . he devised a cunning plan.
He split her open like a flat (?) fish into two halves;

---

i-kim-šu-ma dupšîmâti la si-ma-ti-šu
i-na ki-šib-bi ik-mu-kam-ma ir-tu-uš it-mu-uḫ
iš-tu lim-ni-šu ik-mu-u i-sa-du
ai-bu mut-ta-'-du u-ša-pu-u šu-ri-šam
ir-nit-ti An-šar e-li na-ki-ru ka-li-iš uš-zi-zu
ni-is-mat (ilu) Nu-dim-mud ik-šu-du (ilu) Marduk ḳar-du
e-li ilâni ka-mu-tum ṣi-bit-ta-šu u-dan-nin-ma
ṣi-ri-iš Ti-amat ša ik-mu-u i-tu-ra ar-ki-iš
ik-bu-us-ma be-lum ša Ti-a-ma-tum i-šid-sa
i-na mi-ṭi-šu la pa-di-i u-nat-ti mu-uḫ-ḫa
u-par-ri-'-ma uš-la-at da-mi-ša
ša-a-ru il-ta-nu a-na pu-uz-rat uš-ta-bil
i-mu-ru-ma ab-bu-šu iḫ-du-u i-ri-šu
ši-di-e šul-ma-nu u-ša-bi-lu šu-nu a-na ša-a-šu
i-nu-uḫ-ma be-lum ša-lam-tu-uš i-bar-ri
šir ku-pu u-za-a-zu i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-ti
iḫ-pi-ši-ma ki-ma nu-nu maš-di-e a-na šinâ-šu

One half of her he established as a covering for heaven.
He fixed a bolt, he stationed a watchman,
He commanded them not to let her waters come forth.
He passed through the heavens, he considered its regions,
He set himself over against the Deep, the dwelling of Nudimmud,
And the lord measured the construction of the Deep,
And he founded E-sharra a mansion like unto it.
The mansion E-sharra which he built like heaven,
He caused Anu, Bel and Ea to inhabit in their districts.

THE FIFTH TABLET

He made the stations for the great gods;
The stars, their images, as the stars of the Zodiac he fixed.
He ordained the year, he marked off its sections,
For the twelve months he fixed three stars for each.
After he had fashioned images for the days of the year,
He founded the station of Nibir,[1] to determine their bounds;

[1] Nibir = the planet Jupiter.

---

mi-iš-lu-uš-ša iš-ku-nam-ma ša-ma-ma u-ṣa-al-lil
iš-du-ud par-ku ma-aṣ-ṣa-ru u-ša-aṣ-bi-it
me-e-ša la šu-ṣa-a šu-nu-ti um-ta-'-ir
šamê(e) i-bi-ir aš-ra-tum i-ḫi-ṭam-ma
uš-tam-ḫi-ir mi-iḫ-rat apsî šu-bat (ilu) Nu-dim-mud
im-šu-uḫ-ma be-lum ša apsî bi-nu-tu-uš-šu
eš-gal-la tam-ši-la-šu u-ki-in E-šar-ra
eš-gal-la E-šar-ra ša ib-nu-u ša-ma-mu
(ilu) Anum (ilu) Bêl u (ilu) E-a ma-ḫa-zi-šu-un uš-ram-ma

THE FIFTH TABLET

u-ba-aš-šim man-za-za an ilâni rabûti
kakkabâni tam-šil-šu-nu lu-ma-ši uš-zi-iz
u-ad-di šatta mi-iṣ-ra-ta u-ma-aṣ-ṣir
XII arhê kakkabâni III ta-a-an uš-zi-iz
iš-tu u-mi ša šatti uṣ-ṣ[i . . .] u-ṣu-ra-ti
u-šar-šid man-za-az (ilu) Ni-bi-ri ana ud-du-u rik-si-šu-un

That none might err or go astray
He set the station of Bel and Ea by his side.
He opened gates on both sides,
He made strong the bolt on the left and on the right.
In the midst thereof he fixed the zenith;
The Moon-god he caused to shine forth, to him confided the night.
He appointed him, a being of the night, to determine the days;
Every month, without ceasing, like a crown he made him, *saying*,
"At the beginning of the month, when thou shinest on the land
Thou shalt show the horns, to determine six days,
And on the seventh day let the tiara disappear.
On the fourteenth day thou shalt stand opposite the half . . .
When the Sun-god on the foundation of the heaven . . . thee,
The . . . thou shalt cause to . . . and thou shalt make his . . .
. . . unto the path of the Sun-god thou shalt approach,

---

a-na la e-piš an-ni la e-gu-u ma-na-ma
man-za-az (ilu) Bêl u (ilu) E-a u-[k]in it-ti-šu
ip-te-ma abullê ina ṣi-li ki-lal-la-an
ši-ga-ru ud-dan-ni-na šu-me-la u im-na
ina ka-bit-ti-ša-ma iš-ta-kan e-la-a-ti
(ilu) Nannar-ru uš-te-pa-a mu-ša iḳ-ti-pa
u-ad-di-šum-ma šu-uk-nat mu-ši a-na ud-du-u u-me
ar-ḫi-šam la na-par-ka-a ina a-gi-[e] u-ṣir
i-na reš arḫi-ma na-pa-ḫi [i-na] ma-a-ti
kar-ni na-ba-a-ta ana ud-du-u VI u-mi
i-na ûmi VII kan a-ga-a [bi-i-]-la
[um] u XIV-tu ḫu-u šu-tam-ḫu-rat meš-l[i . . .]-u
[e-n]u-ma (ilu) Šamaš i-na i-šid šamê(e) [. . .]-ka
[. . .]-ti šu-taḳ-ṣi-ba-am-ma bi-ni ar-[. . .]-uš
[. . . . .] . . . a-na ḫar-ra-an (ilu) Šamaš šu-taḳ-rib-[ma]

And on the . . . *day* thou shalt stand opposite, and the Sun-god shall

. . . . . to traverse her way.

. . . thou shalt cause to draw nigh, and thou shalt judge the right.

25 . . . . . to destroy

. . . . . me.

[The following twenty-two lines are taken from British Museum K. 3449a, which are supposed to form part of the fifth tablet. The numeration here followed is King's, though it is necessarily uncertain.]

66 . . . . . .

. . . . . .

From . . .

In E-sagil . . .

70 To establish . . .

The station of . . .

The great gods . . .

The gods . . .

He took and . . .

75 The gods *his fathers* beheld the net which he had made,

They beheld the bow, that it was skilfully made.

[ina ûmi . . .] kan lu šu-tam-ḫu-rat (ilu) Šamaš lu ša-na-[. . .]

[. . . . . .]-ši-um ba-'-i u-ru-uḫ-ša

[. . . . . š]u-taḳ-ri-ba-ma di-na di-na

25 [. . . . . .] ḫa-ba-la

[. . . . . .] ia-a-ti

[. . . . . .]

[From Fragment K. 3449a]

66 u-[. . .]

zar-ba-bu [. . .]

iš-tu [. . .]

ina E-sag-gil [. . .]

70 kun-na [. . .]

man-za-az (ilu) [. . .]

ilâni rabûti [. . .]

ilâni ik-[. . .]

im-ḫur-ma [. . .]

75 sa-pa-ra ša i-te-ip-pu-šu i-mu-ru ilâni [abê-šu]

i-mu-ru-ma (iṣu) ḳašta ki-i nu-uk-ku-lat [ip-šit-sa]

The work which he had done they praised.
Then Anu arose in the assembly of the gods . . .
He kissed the bow, saying, It is . . .
And thus he named the names of the bow, *saying*,
"Longwood shall be one name, and the second name *shall be* . . .
And its third name shall be the Bow Star, in the heaven . . .
Then he fixed a station for it . . .
After the destiny of . . .
He set a throne . . .
. . . . . in heaven . . .
. . . . . .

[The following words, which conclude the Fifth Tablet, are taken from the reverse of K. 11641, and from the reverse of K. 8526:]

. . . . . him . . .
. . . . . them . . .
. . . . . him . . .
. . . . . them . . .
. . . . their . . . . . may
. . . . . the gods spoke . . .
. . . . . the heavens . . .

---

ip-šit i-te-ip-pu-šu i-na-a-d[u . . .]
iš-ši-ma (ilu) A-num ina puḫur ilâni [. . .]
(iṣu) ḳašta it-ta-šik ši-i [. . .]
im-bi-ma ša (iṣu) ḳašti ki-a-am [šumê-ša]
iṣ-ṣu a-rik lu iš-te-nu-um-ma ša-nu [. . .]
šal-šu šum-ša (kakkabu) Ḳaštu ina šamê(e) [. . .]
u-kin-ma gi-is-gal-la-ša [. . .]
ul-tu ši-ma-a-ti ša [. . .]
[id-d]i-ma iṣu kussâ [. . .]
[. . . . .] ina šamê [e . . .]
[. . . . .]-ru-[. . .]

[From Reverse of K. 11641 and from the Reverse of K. 8526]

[. . . . . .]-lu-šu [. . .]
[. . . . . .]-šu-nu-ti nu-[. . .]
[. . . . . -b]a-šu e-[. . .]
[. . . . . .]-su-nu-ti [. . .]
[. . . . . -šu-n]u lu ḫu-[. . .]
[. . . . . i]lâni i-kab-bu [-u]
[. . . . . .] šamê(e) [. . .]

. . . . . *your* son . . .
. . . . . our . . . hath he . . .
. . . . . he hath caused to live . . .
. . . . . splendor . . .
. . . . . not . . .
. . . . . we . . .

THE SIXTH TABLET

When Marduk heard the word of the gods,
His heart moved him and he devised a cunning plan.
He opened his mouth and unto Ea he spoke,
That which he had conceived in his heart, he made known unto him:
"My blood will I take and bone will I *fashion*,
I shall make man that man may . . .
I shall create man who shall inhabit *the earth*,
Let the worship of the gods be established, let *their* shrines be *built*.
But I shall transform the ways of the gods, and I shall change their paths
Together shall they be honored, and unto evil shall *they* . . .

[. . . . . .] ma-a-ru-k[u-un . . .]
[. . . . . .]-ni it-[. . .]
[. . . . . .] u-bal-li-i[ṭ . . .]
[. . . . . me]-lam-me mi-[. . .] uš-[. . .]
[. . . . . .] la um-[. . .] nu-[. . .]
[. . . . .]ni-i-nu]

THE SIXTH TABLET

(ilu) Marduk zik-ri ilâni ina še-mi-šu
[ub]-bal lib-ba-šu i-ban-na-a [nik-la-a-ti]
[ip]-šu pi-i-šu a-na (ilu) E-a [i-zak-kar]
[ša] ina lib-bi-šu uš-ta-mu-u i-nam-din [ana ša-a-šu]
da-mi lu-uk-ṣur-ma iṣ-ṣi-im-tum lu-[. . .]
lu-uš-ziz-ma amêla(a) lu a-me-lu . . . [. . .]
lu-ub-ni-ma amêla(a) a-šib [. . .]
lu-u en-du dul-lu ilâni-ma šu-nu lu-u pa-pa-[ḫu . . .]
lu-ša-an-ni-ma al-ka-ka-ti ilâni lu-nak-ki-[ir . . .]
iš-te-niš lu kub-bu-tu-ma a-na lim-na lu-u [. . .]

And Ea answered him and spoke the word:
" . . . . . the . . . of the gods have I transformed
. . . . and one . . .
. . . . shall be *destroyed*, and men will I . . .
. . . . . and the gods . . .
. . . . . and they . . .
. . . . . and the gods . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . the gods . . .
. . . . . the Anunaki . . .
. . . . . .

[The last few lines of the tablet run as follows, all the intermediate portion being lost. The restorations are by King.]

When . . .
They rejoiced . . .
In Upshukkinaku they set *their dwelling* . . .
Of the heroic son, their avenger, *they cried* . . .
We, whom he succored . . .
They seated themselves and in the assembly they named him
They all *cried aloud* (?), they exalted him . . .

---

i-pu-ul-lu-šu-ma (ilu) E-a a-ma-tum i-z[ak-kar]
[. . .]-t[um š]u-ut šal-ḫu(?)-tum ša ilâni u-ša-an-[. . .]
[. . . . . t]a-ad-nam-ma iš-ten a-[. . . .]
[. . . li-in-n]a-ab-bit-ma niše lul-[. . .]
[. . . . . .]-ma ilâni [. . .]
[. . . . .]-na-din-ma šu-nu li-[. . .]
[. . . . . .]-ḫi-ir-ma ilâni [. . .]
. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]-'-a-ra i-[n]am-[. . .]
[. . . . . (ilu) A]-nun-na-ki [. . .]
. . . . . .

[The intermediate portion is lost.]

ki-i na-[. . . . .] nu [. . .]
iḫ-du-u [. . . . .]-mu-u [. . .]
i-na Up-šu-ukkin-na-ka uš-ta-ad-[. . .]
ša ma-ru ḳar-ra-du mu-tir [gi-mil-li-šu-nu . . .]
ni-i-nu ša za-ni-nu ul-lu-[. . .]
u-ši-bu-ma ina puḫri-šu-nu i-nam-bu-[. . .]
[. . .]-su na-gab-šu-nu u-zak-k[a-ru-šu . . .]

THE SEVENTH TABLET

O Asari, Bestower of fruitfulness, Founder of agriculture,
Thou who didst create grain and plants, who caused *the green herb to spring up,*
O Asaru-alim, who is great in the house of counsel, who is full of counsel,
The gods paid homage, fearing . . .
O Asaru-alim-nuna, the great, the light of the father who begat him,
Who orders the decrees of Anu, Bel *and Ea.*
He was their patron, he ordained *their* . . .
He whose provision is abundance, he goeth forth . . .
Tutu, the creator of their renewal is he.
If he consecrates their sanctuaries (?), then are they *satisfied;*
If he make an incantation, then are the gods *appeased;*
If they attack him in anger, he will cast them down.
Let him therefore be exalted, and in the assembly of the gods . . .
No one among the gods can rival him
Tutu *is* Zi-ukkina, the life of the host of the gods,
Who established for the gods the brilliant heavens.

THE SEVENTH TABLET

(ilu) Asar-ri ša-riḳ mi-riš-t[i mu-kin iz-ra-ti]
ba-nu-u še-amu ki-e mu-š[e-ṣi ur-ki-ti]
(ilu) Asaru-alim ša ina bît mil-ki kabt-t[u a-tar mil-ki]
ilâni u-taḳ-ḳu-u a-d[ir . . .]
(ilu) Asaru-alim-nun-na ka-ru-bu nu-ur [abi a-li-di-šu]
muš-te-šir te-rit (ilu) A-nim (ilu) Bêl [u (ilu) E-a]
šu-u-ma za-nin-šu-nu mu-ud-du-u [. . .]
ša šu-ku-us-su ḫegallu uṣ-ṣa [. . .]
(ilu) Tu-tu ba-an te-diš-ti-šu-nu [šu-u]
li-lil sa-gi-šu-nu-ma šu-nu lu-u [pa-aš-ḫu-ni
lib-ni-ma šipti ilâni li-[nu-ḫu]
ag-giš lu te-bu-u li-ni-'-u [i-rat-su-nu]
lu-u šu-uš-ḳu-u-ma ina puḫur ilâni [. . .]
ma-am-man ina ilâni šu-a-šu la um-[maš-ša-lu]
(ilu) Tu-tu (ilu) Zi-ukkin-na na-piš-ti um-ma-ni [ilâni]
ša u-kin-nu an ilâni šamê (e) el-lu-ti

Their way he appointed, *their path* he ordained.
Never shall his . . . deeds be forgotten among men.
Tutu as Zi-azag thirdly they named, Maker of Purification,
The god of the good wind, who hearkeneth and is benevolent.
Who createth fulness and plenty, who foundeth opulence,
Who maketh all that is small great.
In sore distress we have proven his beneficent wind,
Let them honor him, praise him, bow humbly before him.
Tutu as Aga-azag may mankind fourthly magnify
The lord of the pure incantation, who makes the dead living,
Who for the captive gods proved his pity,
Who removed the yoke from upon the gods his enemies,
To appease them he created humanity.
The Merciful, to whom belongs the bestowing of life,
May his word endure, may it never be forgotten
In the mouth of humanity, whom his hands have created.

---

al-kat-su-un iṣ-ba-tu-ma u-ad-du-u [. . .]
ai im-ma-ši i-na a-pa-ti ip-še-ta-[šu . . .]
(ilu) Tu-tu (ilu) Zi-azag šal-šiš im-bu-u mu-kil te-lil-ti
il ša-a-ri ṭa-a-bi be-el taš-me-e u ma-ga-ri
mu-šab-ši ṣi-im-ri u ku-bu-ut-te-e mu-kin ḫegalli
ša mimma-ni i-ṣu a-na ma-'-di-e u-tir-ru
i-na pu-uš-ki dan-ni ni-ṣi-nu šâr-šu ṭa-a-bu
lik-bu-u lit-ta-'-du lid-lu-la da-li-li-šu
(ilu) Tu-tu (ilu) Aga-azag ina ribî(i) li-šar-ri-ḫu ab-ra-a-te
be-el šip-tu ellitim (tim) mu-bal-liṭ mi-i-ti
ša an ilâni ka-mu-ti ir-šu-u ta-ai-ru
ap-ša-na en-du u-ša-as-si-ku eli ilâni na-ki-ri-šu
a-na pa-di-šu-nu ib-nu-u a-me-lu-tu
ri-me-nu-u ša bul-lu-ṭu ba-šu-u it-ti-šu
li-ku-na-ma ai im-ma-ša-a a-ma-tu-šu
ina pi-i ṣal-mat ḳaḳḳadu ša ib-na-a ḳa-ta-a-šu

Tutu as Mu-azag, fifthly, his pure Incantation may their mouth pronounce,
Who through his pure incantation hath destroyed all the evil ones,
Shag-zu, who knoweth the heart of the gods, who seeth through the innermost part
The evil doer, he suffereth not to go out with him.
Founder of the assembly of the gods . . . their heart.
Who subdueth the disobedient, . . .
Director of righteousness, *giving the right.*
Who rebellion and . . .
Tutu as Zi-si the . . .
Who put an end to anger, who . . .
Tutu as Sukh-kur, thirdly, destroying the enemy,
Who put their plans to confusion, . . .
Who destroyed all the wicked . . .
. . . . . let them . . .

[The following lines were taken by King from the British Museum fragment K. 12830. They belong to this tablet, but it is quite uncertain where they should be inserted:]

1 He named the four quarters *of the earth*, mankind *he created.*
And upon him understanding

Tu-tu (ilu) Mu-azag ina ḫanši (ši) ta-a-šu ellu pa-ši-na lit-tab-bal
ša ina šipti-šu ellitim (tim) is-su-ḫu na-gab lim-nu-ti
(ilu) Šag-zu mu-di-e lib-bi ilâni ša i-bar-ru-u kar-šu
e-piš lim-ni-e-ti la u-še-ṣu-u it-ti-šu
mu-kin puḫri ša ilâni [. . . l]ib-bi-šu-un
mu-kan-niš la ma-gi-[ri . . .]
mu-še-šir kit-ti na-[. . .]
ša sa-ar-ti u k[i . . .]
(ilu) Tu-tu (ilu) Zi-si mu-šat-[. . .]
mu-uk-kiš šu-mur-ra-tu [. . .]
(ilu) [Tu-tu] (ilu) Suḫ-kur šal-šiš na-si[ḫ ai-bi]
mu-[sap]-pi-iḫ [ki]p-di-šu-nu [. . .]
m[u-ba]l-li [nap-ḫ]ar rag-g[i . . .]
[. . . . .] liš-[. . .]-lu [. . .]

[The following lines are from K. 12830, British Museum:]

ib-bi kib-ra-a-te ṣal-mat [ḳaḳkadi ib-ni-ma]
[e-li sa]-a-šu ṭe-[e-mu . . .]

[The following lines are taken by King from K. 13761:]

. . . . . .
The mighty one . . .
Agi . . .
The creator of *the earth* . . .

[The following lines are taken by King from K. 8519 and a duplicate therefore K. 13337:]

. . . . . the chief of all lords
. . . . . supreme is his power.
Ungal-durmakh, the king of the band of the gods, the lord of rulers,
Who is exalted in a royal habitation,
Who among the gods is exalted
Adu-nunu, the counsellor of Ea, who created the gods his fathers,
Unto the path of whose majesty,
No god can ever attain!
. . . . . in Dul-azag he made it known,
. . . . . pure is his dwelling,
. . . . . of those without understanding is Lugal-dul-azaga.
. . . . . supreme is his power

[The following lines are taken by King from K. 13761:]

[. . . . . .]
rab-bu [. . .]
ilu A-gi [l- . . .]
ba-nu-u [irṣitim (tim) . . .]

[The following lines are from K. 8519 and K. 13337:]

[. . . . . n]ap-ḫar be-lim
[. . . . . ša-ḳa]-a e-mu-ḳa-šu
[(ilu) Ungal-dur-maḫ šar m]ar-kas ilâni be-el dur-ma-ḫi
ša ina šu-bat šarru-u-ti šur-bu-u
[ša] ina ilâni ma-'-diš ṣiru
[(ilu) A-du-nun-na] ma-lik (ilu) E-a ba-an ilâni abê-šu
ša a-[na] tal-lak-ti ru-bu-ti-šu
l[a-a u]-maš-ša-lu ilu ai-um-ma
[. . . . .] Dul-azag u-ta-da-šu
[. . . . . šu-bat-su el-lit
[. . . . . .]-bar la ḫas-su (ilu) Ungal-dul-azag-ga
[. . . . . .] ša-ḳa-a e-mu-ḳa-ša

. . . . . their . . . in the midst of Tiamat
. . . . . of the battle
. . . . . him,
. . . the star which *shineth in the heavens.*
He who taketh the beginning and the future, may they look unto him,
Saying, "He who passed through the midst of Tiamat, without resting,
Let his name be Nibiru, who seizes the midst!
He upheld the paths for the stars of heaven,
Like a flock all the gods together do pasture.
He conquered Tiamat, he troubled and ended her life
In the future of mankind, in the aged days,
Sing without ceasing, let him rule forever.
Since he created the heaven and made the earth,
"The Lord of the world," has father Bel called his name.
The names which all the Igigi did name,
Ea heard and his heart was rejoiced:
"He whose name his fathers have magnified
Shall be even as I, his name shall be Ea.
The whole of my orders shall he control,

[. . . . . .]-šu-nu kir-biš Tam-tim
[. . . . . -]a-bi-ka ta-ḫa-zi

[The numbering of the lines following is King's]

[. . . . .] k[a (?) . . .] ša-a-šu
[. . . . -r]u kakkaba š[a i-na ša-me-e šu-pu-u
lu-u ṣa-bit rêšu-arkât šu-nu ša-a-šu lu-u pal-su [. . .]
ma-a ša kir-biš Ti-amat i-tib-bi-[ru la a-ni-ḫu
šum-šu lu (ilu) Ni-bi-ru a-ḫi-zu kir-bi-šu
ša kakkabâni ša-ma-me al-kat-su-nu li-ki-il-lu
kîma ṣi-e-ni li-ir-ta-a ilâni gim-ra-šu-un
lik-me Ti-amat ni-ṣir-ta-ša li-si-iḳ u lik-ri
aḫ-ra-taš nišê la-ba-riš u-me
liš-ši-ma la uk-ta-li li-bi-il ana ṣa-a-ti
aš-šu aš-ri ib-na-a ip-ti-ḳa dan-ni-na
be-el matâti šum-šu it-ta-bi a-bi (ilu) Bêl
zik-ri (ilu) Igigi im-bu-u na-gab-šu-un
iš-me-ma (ilu) E-a ka-bit-ta-šu i-te-en-gu
ma-a ša abê-šu u-šar-ri-ḫu zik-ru-u-šu
šu-u ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma (ilu) E-a lu-u šum-šu
ri-kis par-ṣi-ia ka-li-šu-nu li-bil-ma

The whole of my commands shall he pronounce!"
By the name of Fifty did the great gods
Make known his fifty names, they made his path lofty.
Let them be held in remembrance, and when learned let one make them known,
The wise and the understanding shall consider them together,
The father shall repeat them and teach them to his son;
They shall be in the ears of the shepherd and the sheep driver.
Let man rejoice in Marduk, the lord of the gods,
That he may make his land fertile, and that he may have prosperity.
His word is established, his command is unchangeable,
The word of his mouth, no god hath annulled.
When he looketh in anger, he turns not his neck;
When he is wroth, no god can face his indignation.
Wide is his heart, broad is his compassion;
The sinner and the evil doer in his presence . . .
They received instruction, they spoke before him,
. . . . . unto . . .
. . . . . of Marduk may the gods . . .

---

gim-ri te-ri-ti-ia šu-u lit-tab-bal
ina zik-ri Hanša-a-an ilâni rabûti
hanša-a-an šume-šu im-bu-u u-ša-ti-ru al-kat-su
li-iṣ-ṣab-tu-ma maḫ-ru-u li-kal-lim
en-ḳu mu-du-u mit-ḫa-riš lim-tal-ku
li-ša-an-ni-ma a-bu ma-ri li-ša-ḫi-iz
ša (amêlu) rê'î u na-ki-di li-pat-ta-a uz-na-šu-un
li-ig-gi-ma a-na (ilu) Bêl ilâni (ilu) Marduk
mât-su lid-diš-ša-a šu-u lu šal-ma
ki-na-at a-mat-su la e-na-at ki-bit-su
ṣi-it pi-i-šu la uš-te-pi-il ilu ai-um-ma
ik-ki-lim-mu-ma ul u-tar-ra ki-šad-su
ina sa-ba-si-šu uz-za-šu ul i-maḫ-ḫar-šu ilu ma-am-man
ru-u-ḳu lib-ba-šu ra-pa-aš ka-ra[s-su]
ša an-ni u ḫab-la-ti ma-ḫar-šu ba-[. . .]
ta[k]-lim-ti maḫ-ru-u id-bu-bu pa-nu-uš-š[u]
[. . . . .] tur [. . .]-kan a-na te-[. . .]
[. . . . .]-at (ilu) Marduk lu-u ilâni [. . .]

140 *May* they . . . *his* name . . .
. . . . . they took and . . .
. . . . . .

140 [. . . . .]-mat-tu-u šu-u[m . . .]
[. . . . .] il-ḳu-u-ma [. . .]
[. . . . . .]

2. THE BABYLONIAN COSMOGONY ACCORDING TO DAMASCIUS[1]

Among Barbarians the Babylonians seem to pass silently over the single origin of all things, but to make two: Tauthe and Apason, making Apason the husband of Tauthe, and naming her the mother of the gods. Of these two was born an only child, Moymis, the same, I think, as the intelligible Cosmos, proceeding from two origins. From these same came a second generation, Lache and Lachos, and also from them a third, Kissare and Assôros, from whom were born three, Anos, Illinos, and Aos. Of Aos and Dauke was born Belos, whom they call the Demiurge.

[1] *Damascii Successoris Dubitationes et Solutiones de primis principiis*, edition Car. Aem. Ruelle Parisiis, 1889, pp. 321, 322. See also *Damascius le Diadoque. Problèmes et Solutions touchant les Premiers Principes*, par. A, edition Chaignet. Paris, 1898.

§ 125. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐοίκασι Βαβυλώνιοι μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν σιγῇ παριέναι, δύο δὲ ποιεῖν Ταυθὲ καὶ Ἀπασών, τὸν μὲν Ἀπασὼν ἄνδρα τῆς Ταυθὲ ποιοῦντες, ταύτην δὲ μητέρα θεῶν ὀνομάζοντες, ἐξ ὧν μονογενὴ παῖδα γεννηθῆναι τὸν Μωϋμίν, αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν δυεῖν ἀρχῶν παραγόμενον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἄλλην γενεὰν προελθεῖν, Δαχὴν καὶ Δαχόν, εἶτα αὖ τρίτην ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, Κισσαρὴ καὶ Ἀσσωρόν, ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι τρεῖς, Ἀνὸν καὶ Ἰλλινον καὶ Ἀόν: τοῦ δὲ Ἀοῦ καὶ Δαύκης υἱὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Βῆλον, ὃν δημιουργὸν εἶναί φασιν.

3. A COSMOLOGY IN A RITUAL[1]

When Anu created the heavens,

[1] This fragmentary ritual found at Babylon was first published by F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miszellen* (1903, Tafel 12, and translated, p. 32ff. It is translated again by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 25. The ritual was to be used when a temple had fallen and had to be restored. As a part of the ritual this interesting cosmological passage was recited, after various offerings of bread, honey, butter, and oil had been made.

e-nu-ma (ilu) Anu ib-nu-ú šame(e)

25 Nudimmud[1] created the ocean, his dwelling,
Ea, in the ocean, broke off the clay,
He created the god[2] of bricks to renew [*the houses* (?)]
He created reed and forest for building work [. . .]
He created the god of carpenters, the god of smiths and Arazu[3] to complete building work,
30 He created mountains and seas for all [. . .]
He created the god of goldsmiths, the god of smiths, the god of masons, and the god of miners for work [. . .] and their rich produce for sacrificial gifts,
He created Ashnan, and Lakhar,[4] Siris, Nin-gishzida, Ninsar and [. . .] to make the offerings numerous
35 He created Umutaan[5] and . . . who hold the sacrifices in the hand,

[1] A form of Ea. Ea is here creator of men, who are formed out of clay. In the same way Aruru made Engidu in the Gilgamesh epic (col. ii, line 34), see p. 82. These form interesting parallels to the account in J, Gen. 2. 7.

[2] The names of these gods are written in Sumerian, which are here literally translated.

[3] Arazu, an unknown god, the word means "prayer," and Ungnad suggests that it may be prayer personified.

[4] Ashnan and Lakhar are gods of vegetation, Siris probably god of wine. Ningishzida is the earlier days (time of Gudea), one of the chief gods, but he sank later to be the servant of the gods. He is known also as the father of Tammuz.

[5] Unknown god, the reading of the name, as also of the following one being quite uncertain. Ungnad suggests that they may be the gods of brewing and of cooking, but there is no evidence for this.

---

25 Nu-dim-mud ib-nu-u apsû šú-bat-su
(ilu) Ea ina apsî iḳ-ru-ṣa ṭi-ṭa-[am]
ib-ni il libitti ana te-diš-ti [. . .]
ib-ni (iṣu) ḳanû u (iṣu) kištu (?) ana ši-pir nab-ni-ti (?) [. . .]
ib-ni (ilu) NIN-IGI-NANGAR-GID (ilu) NIN-DÉ u (ilu) A-RA-ZU ana mu-šak-lil ši-pir na[b-ni-ti . . .]
30 ib-ni šá-di-i u ta-ma-a-ti ana mim-ma šum ziri (?) du-[. . .]
ib-ni (ilu) Guškin-banda (ilu) NIN-Á-GAL (ilu) NIN-ZADIM (ilu) NIN-KURRA ana ip-še-ti
u ḫi-ṣib-šú-ṇu du-uš-ša-a ana nin-da-bi ki-ra-bu (?)
ib-ni (ilu) Aṣ-na-an (ilu) La-ḫar (ilu) Siri (ilu) NIN-GIŠ-ZI-DA (ilu) NIN-SAR (ilu) [. . .] a-na mu-diš-šu-ú sa-at-[tuk-ki?]
35 ib-ni (ilu) U-MU-TA-A-AN . . . (ilu) U-MU-TA-A-AN . . . mu-kil nin-da-[bi-e?]

He created Azag-suga, the high priest of the great gods, to complete the commands and ordinances,
He created the king to adorn the *shrines of the gods*
He created men *to carry on* [*worship*][1]
[. . . . . Anu, Ellil, Ea [. . .]

ib-ni (ilu) AZAG-SUD-GA šangam-maḫ ilâni rabûte ana mu-šak-lil par-ṣi ki[-du-di-e?]
ib-ni šarru ana za-ni-nu . . . [ešrêti ilâni?]
[ib-n]i a-me-lu-ti . . . ana i-bi-š[ú? . . .]
[. . .] . . . te-'-e [. . . (ilu)] A-nim (ilu) Ellil (ilu) E-a . . . [. . .]

[1] With this line is to be compared the Creation story, vi, 8 (see p. 36), which makes the restoration of this line probable, if not, indeed, certain.

4. THE CREATION OF THE MOON (AND THE SUN)[1]

When the gods Anu, Ellil and Ea, the [great] gods,
Through their unchangeable counsel and powerful commands,
Fixed the crescent of the moon,
To cause the new-moon to shine forth, to create the month,
5 Signs for heaven and earth they fixed.
The new moon, which was created in heaven with majesty,
In the midst of heaven arose.
Version. When Anu, Ellil and Ea
The great gods, through their unchangeable counsel,

[1] The text is published and translated by King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, pp. 124ff., and ii, pl. xlix. The tablet is a student's practice, or exercise, and contains on one side seven lines extracted from some Sumerian composition, and on the other seven lines from a similar Babylonian composition, which is called "Version," though it is not a version or translation of the Sumerian text. The passages are also translated by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, 26. The translation here given, especially the Sumerian, is indebted to Langdon for useful suggestions.

ud an-na (dingir) En-lil-lá (dingir) En-ki dingir-[gal-gal]
(MAL+GAR)-ne-ne-gi-na-ta me-gal-gal-la-[ta]
má-gúr (dingir) En-zu-na mu-un-gi-me-e[š]
û-šar šar-šar-da itu ù-tu-ud-da
5 u-iti an-ki-a mu-un-gi-ne-eš
má-gúr an-na im-sīg-è ag-a-ne
šag an-na igi-bar-ra ta-è
š[a]-n[i]-[e] e-nu-ma (ilu) A-num (ilu) Ellil (ilu) E-a
ilâni rabûti ina mil-ki-šu-nu ki-i-nu

10 Fixed the forms (?)[1] of heaven and earth,
And to the hands of the great gods entrusted (them,)
To create the day and to renew the month, as signs for mankind;
(Men) saw Shamash in the gate of his going forth
In the midst of heaven and earth they commanded[2] him faithfully.

[1] The word is doubtful in meaning. King translates "bounds"; Ungnad, "Bilder."
[2] The signification here is uncertain. King translates "created"; Ungnad, "erglänzen."

10 ušurâti šamê(e) u irṣitim (tim) iš-ku-nu
a-na kâtê ilâni rabûti u-kin-nu
û-mu ba-na-a arḫa ud-du-šu ittati[1]
a-me-lut-tum (ilu) Šamaš ina libbi bâb aṣî-šu i-mu-ru
ki-rib šamê(e) u irṣitim (tim) ki-niš uš-ta-mu-u

[1] nig-igi-taḫ.

5. ANOTHER VERSION OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD BY MARDUK

(So-called "Bilingual of Creation")[1]

This interesting text formed merely the introduction to an incantation which was intended to be recited in honor of Ezida, the great temple of Nabû at Borsippa" (King). It was found, in 1882, in the ruins of Abu-Habba by Hormuzd Rassam, and is preserved both in Sumerian and in Assyrian. Though so different from the main story of the creation, it belongs to the same set of political ideas which made use of ancient religious material to justify the position of Marduk at the head of the Babylonian pantheon.

[1] The text is published by King, in *Cuneiform Texts*, xiii, pp. 35ff. It is translated by Pinches, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xxiii (new series), pp. 393ff.; Zimmern, in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 419f.; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, p. 38f.; King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, pp. 130ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 83ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 91, 92; Ungnad, in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 27, 28.

The holy house, the house of the gods, in the holy place had not yet been made;
No reed had sprung up, no tree had been created.
No brick had been made, no foundation had been laid,
No house had been made, no city had been built;
No city had been made, no creature had been established.
Nippur had not been made, E-kur had not been built;
Erech had not been made, E-ana had not been built;
The Deep had not been made, Eridu had not been built;
The holy house, the house of the gods, the dwelling had not been made,
All lands were sea.
When the middle of the sea was a water basin;
In those days Eridu was made, E-sagil was built,
E-sagil, where in the midst of the deep the god Lugal-dul-azaga dwelt,
Babylon was made, and E-sagil was finished,
The gods, the Anunaki, he made at one time;
The holy city, the dwelling of the heart's desire, they proclaimed supreme.

---

bîtu el-lim bît ilâni ina aš-ri el-lim ul e-pu-uš[1]
ḳa-nu-u ul a-ṣi i-ṣi ul ba-ni
Ii-bit-ti ul na-da-at na-al-ban-ti[2] ul ba-na-at
bîtu ul e-pu-uš alu ul ba-ni
alu ul e-pu-uš nam-maš-šu-u ul ša-kin
Ni-ip-pu-ru ul e-pu-uš e-kur ul ba-ni
U-ruk ul e-pu-uš e-an-na ul ba-ni
ap-su-u ul e-pu-[uš] Eridu ul ba-ni
bîtu el-lum bît ilâni šu-bat-su ul ip-še-it
nap-ḫar ma-ta-a-tu tam-tum-ma
i-nu ša ki-rib tam-tim ra-ṭu-um-ma
ina û-mi-šu Eridu e-pu-uš E-sag-ila ba-ni
[E-sag-il]a ša ina ki-rib ap-si-i ilu Lugal-dul-azag-ga ir-mu-u
Babilu (ki) e-pu-[uš] E-sag-ila šuk-lul
ilâni (ilu) A-nun-na-ki mit-ḫa-riš i-pu-uš
alu el-lum šu-bat ṭu-ub lib-bi-šu-nu ṣi-riš im-bu-u

---

[1] The Sumerian text has been omitted.
[2] Compare בַּיְלְבֵּן 2 Sam. 12. 31 Q. Nah. 3. 14

Marduk laid a *reed*-work[1] upon the face of the waters,
He formed dust and poured it out upon the reed-work.
To cause the gods to dwell in a habitation of their heart's desire,
He formed mankind.
The goddess Aruru, with him, created the seed of mankind,
The beasts of the field and living things in the field he created.
He created the Tigris and the Euphrates, and set them in their place,
Their names he did well declare.
The grass, the rush of the marsh, the reed, and the forest he created,
The green herb of the field he created,
The lands, the marshes, and the swamps;
The wild cow and her young, the wild calf; the ewe and her young, the lamb of the fold;
Gardens and forests;
The he-goat and the mountain goat . . . him.
The lord Marduk filled in a dam by the side of the sea,
He . . . a swamp, he established a marsh,

[1] A construction of reeds.

(ilu) Marduk a-ma-am ina pa-an me-e ir-ku-us
e-pi-ri ib-ni-ma it-ti a-mi iš-pu-uk
ilâni ina šu-bat ṭu-ub lib-bi ana šu-šu-bi
a-me-lu-ti ib-ta-ni
(ilu) A-ru-ru zi-ir a-me-lu-ti it-ti-šu ib-ta-nu
bu-ul ṣêri ši-kin na-piš-ti ina ṣi-e-ri ib-ta-ni
(nâru) Diglat u (nâru) Purattu ib-ni-ma aš-ri iš-ku-un
šum-ši-na ṭa-biš im-bi
uš-šu di-it-ta ap-pa-ri ḳa-na-a u ḳi-šu ib-ta-ni
ur-ḳi-it ṣi-rim ib-ta-ni
ma-ta-a-tum ap-pa-ri a-pu-um-ma
lit-tu pu-ur-ša me-ru la-aḫ-ru pu-ḫad-sa im-mir su-pu-ri
ki-ra-tu u ḳi-ša-tu-ma
a-tu-du šap-pa-ri iṣ-ṣa-aṣ-ru-šu
be-lum (ilu) Marduk ina pa-aṭ tam-tim tam-la-a u-mal-li
[. . .] a-pa na-ma-la iš-ku-un

. . . . . he caused to exist.
Reeds he created, trees he created;
. . . . . he made in their place;
Bricks he made, a foundation he laid;
Houses he made, cities he built;
Cities he made, creatures he created.
Nippur he made, E-kur he built;
Erech he made, E-ana he built.

[The remainder of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse of the tablet are wanting. The latter part of the reverse contains an incantation.]

[. . . . .] uš-tab-ši
[ka-na-a ib-t]a-ni i-ṣa ib-ta-ni
[. . . . . .] ina aš-ri ib-ta-ni
[li-bit-tu id-di na-a]l-ban-tu ib-ta-ni
[bîtu e-pu-uš ala ib-ta-ni]
[ala e-pu-uš nam-maš-šu-u iš-t]a-kan
[Ni-ip-pu-ru e-pu-uš] E-kur ib-ta-ni
[U-ruk e-pu-uš E-an-na] ib-ta-ni.

6. THE CREATION OF CATTLE AND BEASTS[1]

This small Assyrian text, which probably belonged to Ashurbanipal's library, refers only incidentally to the creation of cattle and beasts, its main object being to chronicle the creation of two small creatures, who were formed by Nin-igi-azag at the time when the larger animals were made. George Smith thought that this text might have formed a part of the seventh tablet of the Creation series, but King has shown this to be incorrect.

When the gods in their assembly had made the [heavens?]

[1] The text is published in Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3te Auf., p. 94f., and by King, in *Cuneiform Texts*, xiii, 34. It is translated by Zimmern, in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 415; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, p. 42f.; King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, pp. 122ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, p. 96f.; Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, p. 170; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 26.

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e-nu-ma ilâni i-na pu-uḫ-ri-šu-nu ib-nu-u [. . .]

Had formed the firmament, and settled the [earth],
Living things [of all kinds] had brought into life,
And had made the cattle of the field, and the beasts of the field, and the moving things of the city
After [. . . . . .] unto the living things [. . .]
[And between the beasts] of the field and the moving things of the city had divided [. . .]
[And . . . . . .] all creatures, the whole of creation [. . .]
[. . . . . .] that which in the whole of my family [. . .]
Then arose (?) Nin-igi-azag and [created[1]] two small creatures
[In the] assembly of the beasts he made their [form[2]] beautiful
[. . . . . .] the goddess Gula . . . [. . .]
[. . . . . .] one white [and one black . . .]
[. . . . . .] . . . one white and one black

[1] The restoration is by Jensen.
[2] Jensen.

u-ba-aš-ši-mu [bu]-ru-mi ik-ṣu-[ur . . .]
u-ša-pu-u [šik-na]-at na-piš-ti [. . .]
bu-ul ṣêri [u-ma-a]m ṣêri u nam-maš-še-e [. . .]
ultu [. . .] a-na šik-na-at na-piš-ti [. . .]
[. . . bû]l ṣêri[1] u nam-maš-še-e ali u-za-'-[i-zu . . .]
[. . . pu-u]ḫ-ri nam-maš-ti gi-mir nab-ni-ti [. . .]
[. . . . .] ša i-na pu-uḫ-ri kim-ti-ia š[e- . . .]
[i-te-li (?)][2]-i-ma (ilu) Nin-igi-azag šinâ ṣu-ḫa-[ri ib-na-a[2]]
[i-na . . . [2]pu]-uḫ-ri nam-maš-ti uš-tar-ri-i[ḫ nab-nit-su-un[2]]
[. . . . . (ilu)] Gu-la ḫa-ma-a-ni ir [. . .]
[. . . . . .] iš-ḳa pi-ṣi [u ṣa-al-mi . . .]
[. . . . . .] iš-ḳa pi-ṣi u ṣa-[al-mi . . .]

[1] . . . An]-Gir.
[2] So Jensen.

7. AN INCANTATION AGAINST TOOTHACHE[1]

This text is here given, though it belongs properly with the literature of magic, because it begins with a cosmological introduction which purports to give the life history of the worm that causes toothache.

After Anu [had created the Heavens]
The Heavens created [the Earth],
The Earth created the Rivers,
The Rivers created the Canals,
The Canals created the Morass,
The Morass created the Worm.
Then came the Worm weeping before Shamash,
Before Ea came her tears:—
"What wilt thou give (me) for my food,
What wilt thou give me to destroy?"
"I will give thee ripe figs,
(And) jam of great figs."
"What are these ripe figs to me,
And jam of great figs? . . .
Exalt me and between the teeth

[1] The text, written in Neo-Babylonian character, is published in *Cuneiform Texts*, xvii, p. 50. It is published in transliteration and translation by R. Campbell Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, ii, pp. 160–163. See also B. Meissner, *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, 3, pp. 40ff.; Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, especially in its relations to Israel, pp. 155, 156; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, 28.

ul-tu (ilu) A-nu-um [. . .]
šamu (u) ib-nu-u [ir-ṣi-tum]
ir-ṣi-tum ib-nu-u nârâti
nârâti ib-na-a a-tap-pa-ti
a-tap-pa-ti ib-na-a ru-šum-ta
ru-šum-ta ib-nu-u tu-ul-tu
il-lik tu-ul-tu a-na pan (ilu) Samašh i-bak-ki
ana pan (ilu) Ea il-la-ka di-ma-a-ša
mi-na-a ta-at-ta-an-na a-na a-ka-li-ia
mi-na-a ta-at-ta-an-na a-na mun-zu-ḳi-ia
at-tan-nak-ki titta ba-ši-il-ta
ar-ma-na-a titti
ana-ku am-mi-na an-na-a titta ba-ši-il-ta
u ar-ma-na-a titti
šu-uḳ-ḳa-an-ni-ma ina bi-rit ši-in-ni

And the gums set me
That I may devour the blood of the teeth
And of the gum gnaw the cartilage;
Fix the pin, seize the foot."[1]
"Since thou hast said this, O Worm!
May Ea smite thee with the might of his fist."

INCANTATION OF THE TOOTHACHE

This is the (magic) ritual,
Mix beer, the plant SA-KIL-BIR, and oil together,
Repeat thereon the incantation thrice,
(And) put it on his tooth

[1] The expression means, "Seize the man, and do not let him go."

u la-aš-ḫi šu-ši-ba-an-ni
ša ši-in-ni-ma lu-un-zu-ḳa da-mi-šu
REV.
u ša la-aš-ḫi-ši-im lu-uk-su-us ku-sa-si-e-šu
sik-ka-ta ni-te-ma šêpa ṣa-ba-at
aš-šum an-na-a taḳ-bi-i tu-ul-tu
lim-ḫa-aṣ-ki (ilu) É-a i-na dan-na-ti ri-it-ti-šu,

inim-inim-ma gùg-gíg-ga-kam

kiḳiṭṭi šuati
šikari (sammu) SA-KIL-BIR u šamni išteniš(niš) tuballal
šipti III-šu ana eli tamannu(nu)
i-na eli ši-in-ni-šu tašakkan(an)

8. THE ASSYRIAN COSMOLOGY

The cosmology of the Assyrians is rooted in the cosmology of the Babylonians, and developed quite naturally after the separation of the two peoples began. In Assyria the chief god of Babylon, Marduk, is displaced and the national god, Ashur, takes his place just as Marduk had in earlier times displaced Ellil in Babylonia. The oldest form of the name of Ashur was Ashir, but when speculation and comparison of the older literature began he was identified with

Anshar (Creation, i, line 12; see p. 4). Unhappily, no complete Assyrian cosmological text has come down to us, and we can only illustrate their beliefs by two fragments:

1. Assyrian Creation Text [1]

The key of the rising [2] (?)
After he had [determined] the days . . .
The watch of the night and the day . . .
The breadth of Tiamat . . .
Did Anshar create . . .
He brought together . . .
The assault of the wind . . .
He determined . . .
He established the head . . .
He opened a spring . . .
He opened and . . .
He opened . . .
He opened her [3] nostrils . . .
He poured down . . .
The spring . . .

[1] The text upon a badly broken and joined tablet is published by King, in *Cuneiform Texts*, xiii, p. 24f., and he has transliterated and partly translated it with notes in *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, pp. 197ff. See also Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 90ff., and Ungnad, in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 29.

[2] Probably the sun's rising.

[3] Probably Tiamat's.

šigar a-ṣi-[t]i . . .
ul-tu û-me u . . .
ma-aṣ-rat mu-ši u im-[mi] . . .
ru-pu-uš-tu ša Ti-[amat] . . .
An-sar ib-ta-n[i] . . .
te-bi ša-a-ri . . .
šu-uḳ-tur im . . .
u-ad-di-ma r[a] . . .
iš-kun ḳaḳḳa-du . . .
naḳ-bu up-te-it-[ti] . . .
ip-te-e-ma . . .
na-ḫi-ri-ša up-t[e-it-ti] .
iš-pu-uk-na . . .
nam-ba-'u . . .

REVERSE:

A cedar
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . Adad[1]
He placed upon . . .
The sceptre of peace . . .
From the glory . . .
The one that receives him is the mighty ocean
In it . . .
In his sanctuary . . .
The gods, as many as there were . . .
Lakhmu and Lakhamu . . .
They made . . .
In the presence of Anshar . . .
Nannar . . .
The second, he spake . . .
The god . . .
When to . . .
The word . . .
Since the days when thou . . .

[1] Adad is the god of the weather.

REVERSE:

ḫa-šur-ru . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . (ilu) Adad . . .
iš-kun eli . . .
ušpara šul-me
ul-tu me-lam-me
a-za-mil-šu apšu ra-šub-[bu] . . .
ina e-ma-ši aš- . . .
ina si-ma-ak-ki-šu
ilâni ma-la ba-šu-[u] . . .
(ilu) Laḫ-mu u (ilu) [La-ḫa-mu]
i-pu-šu-ma pa . . .
pa-na-a-ma An-šar . . .
i (ilu) Nannar ša[r . . .
ša-nu-u iz-zak-ru . . .
(ilu) . . .
e-nu-ma a-na . . .
amâtu ak-tum ki . . .
ul-tu û-me at-ta . . .

Everything which thou hast said . . .
Anshar opened his mouth and spake, to the gods . . .
That which is above the ocean, the home of . . .
A copy of Esharra which I have builded, I . . .
Beneath I have fortified the places . . .
I will build a house, the dwelling . . .
In its interior will I found a city . . .
Afterward from the ocean . . .
The place . . .
. . . the shade . . .
. . . . . .
. . . the habitations of the great gods . . .
. . . His father . . .
. . . . . over all that thy hands have founded
. . . . . over the earth which thy hands have created . . .
. . . . . the city of Asshur, the name of which thou hast pronounced . . .
. . . I know for eternity . . .
. . . . . .
. . . Whatever our work which we have fashioned . . .
The place . . .

---

mim-mu-u at-ta ta-ḳab-bu . . .
An-šar pa-a-šu epuš(uš)-ma i-ḳab-bi a-na (ilu) . . .
e-li-nu ap-si-i šu-bat . . .
mi-iḫ-rit E-šar-ra ša ab-nu-u a-na-ku . . .
šap-liš aš-ra-ta u-dan-ni-[in] . . .
lu-pu-uš-ma bîta lu šu-bat . . .
kir-bu-uš-šu ma-ḫa-za-šu lu-šar-šid-ma . . .
e-nu-ma ul-tu apsî i-til-[li] . . .
aš-ru . . .
e . . . -pat ṣilli . . .
aš . . .
kin . . . -ki bîtâti ilâni rabûti . . . ni-ip-pu-[uš] . . .
. . . abi-šu . . .
. . . . . eli mimma ša ib-na-a ḳa-ta-a-ka . . .
. . . . . eli ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru ša ib-na-a ḳa-ta-a-[ka] . . .
. . . . . (alu) Asshur (ki) ša taz-ku-ra su[m-šu] . . .
. . . . . a-ni i-di da-ri-šam . . .
. . . . . tuk-ka-ni li-bil-lu-ni . .
. . . . . ma-na-ma šip-ri-ni ša ni-p[a-šu]
aš-ru . . .

They rejoiced . . .
The gods . . .
That which they have known . . .
He opened . . .

2. Ashur the Creator[1]

To Ashur, king of all the gods, their creator, father of the gods,
Whose hand was developed in the ocean, king of the heavens and the earth,
Lord of all the gods, sustainer of the Igigi and the Anunaki,
Creator of the heaven of Anu and of the Hades, maker of all men,
Dweller in the brilliant skies, Lord of the gods, determiner of destiny,
Inhabitant of Esharra, which is in Asshur. To his great lord, his lord Sennacherib,
King of Assyria, maker of the statue of Ashur. The great gods . . .
The length of his days, the goodness of his heart, the stability of his years of reign . . .

[1] A small fragment, in British Museum 5413A, dedicated by Sennacherib to Ashur, and quite instructive as showing the creative position claimed for Ashur in the eighth century. The text is published by Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, i, 83. Translated by Martin, *Textes Religieux Assyriens et Babyloniens*, i, p. 312; Jastrow, *Religion*, i, p. 523f.; and Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, p. 92f.

iḫ-du-[u] . . .
ilâni šu . . .
ša i-du-[u] . . .
ip-te-e . . .

a-na (ilu) Aššur šar kiš-šat ilâni ba-nu-u ram-ni-šu abu ilâni
ša ina apsi iš-mu-ḫu gat-tu-uš šar šame-e u irṣi-tim
bel ilâni ka-la-ma ša-pi-ik (ilu) Igigi u (ilu) A-nun-na-[ki]
pa-ti-iḳ sa-mi (ilu) A-nim u ki-gal-li e-piš kul-lat da-ad-me
a-šib bu-ru-mu ellûti (ilu) bêl ilâni mu-šim šimâti
a-šib E-šar-ra ša ki-rib Aššur (ki) bêl-i rab-i bê li-šu (ilu) Šin-aḫe]-irba
šar (mât) Aššur (ki) e-piš ṣa-lam (ilu) Aššur ilâni rabûti a [na] . . .
arâk ûmê-šu ṭu-ub lib-bi-šu kûn palê-[šu] . . .

3. An Assyrian Building Inscription with Cosmological Material

A building inscription[1] of Sennacherib (705–681 B. C.) contains some cosmological references which supply useful hints concerning the development of the faith of Ashur. The text describes a bronze door erected by the king in the New Year's festival house at Ashur (Kal-'at Shergat), which has recently been discovered and laid bare by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft.

(5) A door of gleaming red bronze, which like a . . . the work of the god of the forge[2] (6) I caused to be made by my artistic skill; a representation of Ashur, when he went to battle into the sea,[3] (7) as he bore the bow, while he drove upon the chariot and let loose the storm flood (8) and a representation of Amurru, who drove with him as charioteer, according to the command of Shamash and Adad (9) given me in haruspication[4] (him) I graved upon that door. The gods who go before him (10) and go behind him, who drive in chariots and go afoot, [also] as they before Ashur (11) are ordered in line of battle and behind Ashur are

[1] The text is published by Meissner and Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs* (1893), Plate 16, and translated pp. 98ff., and again by Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest* (Berichte der königlich Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1906), Band 58, pp. 126ff., and by Ungnad in Gressmann, i, p. 29f.

[2] The god of the forge or smithy is Ea.

[3] That is, Tiamat, the name both of the sea and of the great being in the sea.

[4] Probably divination by the examination of the liver; see Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii, pp. 138ff.

(5) abullu siparri ruššа ša ma-la a-ga- . . . ši-pir (ilu) Ea ša nappiḫi (6) [ina] nik-lat ramâni-ia u-še-piš-ma ṣa-lam [(ilu) Aššur ša ana libbi Ti-amat ṣal-ti illa-ku (7) (iṣu) ḳaštu ki-i ša na-šu-u ina narkabti ša ra-ak-bu a-bu-bu [ša pa-a]ḳ-du (8) (ilu) Amurru ša a-na mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti it-ti-šu rak-bu a-n[a p]i-i ša (ilu) Šamaš u (ilu) Adad (9) ina bi-ri iḳ-bu-nim-ma ṣi-ir abulli ša-a-šu e-ṣir ilâ [ni ša] ina maḫri-šu illa-ku (10) u arki-šu illa-ku ša ru-ku-bu rak-bu ša ina šepa-šu illa-ku u ki-i ša ina maḫar (ilu) Aššur (11) si-id-ru u

ordered in line of battle; Tiamat,[1] the beings within her, among which came Ashur, the king of the gods (12) to battle, I graved according to the command of Shamash and Adad, upon that door. (13) The remaining gods, who go afoot, according to the command of Shamash and Adad (14) before Ashur binds Tiamat; the beasts which Tiamat[1] bears, (15) to death given over, therefore run hither and thither afoot (16) (with) their hands (?) . . . according to the command of Shamash and Adad (as I had (*Reverse*) determined for this door, I graved . . . of silver, gold, copper, (2) I set up. Vessels of silver gold, copper [The following lines are mostly unintelligible, but at the close comes a list of the gods, represented in the sculptures on the bronze doors, as follows:] (10) the image of Ashur, who goes to battle into the sea; the image of Sennacherib, king of Assyria; (11) Sharur, Shargaz,[2] Gaga,[3] Nusku, Shulmanu,[4] Tishkhu,[5] Ninib, of the wall,[6] (12) Azag-suga (?) Khani, Sibitti; these are the gods who go before Ashur. (13) Nin-lil, Sherua, Sin, Ningal, Shamash, Aja, Belit (?)

[1] Tiamat means here "the sea," a meaning retained to the last along with the perhaps more common application to the mythological being of Chaos.
[2] Two forms of Ninib.
[3] Gaga is the messenger who fills so considerable a role in the chief creation story.
[4] A form of Shamash as the god of judgment.
[5] A form of Ninib.
[6] The reference is to the cosmic wall; see Jensen, *Gilgamesch-Epos.* i, 35.

arki (ilu) Aššur si-id-ru Ti-amat nab-nit [ḳir-bi-šu] ša (ilu) Aššur šar ilâni (12) a-na lib-bi-šu ṣal-ti il-la-ku a-na e[li p]i-i ša (ilu) Šamaš u (ilu) Adad ṣi-ir abulli ša-a-šu e-ṣir (13) si-it-ti ilâni ša ina šepâ-šu-nu il-la-ku ina eli pi-i ša (ilu) Šamaš u (ilu) Adad (14) a-di la-a (ilu) Aššur Ti-amat i-kam-mu-u u-ma-ma-a-nu ša Ti-amat i-na-aš-ša-a (15) [ana mu]-tu i-nam-di-nu ki-i an-ni-i ina šêpa-šu-nu i-du-ul-lu (16) [ina ri]-it-te-šu-nu la . . . [ana el[i] pi-i ša (ilu) Šamaš u (ilu) Adad [ša ṣi-ir] (*Reverse*) (1) [a-bul]-li šu-a-ti aṣ-ṭu-ru [e-ṣir] . . . kaspi ḫurâṣi siparri še-er-tu (2) ul-ziz u-nu-tu kaspi ḫuraṣi siparri . . . (10) ṣa-lam (ilu) Aššur ša a-na Ti-amat ṣal-ti illa-ku ṣalam (ilu) Sin-aḫe-erba šar (mat) Aššur (11) (ilu) Šar-ur (ilu) (ilu) Šar-gaz Gaga (ilu) Nusku (ilu) Šulmanu (ilu) Tišḫu (ilu) Ninib ša dûri (12) (ilu) Azag-suga (ilu) Ḫani (ilu) Si-bitti an-nu-ti ilâni ša ina maḫar (ilu) Aššur il-la-ku (ilu) Nin-lil (ilu) Še-ru-'u-a (ilu) Sin (ilu) Nin-gal (ilu) Šamaš (ilu) Ai (ilu)

(14) Anu, Antum, Adad, Shala, Ea, Damkina, (15) Belit-ilâni, Ninib; these are the gods, who go behind Ashur. [The following words are on the left margin]

(1) The victorious Prince, seated upon Ashur's chariot.

(2) Tiamat with the creatures within her.

Gam-lat (14) (ilu) A-nim (ilu) An-tum (ilu) Adad (ilu) Ša-la (ilu) E-a (ilu) Dam-[ki-na] (15) (ilu) be-lit ilâni (ilu) Ninib an-nu-ti ilâni ša arki (ilu) [Aš-šur illa-ku]

MARGIN:

(1) [mal]-ku ka-ši-du ina narkabti (ilu) Aššur šak-nu

(2) [Ti]-amat a-di nab-nit ḳir-bi-šu.

9 AN ADDRESS TO THE RIVER OF CREATION[1]

O thou River, who didst create all things,
When the great gods dug thee out,
They set prosperity upon thy banks,
Within thee Ea, the king of the Deep, created his dwelling,
A deluge unparalleled to thee they gave.
Fire and wrath, and splendor, and terror
Have Ea and Marduk presented unto thee.
Thou judgest the cause of mankind.
O great river, exalted river, river of sanctuaries.

[1] Published and translated by King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, 128, 129, 200, 201, and translated also by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, 30, 31. The passage is found upon two duplicate tablets and is used to introduce two different incantations. See King's note, *op. cit.*, p. 128, and compare Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 403. As King suggests, "this mystical river of creation was evidently suggested by the Euphrates."

šiptu at-ti nâru banat(at) ka-l[a-mu]
e-nu-ma iḫ-ru-ki ilâni rabûti
ina a-ḫi-ki [iš-ku-nu] dum-ḳa
ina libbi-ki (ilu) E-a šar ap-si-i ib-na-[a šu-bat-su]
a-bu-ub la ma-ḫar ka-a-ši iš-ruk-[ku]
i-ša-tum uz-za na-mur-ra-ti pu-luḫ-t[i]
(ilu) E-a u (ilu) Marduk iš-ru-ku-nik-kim-ma
d[i]-ni te-ni-še-e-ti ta-din-ni at-ti
nâru rabîti (ti) nâru ṣir-ti nâru eš-ri-e-ti

II. THE DRAGON AND DEMONS

1. ELLIL AND THE LABBU

A curious variation of the creation myth is afforded by a small text which gives a story of a contest between

Ellil and a great sea monster, whose name may be read Labbu, that is, Lion. The name might also be read Kalbu (dog), or even Ribbu; if this latter reading could be authenticated, it would form a most interesting parallel to the Rahab of the Old Testament (Job 9. 13; 26. 12; Psa. 89. 10; Isa. 30. 7).

In this fragment the monster is represented as of great size, for his length is fifty biru[1] (line 8). The biru is the distance that may be covered in two hours' travel, about six or seven miles, and this would make the dragon three hundred or three hundred and fifty miles long, and the height which it reared the head out of the water six or seven miles. (So King.) The blood of the dragon flowed for three years when slain (line 8, reverse), which seems quite consistent with this estimate of its size.

[1]The ideogram is KAS-PU, which is to be read bîru as Landsberger has just shown. See *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxv, 385, 386.

ELLIL AND THE LABBU[1]

The cities sighed, men [. . .]
Men uttered lamentation, [they . . .]
To their lament . . . not [. . .]
To their grief . . . . not [. . .]
Who had [borne(?)] the dragon [. . . ?]

[1] The text is published by Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 390f., and by King, in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, etc., xiii, pp. 33ff., and translated by him, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, pp. 117ff. It has also been translated by Zimmern in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 417ff.; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 44ff.; Hrozny, *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1903, p. 265; Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 2te Auf., pp. 138, 139; Weber, *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*, pp. 63ff. Compare also Jensen, *Das Gilgamesh-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, pp. 56ff.; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 31, 32

i-ta-an-ḫu alâni nišê d[a . . .]
in-da-ṭa-a nišê e-[. . .]
a-na ik-kil-li-ši-na ul [. . .]
a-na rim-ma-ti-ši-na ul i-ṣab-[. . .]
man-nu-um-ma ṣiru [. . .]

The sea had [borne(?) . . .]
Ellil in heaven hath formed [. . .]
Fifty biru in his length, one biru [his height?]
Six cubits is his mouth, twelve cubits [his . . .]
Twelve cubits is the circuit of his [ears . . .]
For the space of sixty cubits he [. . .] birds
In water nine cubits deep he drags [. . .]
He raises his tail on high [. . .]
All the gods of heaven [. . .]
In heaven the gods bowed themselves down before [. . .]
The border of Sin's robe they hasti[ly grasped]:
"Who will go and [slay] the Labbu (?)
And deliver the broad land [from . . .]
And become king [over . . .] ?"
Go, Tishpak, [slay] the Labbu (?)
And deliver the broad land [from . . .]
And exercise kingship [over . . .]
Thou hast sent me, *O Lord, of the offspring of the river to* [. . .]
But I do not understand the [. . .] of the Labbu

ṭam-tu-um-ma ṣiru [. . .]
(ilu) Ellil ina šamê (e) i-te-ṣir [. . .]
L simânu mu-rak-šu L kas-p[u . . .]
½ GAR pi-i-šu I GAR [. . .]
I GAR li-ma-a-ti ša u[z- . . .]
ana V GAR iṣ-ṣu-ri i-[. . .]
i-na mê IX ammatu i-šad-da-[ad . . .]
u-še-iḳ-ḳi zi-im-bat-su i-[. . .]
ilâni ša šamê(e) ka-li-šu-nu [. . .]
ina šamê(e) ilâni ka-an-šu ana pân [. . .]
u ša (ilu) Sin ina ulinni-šu ur-ru-[. . .]
man-nu il-lak-ma lab-b[i . . .]
ma-a-tum ra-pa-aš-tum u-še-iz-[zab . . .]
u šarru-u-ti ip-pu-u[š . . .]
a-lik (ilu) Tišpak lab-bi d[u- . . .]
ma-a-ta ra-pa-aš-ta šu-zi-b[a . . .]
u šarru-u-ta e-pu-uš [. . .]
taš-pu-ra-an-ni be-el ri-ḫu-ut nâri [. . .]
ul i-di-e-ma ša lab-bi [. . .]

[The remainder of the Obverse illegible, as well as the beginning of the Reverse]

[. . . . .] opened his mouth and [spake] to the god [. . .]
"Let cloud arise and storm [stir up]
The seal of thy life [hold] before thy face,
Set on (?), and thou shalt slay the Labbu."
He raised up cloud, and [stirred up] storm,
He [held] the seal of his life before his face.
He set on (?) and [he slew] the Labbu.
For three years and three months, one day and
The blood of the Labbu flowed [unceasingly (?)]

REVERSE:

[. . .] pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma a-na (ilu) [. . .]
šu-uš-ḫi-it ur-pa mi-ḫa-a [. . .]
ku-nu-uk-ku na-piš-ti-ka i-na pa-ni-ka [. . .]
us-kam-ma lab-ba du-[. . .]
u-ša-aš-ḫi-it ur-pa mi-ḫa-a [. . .]
ku-nu-uk-ku na-piš-ti-šu ina pa-ni-šu [. . .]
is-su-kam-ma lab-bi [. . .]
III šanâti III arḫê ûmu I KAN u [. . .]
ša lab-bi il-la-ku da-mu-šu [. . .]

2. THE LEGEND OF THE SEVEN EVIL DEMONS[1]

Raging storms, evil gods are they
Ruthless demons, who in heaven's vault were created, are they,
Workers of evil are they,
They lift up the head to evil, every day to evil

[1] This legend forms the sixteenth tablet of the Evil-Demon series. It is published IV R., 2d edition, p. 5, and *Cuneiform Texts*, xvi, pp. 19ff. It is translated by R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, i, pp. 88ff. See further, Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, iii, pp. 58ff.; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, pp. 361ff.; Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, p. 102f., English Translation, p. 111; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 32ff.

ûmê mut-tak-pu-tum ilâni lim-nu-tum šu-nu[1]
še-e-du la pa-du-tum ša ina šu-puk šame(e) ib-ba-nu šu-nu
šu-nu e-piš ma-ru-uš-ti šu-nu
mu-kil ḳaḳḳad limuttim(tim) ša ûmi(mi)-šam-ma ana limutti

[1] The lines are numbered to correspond to the translation at the top of the page. The Sumerian text of the original is not here given, and the Semitic is consequently numbered conventionally.

Destruction to work.
Of these seven *the first* is the South wind . . .
The second is a dragon, whose mouth is opened . . .
That none can measure.
The third is a grim leopard, which carries off the young . . .
The fourth is a terrible *Shibbu* [. . .]
The fifth is a furious Wolf (?), who knoweth not to flee,
The sixth is a rampant . . . which marches (?) against god and king.
The seventh is a storm, an evil wind, which *takes* vengeance,
Seven are they, messengers of King Anu are they,
From city to city darkness work they,
A hurricane, which mightily hunts in the heavens, are they,
Thick clouds, that bring darkness in heaven, are they,
Gusts of wind rising, which cast gloom over the bright day, are they,
With the Imkhullu,[1] the evil wind, forcing their way, are they,

[1] The Imkhullu appears also in the Creation story, col. iv, 45, 96.

nir-tu ana na-a-ri
ina si-bit-ti šu-nu [. . .] šu-u-tu
ša-nu-u u-šum-gal-lum ša pi-i-šu pi-tu-u . . .
ma-am-ma [la]
šal-šu nim-ru iz-zu ša pi-i-ri e(?)-[ki-mu]
ri-bu-u šib-bu gal-ti
ḫa-aš-ša ab-bu na-ad-ru ša ana arki-šu ni-'-a la [. . .]
šiš-[šu] . . . -u ti-bu-u ša ana ili u šarri . . .
si-bu-u me-ḫu-u ša-a-ru lim-nu ša gi(?)-iš [. . .]
si-bit-ti šu-nu mâr šip-ri ša (ilu) A-nim šar-ri šu-nu
a-li ana a-li da-um-ma-ta i-šak-ka-nu šu-nu
a-šam-šu-tum ša ina šame(e) iz-zi-iš iṣ-ṣa-nun-du šu-nu
ir-pi-tum ša-pi-tum ša ina šame(e) da-um-ma-ta i-šak-ka-nu šu-nu
zi-iḳ ša-a-ri te-bu-tum ša ina ûme(me) nam-ri e-ṭu-ta i-šak-ka-nu šu-nu
it-ti im-ḫul-li ša-a-ri lim-ni i-šur-ru šu-nu

The overflowing of Adad, mighty destroyers, are they,
At the right of Adad stalking, are they,
In the height of heaven, like lightning flashing, are they,
To wreak destruction forward go they,
In the broad heaven, the home of Anu, the king evilly do they arise, and none to oppose.
When Ellil heard these tidings, a plan in his heart he pondered,
With Ea, exalted Massû[1] of the gods, he took counsel.
Sin, Shamash and Ishtar, whom he had set to order the vault of heaven,
With Anu he divided the lordship of the whole heaven,
To these three gods, his offspring,
Day and night, without ceasing, he ordained to stand,
When the seven evil gods, stormed the vault of heaven,
Before the gleaming Sin, they set themselves angrily,[2]

[1] The signification of Massû is unknown.
[2] The evil gods darken the moon by an eclipse, Shamash helping them by withdrawing his light from the moon, and Adad by sending cloudy weather.

ri-ḫi-iṣ-ti (ilu) Adadi te-šu-u ḳar-du-te šu-nu
ina i-mit-ti (ilu) Adadi il-la-[ku šu-nu]
ina i-šid šame(e) ki-ma bir-ḳi it-ta-[nab-ri-ḳu šu-nu]
ni-ir-tu ana na-a-ri ina maḫ-ri il-la-ku [šu nu]
ina šame(e) rap-šu-ti šu-bat (ilu) A-nim šar-ri lim-niš iz-zaz-zu-ma ma-ḫi-ra ul i-šu-u
i-nu-šu (ilu) Ellil ṭe-e-ma šu-a-tum iš-me-ma a-ma-ta ana lib-bi-šu iš-du-ud
it-ti (ilu) E-a mas-si-e ši-ri ṣa ilâni im-ta-lik-ma
(ilu) Sin (ilu) Šamaš u (ilu) Iš-ṭar šu-puk šame(e) ana šu-te-šu-ri uk-tin-nu
it-ti (ilu) A-nim be-lu-ut kiš-šat šame(e) i-zu-us-su-nu-ti
ana še-lal-ti-šu-nu ilâni mârâni-šu
mu-ša u ur-ra u-zu-uz-zu la na-par-ka šu-nu-ti u-ma-'-ir-šu-nu-ti
i-nu-šu si-bit-ti-šu-nu ilâni lim-nu-ti ina šu-puk šame(e) i-šur-ru
ina ma-ḫar (ilu) Nannari(ri) (ilu) Sin iz-zi-iš il-ta-nam-mu-u

The mighty Shamash, Adad the warrior they brought on their side,
Ishtar, with Anu the king moved into a shining dwelling, exercising dominion over the heavens,
[Here follow some broken lines, which yield no continuous sense]
Day and night he was dark [i. e., Sin] in the dwelling of his dominion he sat not down,
The evil gods, the messengers of Anu, the king, are they,
Raising their evil heads, in the night shaking themselves, are they,
Evil searching out, are they,
From the heaven, like a wind, over the land rush they.
Ellil saw the darkening of the hero Sin in heaven,
The lord spoke to his minister Nusku,[1]
"O my minister Nusku, my message unto the ocean bring,
The tidings of my son Sin, who in heaven has been sadly darkened,
Unto Ea, in the ocean, announce it."
Nusku exalted the word of his lord,
To Ea, in the ocean, he went quickly,
To the prince, the exalted Massu, the lord Nudimmud.

[1] A god of fire and light.

id-la (ilu) Šamaš (ilu) Adad ḳar-du ana i-di-šu-nu u-tir-ru
(ilu) Iš-tar it-ti (ilu) A-nim šar-ri šub-tu ellitim(tim) ir-me-ma ana šarru-ut šamê(e) i-kap-pu-ud
[Here follow badly broken lines]
[muša (?) u] ur-ra a-dir ina šu-bat be-lu-ti-šu ul a-šib
ilâni lim-nu-tum mâr-šipri ša (ilu) A-nim šar-ri šu-nu
mu-kil ḳaḳḳad limuttim(tim) ina mu-ši il-ta-na-ar-ra-ru šu-nu
li-mut-tu iš-te-ni-'-u šu-nu
iš-tu ki-rib šame(e) ki-ma ša-a-ri ana ma-a-ti it-te-bu-ni šu-nu
(ilu) Ellil ša id-li (ilu) Sin na-an-dur-ša ina šame(e) i-mur-ma
be-lum ana suk-kal-li-šu (ilu) Nusku i-šis-si
suk-kal-li (ilu) Nusku a-ma-ti ana ap-si-i bi-i-li
ṭe-im ma-ri-ia (ilu) Sin ša ina šame(e) mar-ṣi-iš [']-ad-[ru]
a-na (ilu) E-a ina ap-si-i šu-un-ni-šum-ma
(ilu) Nusku a-mat be-ili-šu it-ta-'-id-ma
a-na (ilu) E-a ina ap-si-i pu-ri-du il-lak
a-na ru-bi-e mas-su-u ṣi-i-ri belu (ilu) Nudimmud

Nusku, the word of his lord there announced,
Ea in the ocean heard that word,
He bit his lip and filled his mouth with wailing,
Ea called his son Marduk, and gave him the message:
"Go, my son Marduk,
Son of a prince, the gleaming Sin has been sadly darkened in heaven,
His darkening is seen in the heavens,
The seven evil gods, death dealing, fearless, are they,
The seven evil gods, like a flood, rush on, the land they fall upon, do they,
Against the land, like a storm, they rise, do they,
Before the gleaming Sin, they set themselves angrily,
The mighty Shamash, Adad the warrior they brought on their side."[1]

[1] After this there is a break in the tablet, in which probably Marduk spoke the magic word and released Sin from his predicament. The tablet concludes with a ritual for exorcising these demons.

55 (ilu) Nusku a-mat be-ili-šu a-ḫi-en-na-a uš-[ta]-an-na [-a]
(ilu) E-a ina ap-si-i a-ma-tu šu-a-tu iš-me-ma
ša-pat-su iš-šuk-ma 'u-a pi-i-šu um-tal-li
(ilu) E-a mâri-šu (ilu) Marduk is-si-ma a-ma-ta u-šaḫ-ḫaz
a-lik ma-ri (ilu) Marduk
60 mar ru-bi-e na-an-na-ri (ilu) Sin ša ina šame(e) mar-ṣi-iš '-ad-ru
na-an-dur-šu ina šame(e) šu-pu-u
si-bit-ti šu-nu ilâni lim-nu-tum muš-mi-tu-ti la a-di-ru-ti šu-nu
si-bit-ti šu-nu ilâni lim-nu-tum ša kima a-bu-bi ti-bu-ma mâti i-ba-'-u šu-nu
ana ma-a-ti ki-ma me-ḫi-e ti-bu-ni šu-nu
65 ina ma-ḫar na-an-na-ri (ilu) Sin iz-zi-is il-ta-nam-mu-u
id-la (ilu) Šamaš (ilu) Adad ḳar-du a-na i-di-šu-nu ut-tir-ru

III. THE MYTH OF ADAPA.[1]

This myth is preserved upon four fragments, three of which once belonged to the library of the Assyrian

[1] The texts of the four tablets are published as follows: 1. V. Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, xx (1898), pp. 127ff. 2. H. Winckler and L. Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 240; J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 356. 3. Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, p. xviif., in transcription only. 4. A. Strong, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xvi (1894), pp. 274ff. The four tablets are translated by Jensen in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 92ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 148ff. Besides these No. 1 and No. 4 by Scheil, *op. cit.*; No. 2 by Harper, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 420ff.; J. A. Knudtzon, *op. cit.*; Zimmern, in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 420ff.; No. 4 by Strong, *op. cit.*

king, Ashurbanipal (668–626 B. C.) in Nineveh, while the fourth was discovered among the archives of the Egyptian heretic king Amenophis IV (1377–1361 B. C.), in Tell-el-Amarna, Egypt. The latter had the divisions of words marked by small dots in red ink, and was therefore used as a means of teaching the Babylonian language in Egypt.

The contents of the four tablets may be here summarized as a clue to their contents, which in the translation alone might not always be clear upon the first examination.

No. 1. Adapa, or perhaps Adamu, son of Ea, had received from his father wisdom, but not eternal life. He was a semidivine being and was the wise man and priest of the temple of Ea at Eridu, which he provided with the ritual bread and water. In the exercise of this duty he carried on fishing upon the Persian Gulf.

No. 2. When Adapa was fishing one day on a smooth sea, the south wind rose suddenly and overturned his boat, so that he was thrown into the sea. Angered by the mishap, he broke the wings of the south wind so that for seven days it could not blow the sea coolness over the hot land. Anu calls Adapa to account for this misdeed, and his father Ea warns him as to what should befall him. He tells him how to secure the pity of Tammuz and Gishzida, whom he would meet at heaven's portal, and cautions him not to eat the food or partake of the drink which would be set before him, as Ea feared that food and drink of death would be offered him. The counsel was ill advised, for it was, rather, the food of life and the water of life that were set before him, and overcaution deprived him of immortal life, and he had to return to earth.

No. 3 is a duplicate of lines 12 to 21 of No. 2.

No. 4 is so badly broken that its general sense is very difficult to obtain.

The correspondences with Genesis 2 and 3, and the differences also, are most interesting, and it may well be hoped that later discoveries may provide material for still more striking comparisons. It may here be pointed out simply that the "food of life" belongs to the same category as the "tree of life" in Genesis. Adam lost immortality because he desired to become like God; Adapa, on the other hand, was already endowed with knowledge and wisdom, and failed of immortality, not because he was disobedient, like Adam, but through his literal obedience to Ea, his creator. That the Paradise narrative (Gen. 2, 3) may have been influenced at least in part (Zimmern) by the Adapa myth seems most probable. We know, certainly, that this myth had reached Egypt as early as the fourteenth century B. C., and presumably also had passed through Palestine.

TABLET NO. 1

He possessed (?) intelligence [. . .]
His command like the command of Anu [. . .]
He [i. e. Ea] granted him large intelligence to reveal the destiny of the land,
He granted him wisdom, but he did not grant him eternal life.
In those days, in those years the wise man of Eridu,
Ea had created him as chief (?) among men,
A wise man whose command none should oppose,

---

ta-šim-tum ir-[š]a-a u [. . .]
ki-bit-su ki-ma ki-bit (ilu) [A-nu] lu-u-ma(?)-ti(?)
uz-na rapaš-tum u-šak-lil-šu u-ṣu-rat mâti kul-lu-mu
ana šu-a-tu ni-me-ka iddin-šu napiš-tam da-er-tam ul iddim-šu
ina u-me-šu-ma ina ša-na-a-ti ši-na-a-ti ab-kal-lum mâr (alu) Eridu
(ilu) E-a ki-ma rid(?)-di ina a-me-lu-ti ib-ni-šu
ab-kal-lum ki-bit-su ma-am-man ul u-šam-sak

The prudent, the most wise among the Anunnaki was he,
Blameless, of clean hands, anointed, observer of the divine statutes,
With the bakers he made bread,
With the bakers of Eridu, he made bread,
The food and the water for Eridu he made daily,
With his clean hands he prepared the table,
And without him the table was not cleared.
The ship he steered, fishing and hunting for Eridu he did.
Then Adapa of Eridu
While Ea, [. . .] in the chamber, upon the bed,
Daily the closing of Eridu he attended to.
Upon the pure dam, the new moon dam, he embarked upon the ship,
The wind blew and his ship departed,
With the oar, he steered his ship
Upon the broad sea [. . .]

---

li-e-um at-ra ḫa-si-sa ša (ilu) A-nun-na-ki šu-ma
ib-bu el-lam ḳa-ti pa-ši-šu muš-te-'-u par-ši
it-ti nu-ḫa-tim-me nu-ḫa-tim-mu-ta ip-pu-uš
it-ti nu-ḫa-tim-me ša (alu) Eridu KI-MIN
a-ka-la u me-e ša (alu) Eridu û-mi-šam-ma ip-pu-uš
ina ḳa-ti-šu el-li-ti pa-aš-šu-ra i-rak-kas
u ba-lu-uš-šu pa-aš-šu-ra ul ip-paṭ-tar
elippa u-ma-ḫar bâ'iru-tu da-ku-tu ša (alu) Eridu ip-pu-uš
e-nu-mi-šu A-da-pa mâr (alu) Eridu
[. . .] sir (ilu) E-a ina ma-ia-li ina ša-da-di
û-mi-šam-ma ši-ga-ar (alu) Eridu iš-ša-ar
ina ka-a-ri el-li kar Nannari (iṣu) šaḫḫîta ir-kab-ma
[ša-a-ru i]-zi-kan-ni-ma (iṣu) elippi-šu ik-ḳi-lip-pu
[ina gi]-muš-ši-ma (iṣu) elippi-šu u-maḫ-ḫir
ina tam-ti ra-pa-aš-ti

TABLET NO. 2

[. . . . . .]
The south wind [. . . when]
He had (driven me) to the house of my lord, I said,

[. . . . . .]
šu-ú-tu [. . .]
a-na bi-i-t[u be-li-i]a ú-ša-am-ṣi-i-[lu . . .]

"O South wind, on the way increase thy wrath, [as thou mayest]
Thy wing will I break." As he spoke with his mouth,
The wing of the South wind was broken, seven days
The South wind blew not upon the land. Anu
Called to his messenger Ilabrat:
Why has the South wind not blown upon the land for seven days?
His messenger Ilabrat answered him: "My lord,
Adapa, the son of Ea, the wing of the South wind
Has broken.

šu-ú-tu [i-na ḫar-]ra-ni uḫ-ḫi-e-ki ma-la i-[. . .]
ka-a[-ap-pa-ki lu-ú-še-bi-ir ki-ma i-na bi-i-[š]u iḳ-bu-[ú]
ša [šu-ú]-ti ka-ap-pa-ša it-te-eš-bi-ir vii ú-mi
[šu-ú]-tu a-na ma-a-ti ú-ul i-zi-ig-ga (ilu) Anu
[a-na š]u-uk-ka-li-šu (ilu) i-la-ab-ra-at i-ša-a[s]-si
[am]-mi-ni šu-ú-tu iš-tu vii ú-mi a-na ma-a-ti la i-zi-ga
[š]u-uk-ka-la-šu i-la-ab-ra-at i-pa-al-šu bi[-e-l]i
(m) A-da-pa ma-ar (ilu) E-a ša šu-ú-ti ka-ap-pa-ša iš-te-bi-ir

TABLET NO. 2 (*continued*)

When Anu heard these words
He cried, "Help!" He ascended his throne,
"Let some one bring him,"
Likewise Ea, who knows the heaven. He roused him

TABLET NO. 3

When heard that
In the anger of his heart
His messenger he sent.
He who knows the heart of the great gods
[. . . . . .]

TABLET NO. 2 (*continued*)

(ilu) A-nu a-ma-ta an-ni-ta i-na še-e-mi-šu
il-si na-ra-ru it-ti-bi i-na ku-us-si-šu šu-[tu li-il]-gu-ni-šu
an-ni-ka-a (ilu) E-a ša ša me-e i-di il-pu-us-[su]-m[a]

TABLET NO. 3

[(ilu) Anu anni-] ti ina še-mi-šu
[ina ug]-gat lib-bi-šu
mâr šip-ri i-šap-par
[mu]-du-u lib-bi ilâni rabûti
[. . . . . .]

TABLET NO. 2 (*continued*)

15 [. . .] he caused him to wear. With a mourning garment

16 He garbed him, and gave him counsel

17 Saying: "Adapa, before the face of Anu the king thou art to go,

TABLET NO. 3

6 To King Ea (?) to come,

7 To him, he caused words to be borne.

8 [. . .] to him, to king Ea.

9 He sent a messenger.

10 With a wide ear, knowing the heart of the great gods,

11 [. . .] of the heavens be fixed.

12 A soiled garment he made him wear,

13 With a mourning garment he clad him,

14 A word he spoke to him.

TABLET NO. 2 (*continued*)

15 [. . .] l[u]-l[a]-a [u]š-te-eš-ši-šu ka-a-ar-ra

16 [ú-ša-al-ba-as-su-ma ṭi-]e-ma i-ša-ak-ka-an-šu

17 [um-ma (m)A-da-pa a-na pa-ni (ilu) A-ni ša]r-ri at-ta ta-la-ak

TABLET NO. 3

6 ana [(ilu) E-]a šar-ri ka-ša-di

7 [. . .] šu a-ma-ti uš-ta-bil

8 [. . .] šu ana šar-ri (ilu) E-a

9 [mâr šip-r]i il-tap-ra

10 [rap-ša] uz-ni mu-du-u lib-bi ilâni rabû-ti

11 [. . .] šame-e u-kan-šu

12 ma-la-a ul-taš-ši-šu

13 [u]-ba-zik-ma kar-ra ul-tab-bi-[is-su]

14 [a-m]a-ta i-ḳab-bi-šu

TABLET NO. 2 (*continued*)

18 [. . . . . .] to heaven
19 (When) thou comest up, and when thou approachest the door of Anu,
20 At the door of Anu, Tammuz and Gishzida
21 are standing,

TABLET NO. 3

15 Adapa, before the king Anu thou shalt go
16 Fail not the order, keep my word
17 (When) thou comest up to heaven, and approachest the door of Anu,
18 Tammuz and Gishzida at the door of Anu are standing.

TABLET NO. 2

they will see thee, they will ask thee; "Sir[1] For whose sake dost thou so appear, Adapa? For whom Art thou clad in a mourning garment?" "In our country two gods have vanished, therefore Am I so." "Who are the two gods, who in the land,
25 Have vanished?" "Tammuz and Gishzida." They will look at one another and

[1] Adapa is to wear mourning at heaven's portal, as though for Tammuz and Gishzida, and thereby excite their interest and sympathy, and the ruse proves successful.

TABLET NO. 2 (*continued*)

18 [. . . .] a-na š[a-me]-e
19 [i-na e]-li-k]a-ma a-na ba-a-bi (ilu) A-ni i-na te]-ḫi-ka
20 [i-n]a ba-a-bu (ilu) A-[ni (ilu) Dumu-zi u (ilu) Giš-zi-da
21 iz-za-az-zu

TABLET NO. 3

15 [A-da-pa ana pân (ilu) A-ni šar-ri at-ta ta-lak-ma
16 [la te-me-ik-ki] ṭe-ma a mat-i ṣa-bat
17 [ana šame-e ina e-li-ka ana ba-a[b] (ilu) A-ni ina te-ḫi-ka
18 [(ilu) Dumu-zi u (ilu) Giš-zi-da ina ba-ab (ilu)] A-ni iz-za-az-[zu]

TABLET NO. 2

im-ma-ru-ka il-t[a-n]a-a-[l]u-ka i[d-lu]
a-na ma-a-ni ka-a e-ma-ta(m) A[-da]-pa a-na ma-an-n[i]
ka-ar-ra la-ab-ša-ta i-na ma-a-ti-ni i-lu ši-na ḫa-al-[k]u-ma
a-na-ku a-ka-na ip-še-e-ku ma-an-nu i-lu še-na ša i-na ma-a-ti
25 ḫa-al-ku (ilu) Dumu-zi u (ilu) Giš-zi-da šu-nu a-ḫa-mi-iš ip-pa-la-su-ma

Be astonished. Good words
They will speak to Anu. A good countenance of Anu
They will show thee. When thou standest before Anu
Food of death they will set before thee,
Eat not. Water of death they will set before thee,
Drink not. Garments they will set before thee,
Put them on. Oil they will set before thee, anoint thyself.
The counsel that I have given thee, forget not. The words
Which I have spoken, hold fast." The messenger
Of Anu came: "Adapa has broken
The wing of the South wind. Bring him before me."

The road to Heaven he made him take, and to Heaven he ascended.
When he came to Heaven, when he approached the door of Anu,
At the door of Anu, Tammuz and Gishzida were standing.
When they saw him, Adapa, they cried: "Help,
Sir, for whom dost thou so appear? Adapa,
For whom art thou clad in a mourning garment?"

---

iṣ-ṣi-ni-iḫ-ḫu šu-nu a-ma-ta da-mi-iḳ-ta
a-na (ilu) A-ni i-ga-ab-bu-u pa-ni ba-nu-ti ša (ilu) A-ni
šu-nu ú-ka-la-mu-ka a-na pa-ni (ilu) A-ni i-na ú-zu-zi-ka
a-ka-la ša mu-ti ú-ka-lu-ni-ik-ku-ma
la-a ta-ka-al me-e mu-ú-ti ú-ka-lu-ni-ik-ku-ma
la ta-ša-at-ti lu-ú-ba-ra ú-ka-lu-ni-ik-ku-ma
li-it-ba-aš ša-am-na ú-ka-lu-ni-ku-ma bi-iš-ša-aš
ṭi-e-ma ša aš-ku-nu-ka la te-mi-ik-ki a-ma-ta
ša aḳ-ba-ku lu ṣa-ab-ta-ta ma-ar ši-ip-ri
ša (ilu) A-ni ik-ta-al-da (m)A-da-pa ša šu-ú-ti
ka-ap-pa-ša iš-bi-ir a-na mu-ḫi-ia šu-bi-la-aš-šu

[har-r]a-an ša-me-e ú-še-iṣ-bi-is-su-ma [a]-na ša-me-e i-[li-ma]
a-na ša-me-e i-na e-li-šu a-na ba-ab (ilu) A-ni i-na te-ḫi-šu
i-na ba-a-bu (ilu) A-ni (ilu) Dumu-zi (ilu) Giš-zi-da iz-za-az-zu
i-mu-ru-šu-ma(m) A-da-pa il-su-ú na-ra-ru
id-lu a-na ma-an-ni ka-a e-ma-a-ta A-da-pa
a-na ma-an-ni ka-ar-ra la-ab-ša-a-ta

"In the country two gods have vanished; therefore am I clad
In mourning garments." "Who are the two gods, who have vanished from the land?"
"Tammuz and Gishzida." They looked at one another and
Were astonished. When Adapa before Anu, the king,
Drew near, and Anu saw him, he cried:
"Come hither, Adapa. Why hast thou broken the wings
Of the South wind?" Adapa answered Anu: "My lord,
For the house of my lord in the midst of the sea,
I was catching fish. The sea was like a mirror (?),
The South wind blew, and capsized me.
To the house of the lord was I driven (?) In the anger of my heart,
[The south wind] I cursed. Tammuz and Gishzida
Answered, "Thy heart should be toward Anu."
They spoke. He calmed himself, his heart was [. . .]
"Why has Ea revealed to impure mankind
The heart of heaven and earth? A heart
. . . . has created within him, has made him a name?
What can we do with him? Food of life

---

i-na ma-ti i-lu še-e-na ḫa-al-ku-ma a-na-ku ka-ar-ra
la-ab-ša-ku ma-an-nu i-lu š[i-]na ša i-na ma-a-ti ḫa-al-ku
(ilu) Dumu-zi (ilu) Giš-zi-da a-ḫa-mi-iš ip-pa-al-su-ma
iṣ-ṣi-ni-iḫ-ḫu(m) A-da-pa a-na pa-ni (ilu) A-ni šar-ri
i-na ki-ri-bi-šu i-mu-ur-šu-ma (ilu) A-nu il-si-ma
al-ka(m) A-da-pa am-mi-ni ša šu-u-ti ka-ap-pa-ša
te-e-eš-bi-ir(m) A-da-pa (ilu) a-na ip-pa-al be-li
a-na bi-it be-li-ia i-na ga-a-ab-la-at ta-am-ti
nu-ni a-ba-ar ta-am-ta i-na mi-še-li in-ši-il-ma
šu-ú-tu i-zi-ga-am-ma ia-a-ši uṭ-ṭi-ib-ba-an-ni
[a-n]a bi-it be-li ul-ta-am-ṣi-il i-na ug-ga-at li-ib-bi-ia
[. . . š]a at-ta-ṣa-ar ip-pa-lu i-da š[u (ilu) Du] m[u-zi]
[u] (ilu) Giš-zi-da [. . .] zu rat-ta a-na (ilu) A-ni
i-ga-ab-bu-ú it-tu-uḫ li-ib-ba-šu iz-za . . . at
am-mi-ni (ilu) E-a a-mi-lu-ta la ba-ni-ta ša ša-me-e
u ir-ṣi-e-ti ú-ki-il-li-in-ši li-ib-ba
ka-ap-ra iš-ku-un-šu šu-ú-[m]a i-te-pu-us-su
ni-nu mi-na-a ni-ip-pu-us-su a-ka-al ba-la-ṭi

Bring him, that he may eat." Food of life
They brought him, but he ate not. Water of life
They brought him, but he drank not. Garments
They brought him. He clothed himself. Oil
They brought him. He anointed himself.
Anu looked at him; he wondered (?) at him.
"Come, Adapa, why hast thou not eaten, not drunken?
(Now) thou shalt not live. [. . .] men [. . .] Ea, my lord
Said: "Eat not, drink not."
Take him and bring him back to his earth.
[. . . . . .] looked upon him.

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li-ga-ni-šu-um-ma li-kul [a-k]a-al ba-la-ṭi
[i]l-gu-ni-šu-um-ma ú-ul i-ku-ul me-e ba-la-ṭi
il-gu-ni-šu-um-ma ú-ul il-ti lu-ba-ra
il-gu-ni-šu-um-ma it-ta-al-ba-aš ša-am-na
il-gu-ni-šu-um-ma it-ta-ap-ši-iš
id-gu-ul-šu-ma (ilu) A-nu iṣ-ṣi-iḫ i-na mu-ḫi-šu
al-ka(m) A-da-pa am-mi-ni la ta-ku-ul la ta-al-ti-ma
la ba-al-ṭa-t[a]a-a ni-ši da-a-la-ti (ilu) E-a be-li
ik-ba-a la ta-ka-al la ta-ša-at-ti
li-i-ga-šu-m[a te-i]r-ra-šu a-na ga-ga-ri-šu
[. . . . . id-g]u-ul-[šu]

IV. PRIMITIVE REVELATION AND THE EARLY KINGS[1]

1. PRIMITIVE REVELATION

In Babylon there was a great number of men, of different races, who had settled Chaldea. They lived in an uncivilized manner, like beasts (Syn. 50, 12).

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[1] Our only source of information concerning these Babylonian myths and legends is Berossos, a Babylonian priest under Antiochus Soter (281–262 B. C.), fragments of whose work have been preserved by Josephus and Eusebius, the latter having them at second hand from Alexander Polyhistor and Apollodorus. The passage here quoted, which rests partly upon Georgius Syncellus, is published in *Eusebii Chronicorum Liber Prior, edidit Alfred Schöne* (Berlin, 1875), col. 14f.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Βαβυλῶνι πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι ἀλλοεθνῶν κατοικισάντων τὴν Χαλδαίαν· ζῆν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως, ὡσπερ τὰ θηρία (Syn. 50, 12).

In the first year[1] there appeared from the Red Sea, at the place where it borders upon Babylonia, an intelligent[2] being, by name Oannes, as also Apollodorus has narrated, having, as to the whole, the body of a fish, but underneath the head there had grown another[3] head (underneath the head of the fish) and feet likewise of a man, had grown from the tail of the fish. He had a human voice, and a picture of him is even yet preserved.

This being, they say, spent the day with men, taking no nourishment, and gave men knowledge of letters and numbers and many arts, and taught them the settlement of cities, the founding of temples, and introduction of laws and the survey of land, and he explained seeds and the harvesting of crops, and all things together which relate to the civilized life he taught men. From that day nothing else remarkable has been found out (Syn. 51, 2).

When the sun went down this being, Oannes, went again into the sea, and spent the nights in the sea, for he was amphibious. Later there appeared also two others like him, concerning whom, they say, he (i. e.,

[1] The first year after the settlement of Chaldea.

[2] Read *ἔμφρον* instead of *ἀφρενον* as conjectured by Gutschmid.

[3] Gutschmid conjectures "human" and probably correctly; see the human feet below.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ φανῆναι ἐκ τῆς ερυθρᾶς θαλάσσης κατὰ τὸν ὁμοροῦντα τόπον τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ ζῶον ἀφραίνον ὀνόματι Ὡάννην, καθὼς καὶ Απολλόδωρος ἱστόρησε, τὸ μὲν ὅλον σῶμα ἔχον ἰχθύος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραπεφυκυῖαν ἄλλην κεφαλὴν ὑποκάτω τῆς τοῦ ἰχθύος κεφαλῆς, καὶ πόδας ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπου, παραπεφυκότας δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ ἰχθύος· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ φωνὴν ἀνθρώπου, την δὲ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαφυλάσεσθαι.

Τοῦτο δὲ, φησὶ, τὸ ζῶον τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διατρίβειν μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐδεμίαν τροφὴν προσφερόμενον, παραδιδόναι τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γραμμάτων καὶ μαθημάτων καὶ τεχνῶν παντοδαπῶν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ πόλεων συνοικισμοὺς καὶ ἱερῶν ἱδρύσεις καὶ νόμων εἰσηγήσεις καὶ γεωμετρίαν διδάσκειν, καὶ σπέρματα καὶ καρπῶν συναγωγὰς ὑποδεικνύναι, καὶ συνόλως πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἡμέρωσιν ἀνήκοντα βίου παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἄλλο περισσὸν εὑρεθῆναι (Syn. 51, 2).

Τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου δύναντος τὸ ζῶον τουτονὶ Ὡάννην δῦναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαμ, καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐν τῷ πελάγει διαιτᾶσθαι· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀμφίβιον· ὕστερον δὲ φανῆναι καὶ ἕτερα ζῶα ὁμοια τούτῳ, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ τῶν βασιλέων

Berossus) gives information in the book of the Kings. But Oannes wrote concerning the creation and concerning citizenship, and gave the treatise to men (Syn. 51, 16).

ἀναγραφῇ φησι δηλώσειν· τὸν δὲ Ὡάννην περὶ γενεᾶς καὶ πολιτείας γράψαι καὶ παραδοῦναι τόνδε τὸν λόγον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (Syn. 51, 16).

2. THE EARLY KINGS[1]

These things has Berossus narrated, that the first king was Alorus, from Babylon, a Chaldean; he ruled ten sars[2] (Syncellus 71, 3). When, he says, Alorus was dead his son Alaparus[3] reigned three sars, and after Alaparus Almelon,[4] a Chaldean from the state Pautibiblon reigned thirteen sars. After Almelon Ammenon[5] a Chaldean from Parmibiblon[6] reigned twelve sars. In those days there appeared a certain being from the Red Sea, whom they call Idotion,[7] whose form was that of a man and of a fish. And after him Amegalarus of the city of Pautibiblon reigned eighteen sars. After this was Daonus, a shepherd of the city of Pautibiblon; he also reigned ten sars.

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[1] Published *op. cit.*, p. 7f. The text here cited is the Armenian in Schoene's Latin version, which differs somewhat from the Greek and is apparently better preserved.

[2] A sar = 3,600 years.

[3] Alaparus, also Alaporus, Alaprus has been compared with Adapa or Adamu.

[4] The Greek text reads more correctly Ἀμήλων, which is the Babylonian amêlu = man; compare Enos = man, Gen. 5. 6.

[5] Babylonian, prob. ummânu = craftsman, so Hommel.

[6] A mistake for Pautibiblon.

[7] The Greek text here reads [τὸν μυσαρὸν Ὡαννην] τὸν Ἀννήδωτον. Abydenus has δεύτερον Ανήδωτον, meaning thereby to make Oannes the first Annedotus.

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ βηρωσσὸς ἱστορηῶε, πρῶτον γενέσθαι βασιλέα Ἄλωρον ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαῖον· βασιλεῦσαι δὲ σάρους δέκα . . . (Syn. 71, 3).

Quum, inquit, obiisset Alorus, regnavit filius ejus Alaparus saros iii. et post Alaparum Almelon es Chaldaeis e civitate Pautibiblon regnavit saros xiii. Post Almelonem autem Ammenonem ex Chaldaeis e Parmibiblon (ait) regnasse saros xii. In ejus diebus apparuisse bestiam quandam e mari rubro, quam Idotion vocant, cujus forma erat hominis et piscis. Atque posteum Amegalarum ex Pautibiblon urbe regnasse (tradit) saros xviii. Post hunc vero Daonum Pastorem fuisse ex urbe Pautibiblon; eum quoque regnasse saros x.

Under him again from the Red Sea came forth four Sirens,[1] who, in like manner, appeared having the appearance of man and of fish. And thereafter Edoranchus[2] of the state of Pautibiblon held rule eighteen sars. Under him again from the Red Sea there appeared a certain other being, like fish and man, whose name was Odakon. All these he (i. e., Berossus) says were both collectively and singly sent forth by Oannes. Thereupon Amenphsinus,[3] a Chaldean of Lanchara, held rule, and he reigned ten sars. Then Otiartes,[4] a Chaldean of Lanchara, held rule; and he also reigned eight sars. When Otiartes was dead, his son Xisuthros[5] reigned eighteen sars. Under him occurred the great flood. All these together make ten kings and one hundred and twenty sars.

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[1] The Greek text reads *Ἀννηδώτων τετράδα.*

[2] Gr. *Ενεδώραχος.* This is the Babylonian Enmeduranki, who was the founder of the sorcerer's art, which he received directly from Shamash and Adad, as appears in the following fragmentary text published by Zimmern (*Beiträge zur Kenntris der babl. Religion*, pp. 116ff.): "Into the hand of Enmeduranki, king of Sippar, darling of Anu, Bel and Ea, gave Shamash in Ebarra, Shamash and Adad together, Shamash and Adad, Shamash and Adad upon the golden throne; to look upon oil and water [that is, to divine thereby] the secret of Anu, Bel and Ea, the *written* tablet of the gods, the leathern pouch [compare Exod. 25. 7, the pouch for the Urim and Thummim, 'breastplate'] of the mystery of Heaven and Earth, the cedar staff beloved of the great gods."

[3] This must be the Babylonian Amel-Sin, "man of Sin," a sage of Ur, whose name is connected with nisirtu secrets in a still unpublished text in the British Museum. K. 8080, compare Bezold's Catalogue and Zimmern in *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd edition, p. 537.

[4] Otiartes should be corrected into Opartes, Babylonian Ubara-Tutu.

[5] The Babylonian form is Atra-khasis, "the very wise," which becomes, by transposition Khasis-Atra, from which is derived the Greek Xisuthros.

Sub eo iterum e mari rubro (egerssas) quatuor Sirenes eadem ratione hominis et piscis speciem habentes apparuisse. Ac deinde Edoranchum ex Pautibiblon civitate imperium habuisse saros xviii, sub eoque rursum e mari rubro comparuisse aliud quoddam (monstrum), pisci et homini simile, cui nomen vocabatur Odacon. Haec omnia (sc. monstra) ait, ab Oane summatim singillatim exposita esse. Et postea imperium habuisse Amenphsinum Chaldaeum e Lancharis, eumque regnasse saros x; deinde vero imperium habuisse Otiartem Chaldaeum e Lancharis; et eum quoque regnasse saros viii. Otiarte vero defuncto, filium ejus Xisuthrum regnasse saros xviii; sub eo magnum diluvium factum fuisse. Omnes conjunctim fiunt reges x. sari cxx.

V. THE GILGAMESH EPIC AND THE STORY OF THE DELUGE[1]

The Gilgamesh Epic is the most beautiful, most impressive, and most extensive poem which has been preserved to us of the literature of the ancient Babylonians. Its importance for the study of the whole life of this ancient people cannot well be exaggerated. Though heroic both in form and content, it is crowded with mythological material of the greatest interest, and though critically studied for years, it seems likely to offer a mine of research for another century. To students of the Old Testament it is of peculiar interest because it contains as an episode the Babylonian legend of the Flood, which lies at the basis of the Old Testament stories of the Deluge.

The epic consisted originally of twelve large tablets, every one of which had three columns of writing on both obverse and reverse. Many of these have come to us in sadly broken condition, and of some only fragments remain. The text, as we have it, belonged to the great library of Ashurbanipal (668–626 B. C.) and is

[1] The original text is published in a monumental work by Paul Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrod-Epos*, with supplements by the same in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i, pp. 49ff., 97ff. Tablets VI and XI (the latter containing the Deluge legend) are in IV R, 2d edition, pp. 41, 42, 43, 44. Translations of the whole or of parts are found in Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, and *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*. Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 116ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 100ff., and 182ff. For the Deluge alone see further, Haupt in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2te Auf., pp. 55ff.; Zimmern in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos;* Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 80ff.; Rogers, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 199ff.; King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, pp. 161ff.; Ungnad in Gresmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, pp. 40ff. For further discussions and elucidations of the Epic in whole or part see Zimmern in *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 566ff.; Weber, *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*, pp. 71ff.; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, and especially Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch Epos in der Weltliteratur*, a marvelous collection of learned material of the highest value, but to be used with caution. With it may be compared the valuable *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, neu übersetzt von Arthur Ungnad und gemeinverständlich erklärt von Hugo Gressmann (1911).

written for the most part in Assyrian script, though a few fragments are in neo-Babylonian. The name of the poet who produced this version is Sin-liḳi-unnini, but there are numerous allusions on the tablets to their having been copied from older originals, and two such have been preserved which were written during the first Babylonian dynasty (circa 2000 B. C.).

The poem contains the stories of the great deeds and wonderful adventures of Gilgamesh,[1] the ruler of Uruk,[2] an historical[3] personage originally, to whose illustrious name these clouds of myth and legend have been attached. The episode of the Deluge is here given in full, but in order that its relationship to the whole epic may be understood a synopsis of the epic, with illustrative extracts, is given first.

FIRST TABLET[4]

The poem begins with a brief résumé of the deeds and sufferings of the hero, who had traversed, like Odysseus, the far western sea. The opening lines are badly broken, but may partly be made out as follows:

Who saw everything (?), [. . .] of the land,
Who [. . .] learned to know, understood (?) everything,
[. . . all together . . .]
The mysteries of wisdom, everything [. . .]

[1] This is quite certainly the correct reading of the name. It used to be read Izdubar, or Gishdubar, and the hero was wrongly identified with Nimrod.

[2] The biblical Erech, modern Warka. The deities of Uruk were Anu and Ishtar, whose temple is called E-anna.

[3] That he was a historical personage is shown by his association in the Omen texts with well-known historical characters; and by the mention in a historical text (see Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 223, 2b) of the restoration at Uruk of a wall built by him.

[4] The translation owes most to Jensen, whose remarkable first edition in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* laid the foundations for future workers. Here and there a word or suggestion has been caught from Ungnad, Dhorme, and others.

5 The mysterious he saw, the concealed [he looked upon],
Tidings of the time before the deluge did he bring.
A far journey did he make, wearying himself and [. . .]
And upon a stone tablet did write all sufferings.
He built the wall of peace-loving Uruk.

After a break comes the striking line, itself broken but restored from another passage,

51 Two thirds of him is God, one third of him is man.

The tablet then goes on to narrate how he drove the people of Uruk to such heavy labors upon the city walls that they at length appealed to the gods for deliverance from their bondage. The gods hearken to their plaint and beseech the goddess Aruru, who had created Gilgamesh, to create a rival for him that he might draw the attention of the tyrant to other things.

Column II:

When Aruru heard this, she made in her heart a man after the likeness of Anu.
Aruru washed her hands, took a piece of clay, and spat upon it
35 Engidu[1] she created, the hero, a lofty offspring, a ruler of Ninib.

Engidu was covered with hair, and lived his life among the wild beasts, protecting them against the hunters and trappers. In this free life among the beasts he came in conflict with a huntsman, who complained to his father and then to Gilgamesh. On the advice of these two the hunter took with him a harlot, whose charms enchained Engidu and induced him to follow

[1] The name "Engidu" is Sumerian, and means Engi (=Enki or Ea) "is creator." It has hitherto been often read Eabani.

her to Uruk. There he met Gilgamesh, who had been forewarned in two dreams, and the first tablet concludes with the beginning of friendship between them.

SECOND TABLET

The beginning of the second tablet is so badly broken that fifty lines are wanting. From the fragments that remain we learn that Engidu, enticed by the lure of the wilderness, had left Gilgamesh and returned to his friendly beasts, among whom he lamented the enticements of the harlot which had taken him away to the city. But the sun god Shamash cried to him out of heaven that she had rather brought him only to good, to divine food and royal drink and festival garb. Moved by the words of the god, Engidu returned to Uruk, where a terrible dream came to him, and is related to Gilgamesh.

Column IV:

"My friend, a dream saw I in the night,
The heaven [thundered], the earth answered
Before a mighty one I stood
[. . .] sombre was his visage.

This mighty creature must have been a demon from the underworld, who caught Engidu away into the dark abodes of death.

"To that dwelling, which one enters, but comes not forth again,
To that road, whose course returns not again,
To that dwelling to whose inhabitants light is denied,
Where earth is their food, clay their repast;
Covered are they, like birds, with feathers,
And the light they behold not, in darkness they dwell."

What the meaning of the dream may be is unknown to us; perhaps it is ominous of Engidu's death. At the end of the tablet we find the two friends planning a great journey against Khumbaba, the Elamite warder of the cedar mountain of Irnini, that is, Ishtar. The thought would seem to be that Gilgamesh goes out to rescue from this forest the statue of the goddess. Perhaps this portion of the epic rests upon the historical event of the carrying away into Elam of a goddess image by Kuturnankhundi, which Ashurbanipal says occurred sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before his time (645 + 1635=2280 B. C.).

THIRD TABLET

COLUMN I:

20 Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke.
He said to Engidu:
"My friend let us go to the great palace,
To the servant of Nin-sun, the great queen,
To Rishat-Ninlil,[1] who is mistress of all knowledge."

Gilgamesh then induces his mother to make an offering to Shamash, doubtless to secure his favor upon the great undertaking, and perhaps also to secure an oracle concerning its success.

FOURTH TABLET

The fragmentary character of this tablet makes it very difficult to recover a connected narrative. So far as we can see at the beginning the friends are in a dispute, Engidu striving to induce Gilgamesh to abandon the foolhardy expedition. But they set out, nevertheless, and approach the cedar mountain where the god Ellil has set the fearsome Khumbaba as a warder.

[1] The mother of Gilgamesh.

COLUMN V:

To guard safely the cedars,
To affright the peoples Ellil had appointed him,
Khumbaba, his voice is a trumpet, his mouth like the gods, his breath a wind.

Even yet does Eabani strive in vain to turn back his friend. They go on approaching nearer to the mountain.

FIFTH TABLET

COLUMN I:

They stood still and looked at the Forest,
The height of the cedars they regarded,
They contemplated the entrance to the Forest
The high door, where Khumbaba enters.
Well made are the roads, well made the path.
They view the cedar mountain, home of the gods, sanctuary of Irnini.

There follows some account of Khumbaba's preparations for the fray, and then two dreams of Engidu, the purport of which was to encourage Gilgamesh to expect success. The account of the contest is lost, but the issue was a great victory for the two friends, who return joyously to Uruk, probably bringing with them the long lost statue of the goddess Irnini.

SIXTH TABLET

Gilgamesh washes his weapons, adorns himself in fine raiment, and sets a tiara upon his head. At the sight of him, thus glorious, Ishtar burns with love and addresses the hero:

COLUMN I:

Come, Gilgamesh, be (my) lover,
Give me thy fruit, yea, give me,
Be thou my husband, I thy wife,
I will harness for thee a chariot of lapislazuli and gold;

Its wheels of gold; its horns of diamond (?)
Daily shalt thou span great horses to it.
Enter into our house amid the scent of cedars,
When thou enterest into our house
They that sit on thrones shall kiss thy feet;
Before thee shall bow kings, lords, princes,
The gifts of mountain and land shall they bring thee in tribute.

But Gilgamesh refuses her, remembering her former lovers, and the sorry issue of their amours, for she was ever fickle:

Which of thy lovers hast thou always [loved]?
To which one of thy shepherds went all things well?
Come, I will unfold the misfortunes thou hast sent (?)
Set the sum to the reckoning.

And then he recounts the miseries of Tammuz, a lover most unfortunate, and others still whom she had spurned when her love had cooled.

Ishtar is filled with rage at his refusal and mounts up to heaven to her father, Anu, to seek from him vengeance for the insult. At her request the god creates a bull and sends him down to Uruk to destroy Gilgamesh. The bull slays many until at last Engidu, with the help of Gilgamesh, destroys him, and casts upward to Ishtar a piece of his carcass, accompanied by fearful taunts.

Gilgamesh dedicates the bull's horns to his god Lugalbanda, and, with Engidu, marches in triumph through the streets of Uruk. As they approach the palace he shouts,

Who is beautiful among men?
Who is glorious among heroes?

and hears the mighty response from the women,

Gilgamesh is beautiful among men,
Gilgamesh is glorious among heroes.

They held high festival in the palace, but on that very night Eabani is visited again with an ominous and disturbing dream.

SEVENTH TABLET

Engidu tells his dream to Gilgamesh—so much seems certain to remain of the seventh tablet, all else being uncertain. It seems probable, as Jensen suggests, that Gilgamesh should then interpret the dream. It seems also probable that a very fragmentary account of Engidu's severe illness may belong to this tablet, though Jensen does not agree to this. The matter must be left in uncertainty.

EIGHTH TABLET

Engidu dies, though whether his death was due to disease or to the smiting of the curses of Ishtar is unknown. At first Gilgamesh thinks his friend is merely asleep:

Column II:

"Engidu, my young friend, thou tiger of the desert,
After everything possible we [. . .] and the mountain have climbed,
Have taken and slain Heaven's bull,
Have slain Khumbaba, who dwelt in the cedar forest,
Now, what is this sleep that has seized thee?
Sombre art thou, and thou hearkenest not to me."
But he lifted not his eyes,
He (Gilgamesh) touched his heart; it beat no more
Then he draped his friend like a bride [. . .]
As a lion, which cries [. . .]
As a lioness deprived of her whelps [. . .]
He turned away [. . .]

Then he flies away into the wilderness, crazed with grief.

NINTH TABLET

Gilgamesh wanders in the desert, apparently the vast wastes between Arabia and Syria (so Jensen).

COLUMN I:

Gilgamesh for Engidu, his friend,
Wept bitterly and wandered through the desert:
"Shall not I also, die like Engidu?
Sorrow has come within my vitals,
I fear death, therefore do I wander in the desert."

In this mood he feels how sad it is that no friendly herb grows with sovereign powers against death. So far as he knows only one of his forefathers, Ut-napishtim, son of Ubara-Tutu, has escaped death, and is living far away beyond the western seas:

"To the power of Ut-napishtim, son of Ubara-Tutu,
I take my way, I shall go quickly
To the defiles of the mountains, I shall come by night:
If I see lions and fear
I shall lift my head and invoke Sin."

He sets out upon the journey and arrives at Mount Mashu (perhaps the Lebanon region), which he finds guarded by terrible scorpion men, whose mien is horrible and deadly. For some reason they receive him kindly, though cautioning him of the dangers of his road. For twelve double hours he wanders in darkness and then sees the light of the sun once more. There, under the light, he finds himself in a beautiful garden by the seaside.

TENTH TABLET

There on a throne sets Siduri-Sabitu, who, when she sees the unkempt Gilgamesh, is filled with terror, and locks her doors. He threatens to break them down

and is admitted. To her questions he tells the story of Engidu's death and all his troubles and sorrows since. From her he begs tidings of the way to reach Ut-Napishtim, but receives a disappointing answer.

Column II:

Sabitu said to him, to Gilgamesh,
"There hath never been passage (thither),
And none, from the days of old hath crossed that sea.
Only the hero Shamash hath crossed that sea, but, except for him, who shall pass it?
The crossing is difficult, painful the way
And deep are the waters of death, which lie before it, hindering.

Perhaps Ur-Shanabi (read also Kalab-Ea and Amel-Ea), the sailor of Ut-napishtim, who is just now near by, may help him. When appealed to he consents, and entering the ship they cross in three days the sea which under other circumstances had cost a month and a half of journeying. This journey must have been the length of the Mediterranean, and the waters of death which then lie before them are doubtless the wild Atlantic itself. Then the journey becomes more dangerous, but at last they approach the coast where Ut-napishtim stands wondering to see a passenger brought to his realm. When greetings are over, Gilgamesh asks him how he had attained endless life, and in reply receives the splendid story of the Flood, from the lips of the great hero who had survived its terrors.

ELEVENTH TABLET

Gilgamesh said to him, to Ut-napishtim, the far-away:
"I consider thee, O Ut-napishtim,

(ilu) Gilgameš a-na ša-šu-ma izaka-ra a-na Ut-napiš-tim ru-u-ḳi a-na-aṭ-ṭa-la-kum-ma Ut-napiš-tim

Thy appearance is not changed, thou art like me,
Thou art not different, even as I am, thou art.
Thy heart is in perfect state, to make combat,
Thou dost lie down upon thy side, and upon thy back.
Tell me, how hast thou been exalted, and amid the assembly of the gods hast found life?"

---

mi-na-tu-ka ul ša-na-a ki-i ia-a-ti-ma at-ta
u at-ta ul ša-na-ta ki-i ia-a-ti-ma at-ta
gu-um-mur-ka lib-bi a-na e-piš tu-ḳu-un-ti
[u-i-n]a a-ḫi na-da-at-ta e-li ṣi-ri-ka
[. . .] ki-i ta-az-ziz-ma ina puḫur ilâni ba-la-ṭa taš-'-u

1. THE BABYLONIAN FLOOD STORY

Ut-napishtim spoke to him, to Gilgamesh
I will reveal to thee, O Gilgamesh, the hidden word,
And the decision of the gods will I announce to thee.
Shurippak, a city which thou knowest,
Which lies on the bank of the Euphrates,
That city was very old, and the heart of the gods
Within it drove them to send a flood, the great gods;
[There were] their father Anu,
Their counsellor the warrior Ellil,
Their messenger Urta,
Their prince Ennugi.
The lord of Wisdom, Ea, counselled with them
And repeated their word to the reed hut:

Ut-napiš-tim ana ša-šu ma izzaka-ra a-na (ilu) Gilgameš
lu-up-te-ka (ilu) Gilgameš a-mat ni-ṣir-ti
u pi-ris-ta ša ilâni ka-a-ša lu-uḳ-bi-ka
(alu) šu-ri-ip-pak maḫâzu ša ti-du-šu at-ta
[ša kišad] (nâru) Pu-rat-ti šak-nu
alu šu-u la-bir-ma ilâni kir-bu-šu
a-na ša-kan a-bu-bi ub-la lib-ba-šu-nu ilâni rabûti
[. . . . bît] a-bi-šu-nu (ilu) A-nu-um
ma-lik-šu-nu ḳu-ra-du (ilu) En-lil
guzalû-šu-nu Nin-ib
gú-gal-la-šu-nu (ilu) En-nu-gi
(ilu) Nin-igi-azag (ilu) E-a it-ti-šu-nu ta-me-ma
a-mat-su-nu u-ša-an-na-a ana ki-ik-ki-šu

"O reed hut, reed hut, O, wall, wall,
O reed hut hearken, O wall attend![1]
O man of Shurippak, son of Ubaratutu,
Pull down thy house, build a ship,
Leave thy possessions, take thought for thy life,
Thy property abandon save thy life,
Bring living seed of every kind into the ship.
The ship, that thou shalt build
So shall be the measure of its dimensions.
Thus shall correspond its breadth and height
Like the ocean, cover it with a roof.
I understood it, and spake to Ea, my lord,
[. . .] my lord, as thou hast commanded
I will observe, and I will execute it,
But what shall I say to the city, the people and the elders?
Ea opened his mouth and spake.
He said unto me his servant,
"Thou shalt so say unto them,
Because Ellil hates me,

[1] The meaning of this passage seems to be that Ea spoke his message to the walls of the house within which Ut-napishtim was sleeping. He therefore received in a dream the warning. For the dream compare col. iv, 27, p. 100.

---

ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar
ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru ḫi-is-sa-as
(amelu) šu-ri-ip-pa-ku-u mâr Ubara-(ilu) TU-TU
u-ḳur bîta bi-ni elippa
muš-šir mešri-e še-'-i napšati
[n]a-ak-ku-ra zi-ir-ma na-piš-ti bul-liṭ
šu-li-ma zêr nap-ša-a-ti ka-la-ma a-na ḫib-bi elippi
elippu ša ta-ban-nu-ši at-ta
lu-u man-du-da mi-na-tu-ša
lu-u mit-ḫur ru-pu-us-sa u mu-rak-ša
[ki]-ma apsî ša-a-ši ṣu-ul-lil-ši
a-na-ku i-di-ma azzaka-ra a-na (ilu) E-a be-li-ia
[. . .] be-li ša taḳ-ba-a at-ta ki-a-am
[at-]ta-'-id a-na-ku ip-pu-uš
[u mi] lu-pu-ul alu um-ma-nu u ši-bu-tum
(ilu) E-a pa-a-šu epuš-ma i-ḳab-bi
i-zak-ka-ra ana ardi-šu ia-a-tu
[. . .] lu at-ta ki-a-am ta-ḳab-ba-aš-šu-nu-tu
[. . .]-di-ma ia-a-ši (ilu) En-lil i-zi-ir-an-ni-ma

No longer may I dwell in your city, nor remain on Ellil's earth,
Into the ocean must I fare, with Ea, my lord to dwell.
Upon you will he then rain fullness.
[A catch] of birds, a catch of fish
[. . . . . rich] harvest
[A time has Shamash appointed], on an evening the senders of rain
Shall rain upon you a mighty rain-storm.
As soon as the morning glow appeared

[45–55 *broken off*]

The strong one [. . .] brought what was necessary
On the fifth day I laid its keel.

Column II:

In its [plan] 120 cubits high on each of its side-walls.
By 120 cubits it corresponded on each edge of the roof.
I laid down its hull, I enclosed it.
I built it in six stories.

---

ul uš-šab ina a [li-ku]-nu-ma [ina] ḳaḳ-ḳar (ilu) En-lil ul a-šak-kan pani-ia-a-ma
[ur-]rad-ma ana apsî it-ti [(ilu) E-a be-]li-ia aš-ba-ku
[eli] ka-a-šu-nu u-ša-az-na-an-nu-ku-nu-ši nu-uḫ-šam-ma
[bu-'-ur] iṣṣurî bu-'-ur nûnî
[. . .]-a e-bu-ra-am-ma
[. . . mu-ir] ku-uk-ki
[eli kašunu ušaznana-ku]-nu-ši ša-mu-tu ki-ba-a-ti
[mimmû šêri] ina na-ma-a-ri
[. . . aš-ma a . . .]
[. . . pa-az . . .]

[Lines 47–55 are broken off]

dan-nu . . . ḫi-] šiḫ-tu ub-la
ina ḫa-an-ši û-mi [a]t-ta-di bu-na-šu

Column II:

ina KAN *hit-sa* sa X GAR-tam šaḳ-ka-a igarâti-ša
X GAR-tan im-ta-ḫir ki-bir muḫ-ḫi-ša
ad-di la-an-ši ša-a-ši e-ṣir-ši
ur-tag-gi-ib-ši a-na vi-šu

I divided it *outside* (?) in seven parts.
Its interior I divided into nine parts.
Water-tanks I fastened within it.
I inspected the compartments, and laid down what was necessary.
Three sars of bitumen I poured over the outside (?)
Three sars of bitumen I poured over the inside,
Three *sars* of oil the stevedores brought up.
Besides a *sar* of oil which men use as a libation,
The shipbuilder stowed away two *sars* of oil.
For the *people* I slaughtered bullocks,
I slew lambs daily.
Of must, beer, oil and wine
I gave the people to drink like water from the river,
A festival [I made], like the days of the feast of Akitu,
I opened a box of ointment; I put ointment in my hand.
[At the rising] of the great Shamash the ship was finished.
. . . . . was hard
. . . . . above and below
. . . . . two thirds

---

ap-ta-ra-as-su a-na vii-šu
kir-bi-is-su ap-ta-ra-as a-na ix-šu
(iṣu) šikkat mê ina ḳabli-ša lu am-ḫaṣ
a-mur pa-ri-su u ḫi-šiḫ-tum ad-di
III šâri ku-up-ri at-ta-bak a-na ki-i-ri
III šâri iddi at-ta-bak a-na lib-bi
III šâr ṣâbî na-aš (iṣu) su-us-su-ul-ša i-zab-bi-lu šamnu
e-zu-ub šar šamni ša i-ku-lu ni-iḳ-ḳu
II šâr šamni u-pa-az-zi-ru malaḫu
a-na . . . uṭ-ṭib-bi-iḫ alpî
aš-gi-iš [kirr]î u-mi-šam-ma
si-ri-[šu] ku-ru-un-nu šamnu u karanu
um-ma-[na aš-ḳi]-ki-ma mê nâri-ma
i-sin-[nu aš-ku-na] ki-ma û-mi a-ki-tim-ma
ap[-te šik-kat] piš-ša-ti ḳa-ti ad-di
[. . . (ilu) Šamaš [ra]-bi-e elippu gam-rat
[. . . . .] šup-šu-ḳu-ma
gi-ir MA. KAK. uš-tab-ba-lu e-liš u šap-liš
[. . . . .]-li-ku ši-ni-pat-šu

With all that I had, I filled it (the ship).
With all that I had of silver, I filled it.
With all that I had of gold I filled it.
With all that I had of living things I filled it.
I brought up into the ship my family and household.
The cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, craftsmen all of them I brought in.
A fixed time had Shamash appointed (saying),
"When the sender of rain sends a heavy rain in the evening,
Then enter into the ship and close thy door."
The appointed time came near,
The senders of the rain in the evening sent heavy rain.
The appearance of the weather I observed,
I feared to behold the weather,
I entered the ship and closed the door.
To the ship's master, to Puzur-Amurri the sailor,
I entrusted the building with its goods.

When the first flush of dawn appeared,
There came up from the horizon a black cloud.
Adad thundered within it,

---

mimma i-šu-u e-ṣi-en-ši
mimma i-šu-u e-ṣi-en-ši kaspi
mimma i-šu-u e-ṣi-en-ši ḫurâṣi
mimma i-šu-u e-ṣi-en-ši zer napšâti ka-la-ma
uš-te-li a-na elippi ka-la kim-ti-ia u sa-lat-ia
bu-ul ṣêri u-ma-am ṣêri mâre um-ma-a-ni ka-li-šu-nu u-še-li
a-dan-na (ilu) Šamaš iš-ku-nam-ma
mu-ir ku-uk-ki ina li-la-a-ti u-ša-az-na-an-nu ša-mu-tu ki-ba-a-ti
e-ru-ub ana lib-bi elippi-ma pi-ḫi elippu [var. bâbi-ka]
a-dan-nu šu-u ik-tal-da
mu-ir ku-uk-ki ina li-la-a-ti i-za-an-nu ša-mu-tu ki-ba-a-ti
ša û-mi at-ta-ṭal bu-na-šu
û-mu a-na i-tap-lu-si pu-luḫ-ta i-ši
e-ru-ub ana lib-bi elippi-ma ap-ti-ḫi ba-a-bi
a-na pi-ḫi-i ša elippi ana(m) Pu-zu-ur-(ilu) Amurri malaḫu
ekallu at-ta-din a-di bu-še-e-šu

mim-mu-u še-e-ri ina na-ma-ri
i-lam-ma iš-tu i-šid šami-e ur-pa-tu ṣa-lim-tum
(ilu) Adad ina lib-bi-ša ir-tam-ma-am-ma

While Nebo and Sharru (Marduk) went before.
They go as messengers over mountain and valley.
Nergal tore away the foundations.[1]
En-Urta advances, the storm he makes to descend.
The Anunnaki lifted up their torches,
With their brightness they light up the land.
Adad's storm reached unto heaven
All light was turned into darkness
It [flooded] the land like . . .
One day the deluge . . .

Column III:

Raged high, [the waters covered (?)] the mountains,
Like a besom of destruction they brought it upon men,
No man beheld his fellow,
No more were men recognized in heaven.
The gods feared the deluge,
They drew back, they climbed up to the heaven of Anu.
The gods crouched like a dog, they cowered by the walls.

[1] The earth is portrayed under the figure of a building. Compare Job 38. 4–7.

(ilu) Nabû u (ilu) Šarru il-la-ku ina maḫ-ri
il-la-ku guzallûti šadu-u u ma-a-tum
tar-gul-li (ilu) Ur-ra-gal u-na-as-siḫ
il-lak (ilu) Nin-ib mi-iḫ-ra u-šar-di
(ilu) A-nun-na-ki iš-šu-u di-pa-ra-a-ti
ina nam-ri-ri-šu-nu u-ḫa-am-ma-ṭu ma-a-tum
ša (ilu) Adad šu-mur-ra-as-su i-ba-'-u šami-e
mimma nam-ru ana [i-ṭu-ti] u-tir-ru
[ir-ḫi-]iṣ mâta kima . . . iḫ-pu-u
išti-en û-ma me-[ḫu . . .]

Column III:

ḫa-an-tiš i-zi-kam-ma [. . .] šada-a [. . .]
ki-ma kab-li eli nišî u-ba-'-u [. . .]
ul im-mar a-ḫu a-ḫa-šu
ul u-ta-ad-da-a nišî ina šami-e
ilâni ip-tal-ḫu a-bu-ba-am-ma
it-te-iḫ-su i-te-lu-u ana šami-e ša (ilu) A-nim
ilâni kima kalbi kun-nu-nu ina ka-ma-a-ti rab-ṣu

Ishtar cried like a woman in travail,
Loudly cried the queen of the gods with her beautiful voice,
"The former time is turned into clay,
Since I commanded evil, in the assembly of the gods.
Because I commanded evil in the assembly of the gods
For the destruction of my people did I command battle?
Did I alone bring forth my people
That they like the spawn of fish fill the sea?"
The gods of the Anunnaki wept with her,
The gods sat bowed and weeping,
Covered were their lips [. . .]
Six days and [six] nights
Blew the wind, the deluge and the tempest overwhelmed the land.
When the seventh day drew nigh, the tempest spent itself in the battle,
Which it had fought like an army.
Then rested the sea, the storm fell asleep, the flood ceased.
I looked upon the sea, there was silence come,
And all mankind was turned to clay.

---

i-šes-si (ilu) Iš-tar ki-ma a-lit-ti
u-nam-bi (ilu) belit ilâni ṭa-bat rig-ma
û-mu ul-lu-u a-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi lu-u i-tur-ma
10 ša a-na-ku ina ma-ḫar ilâni aḳ-bu-u limuttu
ki-i aḳ-bi ina ma-ḫar ilâni limuttu
ana ḫu-lu-uḳ nišî-ia ḳab-la aḳ-bi-ma
a-na-ku-um-ma ul-la-da ni-šu-u-a-a-ma
ki-i mârî nûnî u-ma-al-la-a tam-ta-am-ma
15 ilâni šu-ut (ilu) A-nun-na-ki ba-ku-u it-ti-ša
ilâni aš-ru aš-bi i-na bi-ki-ti
kat-ma šap-ta-šu-nu . . . -a pu-uḫ-ri-e-ti
VI ur-ra u [VI] mu-ša-a-ti
il-lak ša-a-ru a-bu-bu u me-ḫu-u i-sap-pan [mâtu]
20 si-bu-u ûmu i-na ka-ša-a-di it-ta-rak me-ḫu-u a-bu-bu ḳab-la
ša im-taḫ-ṣu kîma ḫa-ai-al-ti
i-nu-uh tamtu uš-ḫa-ri-ir-ma im-ḫul-lu a-bu-bu ik-lu
ap-pal-sa-am-ma ta-ma-ta ša-kin ḳu-lu
u kul-lat te-ni-še-e-ti i-tu-ra a-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi

Like a roof the plain lay level,
I opened the window and the light fell upon my face,
I bowed, I sat down, I wept,
And over my face ran my tears.
I looked in all directions, terrible (?) *was* the sea.
After twelve days, an island arose.
To the land of Nisir the ship made its way,
The mount of Nisir held it fast, that it moved not.
One day, a second day did the mount of Nisir hold it, that it moved not.
A third day, a fourth day did the mount of Nisir hold it, that it moved not.
A fifth day, a sixth day did the mount of Nisir hold it, that it moved not.
When the seventh day approached,
I sent forth a dove and let her go.
The dove flew away and came back,
For there was no resting place and she returned.
I sent forth a swallow and let her go,
The swallow flew away and came back,
For there was no resting place, and she returned.
I sent forth a raven and let her go,

---

ki-ma u-ri mit-ḫu-rat u-šal-lu
ap-ti nap-pa-ša-am-ma urru im-ta-ḳut eli dûr ap-pi-ia
uk-tam-mi-is-ma at-ta-šab a-bak-ki
eli dûr ap-pi-ia il-la-ka di-ma-a-a
ap-pa-li-is kib-ra-a-ti ḫat-tu tamtu
a-na XII-ta-an i-te-la-a na-gu-u
a-na (šadû) Ni-ṣir i-te-mid elippu
šadu-u (šadû) Ni-ṣir elippu iṣ-bat-ma a-na na-a-si ul id-din
išti-en û-mu šina-a û-mu šadu-u Ni-ṣir KI-MIN
šal-ša û-ma riba-a û-ma šadu-u KI-MIN
ḫan-šu siš-ša šadu-u (šadû) Ni-ṣir KI-MIN
si-ba-a û-ma i-na ka-ša-a-di
u-še-ṣi-ma summatu u-maš-šir
il-lik summatu i-tu-ra-am-ma
man-za-zu ul i-pa-aš-šim-ma is-saḫ-ra
u-še-ṣi-ma sinuntu u-maš-šir
il-lik sinuntu i-tu-ra-am-ma
man-za-zu ul i-pa-aš-šim-ma is-saḫ-ra
u-še-ṣi-ma a-ri-ba u-maš-šir

40 The raven flew away, she saw the abatement of the waters,
She drew near, she waded, she croaked (?) and came not back.
Then I sent everything forth to the four quarters of heaven, I offered sacrifice,
I made a libation upon the mountain's peak.
By sevens I set out the sacrificial[1] vessels,
45 Beneath them I heaped up reed and cedar wood and myrtle
The gods smelt the savor,
46a The gods smelt the sweet savor,
The gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer.
When at last the Lady of the gods drew near

Column IV:

She raised the great jewel, which Anu according to her wish had made.
"Oh ye gods here—even as I shall not forget the jewels of my neck
Upon these days shall I think, I shall never forget them.
Let the gods come to the offering,

[1] Assyrian, *adagaru*. The signification of the word is doubtful. It is a synonym of *kupputtu*, which is defined as a "short" vessel.

---

40 il-lik a-ri-bi-ma ḳa-ru-ra ša mê i-mur-ma
iḳ-rib i-ša-aḫ-ḫi i-tar-ri ul is-saḫ-ra
u-še-ṣi-ma a-na IV šârê at-ta-ḳi ni-ḳa-a
aš-kun šur-ḳin-nu ina eli ziḳ-ḳur-rat šadi-i
VII u VII (karpatu) a-da-gur uk-tin
45 i-na šap-li-šu-nu at-ta-bak ḳanâ (iṣu) erina u âsa
ilâni i-ṣi-nu i-ri-ša
46a ilâni i-ṣi-nu i-ri-ša ṭaba
ilâni ki-ma zu-um-bi-e eli bêl-nikê ip-taḫ-ru
ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma (ilu) bêlit ilâni ina ka-ša-di-šu

Column IV:

iš-ši elîta rabîta ša (ilu) A-nu-um i-pu-šu ki-i ṣu-ḫi-šu
ilâni an-nu-tum lu-u ṣibri-ia a-a am-ši
ûmî an-nu-tum lu-u aḫ-su-sa-am-ma lu-u a-na da-riš a-a am-ši
ilani lil-li-ku-ni a-na šur-kin-ni

But let Ellil not come to the offering,
For he took not counsel, and sent the deluge
And my people he gave to destruction."
When at last Ellil drew near,
He saw the ship; then was Ellil wroth.
He was filled with anger against the gods the Igigi:[1]
"Who then has escaped with life?
No man must live in the destruction!"
Then En-Urta opened his mouth and spake,
He said to the warrior Ellil,
"Who but Ea can plan aught,
And Ea knoweth every matter."
Ea opened his mouth, and spake,
He spake to the warrior Ellil,
"Thou wise among the gods, warrior Ellil,
Why couldst thou, without thought, send a flood?
On the sinner lay his sin,
On the transgressor lay his transgression,
Forbear, let not [all] be destroyed, have mercy, *that men be not destroyed* (?)

[1] The Igigi are the upper gods, and here include also the great gods (Ungnad).

(ilu) En-lil a-a il-li-ka a-na šur-kin-ni
aš-šu la im-tal-ku-ma iš-ku-nu a-bu-bu
u nišê-ia im-nu-u ana ka-ra-ši
ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma (ilu) En-lil ina ka-ša-di-šu
i-mur elippi-ma i-te-ziz (ilu) En-lil
lib-ba-ti im-ta-li ša ilâni Igigi
a-a um-ma u-ṣi na-piš-ti
a-a ib-luṭ amelu ina ka-ra-ši
(ilu) Nin-ib pâ-šu epuš-ma iḳabî
izzaka-ar ana ḳu-ra-di (ilu) En-lil
man-nu-um-ma ša la (ilu) E-a a-ma-ti i-ban-nu
u (ilu) E-a i-di-e-ma ka-la šip-ri
(ilu) E-a pa-a-šu epuš-ma iḳabî
izzaka-ar ana ḳu-ra-du (ilu) En-lil
at-ta abkal ilâni ḳu-ra-[du (ilu) En-lil]
ki-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-ba taš-kun
be-el ar-ni e-mid ḫi-ṭa-(a-)-šû
be-el ḳil-la-ti e-mid ḳil-lat-su
ru-um-me a-a ib-ba-ti-iḳ šu-du-ud[1] a-a ir [. . .]

[1] Compare BA V 16, 624, [Langdon].

Instead of thy sending a deluge?
Had a lion come and mankind lessened!
Instead of thy sending a deluge?
Had a wolf come and mankind lessened!
Instead of thy sending a deluge?
Had a famine come and the land . . .!
Instead of thy sending a deluge?
Had Urra[1] come and mankind [slain]!
I have not divulged the decision of the great gods.
I made Atrakhasis see a dream and so he discovered the secret of the gods.
Now take counsel for him."
Ea went up into the ship.
He took my hand, [and] brought me forth,
He brought forth my wife, and made her kneel at my side,
He turned us toward each other, he stood between us, he blessed us:
"Formerly Ut-napishtim was only a man, but
Now let Ut-napishtim and his wife be like the gods even us,

[1] That is, pestilence.

am-ma-ki taš-kun a-bu-ba
nêšu lit-ba-am-ma nišî li-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-rum
am-ma-ki taš-kun a-bu-ba
barbarru lit-ba-am-ma nišê li-ṣa-[aḫ-ḫi-ir]
am-ma-ki taš-kun a-bu-ba
ḫu-šaḫ-ḫu liš-ša-kin-ma mâta lis-[kip]
am-ma-ki taš-kun a-bu-ba
(ilu) Ur-ra lit-ba-am-ma mâta lim-[ḫaṣ]
ana-ku ul ap-ta-a pi-ris-ti ilâni rabûti
At-ra-ḫa-sis šu-na-ta u-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-ris-ti ilâni iš-me
e-nin-na-ma mi-lik-šu mil-ku
i-lam-ma (ilu) E-a a-na lib-bi elippi
iṣ-bat ka-ti-ia-ma ul-te-la-an-ni-ia-a-ši
uš-te-li uš-tak-mi-is zin-niš-ti ina i-di-ia
il-pu-ut pu-ut-ni-ma iz-za-az ina bi-ri-in-ni i-kar-ra-ban-na-ši
i-na pa-na(m) Ut-napištim a-me-lu-tum-ma
e-nin-na-ma(m) Ut-napištim u aššati-šu lu-u e-mu-u ki-i ilâni na-ši-ma

Let Ut-napishtim dwell afar off at the mouth of the rivers."

They took me and afar off, at the mouth of the rivers they made me to dwell.

With these words the long story of the deluge is ended, and Ut-napishtim takes thought for his earthly visitor and says:

"Who of the gods, will now gather thee to himself
That thou mayest find the life thou seekest?
Come, lie not down to sleep six days and seven nights"

The idea is that if he can master sleep, twin brother of death, he might thus learn to master death itself. But the test is too severe and the hero falls asleep. Ut-napishtim mocks his weakness, but his wife, moved with pity for the helpless wanderer, desires her husband to make some provision for getting him back again. Her husband, moved by her appeal, calls to Gilgamesh to secure for himself a certain plant[1] which grew in the bottom of the ocean. Gilgamesh ties heavy stones to his feet and plunges into the sea, from which he brings up the needful plant.

He is overjoyed and thinks that he has possessed himself of the plant of eternal life. So does he boast of it.

Gilgamesh said to him, to Ur-shanabi, the sailor:
Ur-shanabi, this plant is a plant of renown,
Whereby man obtains his longings (?)

[1] A very pretty dispute rages over the identification of this plant. Dr. Küchler has made the brilliant suggestion that it may be coral. Coral, however, grows in salt water, and it was from the ocean of sweet water (*apsu*) that Gilgamesh drew his plant. Perhaps this is not a valid argument against Küchler, as the Assyrians may not have known the habitat of coral.

lu-u a-šib-ma(m)Ut-napištim ina ru-u-ḳi ina pi-i nârâti
il-ḳu-in-ni-ma ina ru-u-ḳi ina pi-i nârâti uš-te-ši-bu-in-ni.

I will carry it to walled Uruk, there will I make to eat of it [. . .]
Its name is: 'When old shall man become young again.'
I myself will eat *it*, to return to my youth."

Then they made the long journey, and when they had come to land, Gilgamesh went to bathe in a pool of fresh water. While thus employed a serpent stole the precious plant away, and left the hero disconsolate. Overland on foot to Uruk they made their weary way, and the tablet concludes with plans, announced to the sailor by Gilgamesh, for rebuilding the city walls—the very walls which had been the cause of all his troubles in the beginning.

TWELFTH TABLET

Gilgamesh had sadly failed in all his journeys; here he finds himself back again in Uruk, and none the wiser concerning the mysteries which he had hoped to solve. He now desires to make his way to the abode of the dead, there to learn what the dead might have to say concerning this life and its problems.

He fails to meet the conditions laid upon him, and cannot find his way to the abode of the dead. He therefore determines to bring the spirit of Engidu to earth again, if the gods will permit. His appeals to Ellil to accomplish this object are in vain, and so also does Sin refuse, but Ea, on the other hand, commands Nergal to send up the longed-for spirit.

Column III:

When the bold and noble Nergal [heard this]
He opened a hole in the earth and
Caused the spirit of Engidu, like a wind, to come out of the earth.

Then began a dialogue between the reunited friends; but, alas! Engidu cannot lift the curtain of the great mysteries. The only comfort he can bring is that, though men must die, in the next world they find themselves among the friends they had on earth. The search for eternal life has ended in failure, yet there is a comfort and solace in the thought of the associations in the life after death.

2. ANOTHER RECENSION OF THE DELUGE STORY [1]

The story of the Deluge preserved in the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic was not the only form in which the Babylonian legends were preserved. It was not canonized, and men might write other forms, or alter the others, as did the Hebrews with their narratives, until canonization had crystallized them. This recension belonged also to Ashurbanipal's library. It elaborates somewhat the conversation between Ea and Ut-napishtim which appears in the Nimrod Epic xi, l. 26f.

[1] Published by Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3te Auf., p. 101; Paul Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 131; IV R., 2d edition, Additions and Corrections, p. 9. Translated by Paul Haupt in Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2te Auf., p. 61; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 254ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 88; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 126, 127; Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, 2te Auf., p. 126f.; Ungnad, in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 57.

[. . . . . .]
[. . . like the ends of Hea[ven and Earth]
[. . .] may it be powerful above and [below]
[. . . . . close . . .]

[. . . . . lu-u . . .]
[. . . . . ki-ma kip-pa-ti ša[mê u irṣiti]
[. . . . . lu-da-an e-liš u ša[p-liš]
[. . . . . e-pi-ḫi . . .]

[Behold] the time I will announce to thee.
"Enter into the ship, close again the door of the ship.
Bring within thy grain, thy live stock and thy possessions,
Thy [wife], thy kinsfolk, and thy craftsmen,
The cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, as many as eat the grass,
Will I send thee, that they may keep thy door."[1]
Atra-khasis opened his mouth, and spoke,
(And) said to Ea, his Lord:
"I have never built a ship [. . .]
Mark out [for me] upon the earth, a plan of one.
[The plan] will I examine, and [build] the ship thereby.
[. . . . . .] draw upon the earth [. . .]
[. . . . . as thou hast commanded [. . .]"

[1] The meaning seems to be to remain at thy door; that is, to abide with thee, so Jensen.

5 [. . . . . a-dan-na ša a-šap-pa-rak-[kum-ma]
[ana elippi] e-ru-um-ma bâb elippi tir[-ra]
[šûlî ana] lib-bi-ša šeat-ka bušû-ka u makkuru-[ka]
[aššat]-ka ki-mat-ka sa-lat-ka u mârê um-ma-ni
bu-ul ṣêri u-ma-am ṣêri ma-la urḳîti ir[-ḫu . . .]
10 [a-šap-p]a-rak-kum-ma i-na-aṣ-ṣa-ru bâbi-[ka]
[At-ra]-ḫa-sis pa-a-šu epuš-ma iḳabî
[iz-zak-]kar ana (ilu) E-a be-lí-[šu]
ma-ti-ma-a elippu ul e-pu-uš [. . .]
[ina ḳaḳ]-ḳa-ri e-ṣir u-[ṣur-tu]
15 [u-ṣur-]tu lu-mur-ma elippu [lupuš]
[. . .] ina ḳaḳ-ḳa-ri e-ṣir [. . .]
[. . .] ša taḳ-ba-a [. . .]

3. AN ANCIENT BABYLONIAN DELUGE FRAGMENT[1]

This badly broken tablet has the distinction, among all others, of being exactly dated, for according to its colophon it was written on the twenty-eighth day of

[1] The text was first published by Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, xx, pp. 55ff. See also Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, p. 288; P. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 120ff.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 57, 58.

Shabatu (eleventh month) of the eleventh year of Ammizaduga, i. e., ca. 1800 B. C. It belongs to the collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York.

COLUMN I:

[. . .] did not go [. . .]
[In] the land I will send lightning, the people [. . .]
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . it rained,
[. . . . . .] their cry
[. . . . . .] the great
[. . . . . .] the men,
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . the people . . .]
[. . . . . Adad slay!
[*broken*[1] . . . to (?) our river went (?)

[Lines 13–15 illegible]

May the clouds rain,
May they not drop
[. . .] the field, its produce

[1] This word was written by the ancient scribe to indicate that the text which he was copying was broken at that place.

COLUMN I:

[. . .] u-ul il-li-ik [. . . pal . . .]
[. . . ma-tum lu-ub-riḳ niši [. . .] ti da
[. . .] li-i i-ra-ab-bu
[. . . .] ma(?)-ru(?)-uš-ta im-ṭa-ar
[. . . . . .] ri-gi-im-ši-in
[. . . . . .] ra-bu-tim
[. . . . . .] a-me-lu-ti.
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . a-na ni-ši . . .]
[. . .] šu (ilu) Adad li-ša-aḳ-ṭi-il
[bi-bi-iš . . .] nâru ni-il-li-ka

[Lines 13–15 illegible]

[ur]-bi-e-tum li-im-ṭir-an-ni-ma
[. . .] a-ia it-tu-uk
[. . .] eḳlu iš-pi-ki-šu

COLUMN II:

That he may slay! That he may destroy,
On the morrow that he may rain pestilence . . .
That he may prolong in the night.
That he may cause it to rain.
He increases (?) the field, the land the city [. . .]
They constructed the . . . of Adad in the city;
They spoke, they shouted
They sent up a cry [. . .]
[. . .] they feared not [. . .]

COLUMN VII:

[. . . Opened his mouth
And said to [. . .]
Why dost thou slay the [people?]
I will stretch out my hand (?)
The flood which thou art bringing, [. . .]
Who he may be, I [. . .]
I alone bear[1] [my people . . .]
His work is [. . .]

[1] Compare the Gilgamesh Epic, tablet xi, 123. The speaker is probably Ishtar, as in that passage.

COLUMN II:

li-ša-aḳ-[ṭilli]-ga-az-[ziz . . .]
i-na še-ri di-ib-ba-ra li-ša-az-[ni-in] . . .
li-iš-ta-ar-ri-ik i-na mu-ši
li-ša-az-ni-in na-aš
eḳlu u-at-ta-ar-ra irṣi-tu-šu a-li
ša (ilu) Adad i-na a-li ib-nu-u
iḳ-bu-ma is-su-u na-[. . .]
ri-ig-ma u-še-lu [. . .]
[. . . . .] ul ip-la-ḫu

COLUMN VII:

[. . . bi-a-šu [êpuš-ma]
iz-za-kar a-na i [. . .]
a-na mi-nam tu-uš-mit-ma [. . .]
u-ub-ba-al ga-ti a-na ni-[ši . . .]
a-bu-bu ša ta-ga-ab-b[u- . . .]
man-an-nu šu-u a-na-ku ⌜. . .⌝
a-na-ku-ma u-ul-la-da [. . .]
ši-bi-ir-šu i-ba-aš-ši da-[. . .]

That they may see, he [. . .]
And I bear [. . .]
They may go in [the ship . . .]
The ship's bolts [. . .]
They may go

COLUMN VIII:

[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . perfect . . .]
[. . . . . he made men
Atrakhasis opened his mouth
And said to his lord
xxxvii[1]
II tablet of the (series) "when man slept (?)
ivcxxxix[2]
Azag-Aa,[3] scribes assistant
The month Shabatu, xxviii Day,
The year in which King Ammizadugga
Built the city Dur-Ammizadugga
At the mouth of the Euphrates.

[1] This is the number of lines in each column.
[2] The number of lines in the whole tablet as originally written.
[3] The writer or copyist of the tablet.

li-ib-te-ru šu-u [. . .]
u-ul-la-ad u [. . .]
li-il-li-ku i-na [elippi
ta-ar-ku-ul-li pi-ir
li-il-li-[ku . . .]

COLUMN VIII:

[. . . na u . . .]
[. . . ga-me-ir . . .]
[. . . ra . . . ša a-na ni-ši i-pu-uš-[ma]
At-ram-ḫa-si-is bi-a-šu i-pu-uš-[ma]
iz-za-kar a-na be-li-šu
xxxvii
duppu II (kamma) i-nu-ma ṣal-lu a-me-lum
[. . . vii (60)+19]
Azag-Aa ṭup-sar ṣiḫru
Araḫ Šabatu (ûmu) XXVIII (kam)
mu Am-mi-za-du-ga šarru
dûr Am-mi-za-du-ga-ki
ka (nâru) ud-kib-nun ki-ra-ta
in-ga-mar[1] su (?) ma-a

[1] for in-ga-mar read probably IN-LIL (so Dhorme)

4. ANOTHER ANCIENT BABYLONIAN DELUGE FRAGMENT [1]

This small fragment of unbaked clay was discovered at Nippur by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. The obverse has been broken off, and the reverse remains in a very fragmentary condition. Hilprecht, who discovered and published the tablet, computes that it "was written some time between 2137 and 2005 B. C., or, in round figures, about 2100 B. C. This is the very latest date to which this fragment possibly can be assigned, both according to its place of discovery and the palæographical evidence presented by the tablet itself." There is some dispute as to the extent or accuracy of the records concerning the place of discovery, and the palæographical evidence is not quite conclusive. The tablet may well be as old as Professor Hilprecht argues, but the suggestion of a date so late as the early Kassite period (1700 B. C.) can hardly be excluded. The tablet is a very interesting addition to the Deluge literature, however the question of date may be decided.

[1] The tablet is published and translated by Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and the Temple Library of Nippur*. The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. v, 1. Compare also Theophilus G. Pinches and Fritz Hommel in the *Expository Times* (May, 1910), vol. xxi, pp. 364ff.

[. . . . . .] thee,
[. . . . . .[1]] I will loosen,
[a deluge I shall make, and] it shall sweep away all mankind at once,
[but seek thou li]fe before the deluge come forth,

[1] Hilprecht supplies "the confines of heaven and earth."

[. . . . . .]-ka
[. . . . . .] a-pa-aš-šar
[. . . . . .] kala ni-ši iš-te-niš i-za-bat
[. . . . .]-ti la-am abubi wa-ṣi-e

5 [For over all living beings] however many they are,
will I bring overthrow, destruction, annihilation.
[. . . . . .] build a great ship and
[. . . . . .] total height shall be its structure.
[. . . . . .] a ship shall it be, carrying what
has been saved of life.
[. . . . .] with a strong roof cover [it.]
10 [. . . the ship] which thou shalt make,
[into it br]ing the beasts of the field, the birds of
heaven,
[. . . . . [1]] the whole number,
[. . . . . and the family . . .]
[. . . . . and . . .]

[1] Hilprecht supplies "and the creeping things, two of everything."

5 [. . .] -a-ni ma-la i-ba-aš-šu-u lu-kin ub-bu-ku lu-pu-ut-tu
ḫu-ru-šu
[. . .] (iṣu) elippu ra-be-tu bi-ni-ma
[. . .] ga-be-e gab(?)-bi lu bi-nu-uz-za
[. . .] ši-i lu (iṣu) magurgurrum ba-bil-lu na-aṭ-rat na-piš-
tim
[. . .] -ri (?) zu-lu-la dan-na zu-ul-lil
10 [. . . . .] te-ip-pu-šu
[. . . . .] -lam (?) ú-ma-am ṣi-rim iṣ-ṣur ša-me-e
[. . . . . .] ku-um mi-ni
[. . . . . (?) u ki[n]-ta-ru (?) . . .]
[. . . . . u] . . .

5. THE BABYLONIAN DELUGE ACCORDING TO BEROSSOS[1]

The same Alexander [Polyhistor] narrates further after the writing of the Chaldeans as follows:

After the death of Ardatos, his son Xisuthros reigned eighteen sars.[2] In his time a great flood took place. The account of it is thus written down. Kronos ap-

[1] *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo*, edidit Alfred Schoene, Berlin, 1875, vol. i, pp. 20–24.

[2] 1 sar = 3,600 years (60x60).

. . . λέγει γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς Αλέξανδρος, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων αὖθιν [παρακατιὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνάτου βασιλέως Ἀρδάτου ἐπὶ τὸν δέκατον λεγόμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς Ξίσουθρον] οὕτως Ἀρδάτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ξίσουθρον βασιλεῦσαι σάρους ὀκτωκαίδεκα· ἐπὶ τοῦτου μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν γενέσθαι· ἀναγεγράφθαι δὲ τὸν λόγον οὕτως. Τὸν Κρόνον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν

peared to him in a dream, and said that on the fifteenth of Dasios mankind would be destroyed by a cataclysm. He had commanded him to dig and to place at Sippar a written account of the beginning, middle, and end of all things,[1] and then to build a boat and enter it with relatives and remaining friends. He should also put provisions in it and animals, both winged and four-footed, and, when all was prepared, set sail. If anyone should ask whither he was sailing, he should answer, "To the gods, to sue that things may be well with men." Xisuthros obeyed and built a boat of five[2] stadia long and two stadia wide, and then when everything was arranged he embarked wife and children and near friends (Syn. 53, 19).

When the cataclysm came and immediately ceased Xisuthros let fly certain of the birds. These, however, having found neither food nor a place to rest, came again into the ship. Again after certain days Xisuthros let the birds go. But these again returned having

[1] This item is wanting in the cuneiform account which has come down to us.

[2] So the MSS. The Armenian version reads "fifteen" and v. Gutschmid corrects to this and Schoene follows.

ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα φάναι μηνὸς Δαισίου πέμπτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ κατακλυσμοῦ διαφθαρήσεσθαι. Κελεῦσαι οὖν διὰ γραμμάτων πάντων ἀρχὰς καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευτὰς ὀρύξαντα θεῖναι ἐν πόλει ἡλίου Σισπάροις, καὶ ναυπηγησάμενον σκάφος ἐμβῆναι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίων φίλων· ἐνθέσθαι δὲ βρώματα καὶ πόματα, ἐμβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῶα πτηνὰ καὶ τετράποδα, καὶ πάντα εὐτρεπισάμενον πλεῖν. Ερωτώμενον δὲ ποῦ πλεῖ; φάναι, πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, εὐξόμενον[1] *εὐξόμενον ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὰ γενέσθαι. Τὸν δ' οὐ παρακούσαντα ναυπηγήσασθαι*[2] *σκάφος, τὸ μὲν μῆκος σταδίων δέκα πέντε,*[3] *τὸ δὲ πλάτος σταδίων δύο· τὰδὲ συνταχθέντα πάντα συνθέσθαι, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα, καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους ἐμβιβάσαι* (Syn. 53, 19).

Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, καὶ εὐθέως λήξαντος τῶν ὀρνέων τινὰ τὸν Ξίσουθρον ἀφιέναι· τὰδὲ οὐ τροφὴν εὑρόντα οὔτε τόπον ὅπου καθίσαι πάλιν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. Τὸν δὲ Ξίσουθρον πάλιν μετά τινας ἡμέρας ἀφιέναι τῳ

[1] Cod *εὐξάμενον*, corr. A. v. G. after Scaliger.

[2] Cod *ναυπήγησαντα*, corr. A. v. G.

[3] Cod *πέντε*, corr. A. v. G.

their feet soiled with clay. When he let them go a third time they did not return again to the ship. Xisuthros knew from this that the land had appeared again, and when he had removed a part of the side of the ship he saw that the ship had grounded upon a certain mountain. Thereupon he left the ship with wife and daughter and the pilot, and when he had bowed to earth he erected an altar. Having offered sacrifice upon this, he vanished with those who had come out of the ship with him. Those who had remained on the ship, when Xisuthros and his companions did not return, also landed, and sought him, calling him by name. Xisuthros himself did not appear to them, but a voice came from heaven, calling to them, that they ought to reverence the gods, for that he, because of his fear of the gods, had gone to dwell with them. But the same honor must be given his wife and daughter and the pilot. He bade them also to return to Babylon, and that they should recover the writings from Sippar and share them with men. The place where they are is the land of Armenia (Syn. 54, 17).

When they had heard this they sacrificed to the gods

ὄρνεα· ταῦτα δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς πόδας πεπηλωμένους ἐχοντα· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀφεθέντα οὐκ ἔτι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. Τὸν δὲ Ξίσουθρον ἐννοηθῆναι γῆν ἀναπεφηνέναι· διελθόντα τε τῶν τοῦ πλοίου ῥαφῶν μέρος τι, καὶ ἰδόντα προσοκεῖλαν τὸ πλοῖον ὄρει τινὶ ἐκβῆναι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου προσκυνήσαντά τε[1] τὴν γῆν καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρυσάμενον καὶ θυσιάσαντα τοῖς θεοῖς, γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐκβάντων τοῦ πλοίου ἀφανῆ. Τοὺς δὲ ὑπομείναντας ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μὴ εἰσπορευομένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ξίσουθρον ἐκβάντας ζητεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀνόματος βοῶντας· τὸν δὲ Ξίσουθρον αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔτι ὀφθῆναι, φωνὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος γενέσθαι κελεύουσαν, ὡς δέον αὐτοὺς εἶναι θεοσεβεῖς· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν θεῶν οἰκήσοντα· τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς τιμῆς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην μετεσχηκέναι· εἰπέ τε αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἐλεύσονται πάλιν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ ὡς εἴμαρται αὐτοῖς ἐκ Σισπάρων ἀνελομένοις τὰ γράμματα διαδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· καὶ ὅτι ὅπου εἰσὶν ἡ χώρα Ἀρμενίας ἐστίν (Syn. 54, 17).

Τοὺς δὲ ἀκούσαντας ταῦτα θῦσαί τε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ πεζῇ πορευθῆναι εἰς

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[1] Add τε A. v. G.

and went on foot[1] to Babylon. Of the ship, which had there rested, there still remains a portion in mountains of the Gordyæans in Armenia, and men scrape off asphalt and use it to ward off evil. These, however, came to Babylonia, dug up the writings at Sippar, and founded many cities and shrines and again repopulated Babylonia (Syn. 55, 16–56, 3).

[1] πεζῃ an emendation of Gutschmid, Cod reads πέριξ.

Βαβυλῶνα. Τοῦ δὲ πλοίου τούτου κατακλιθέντος ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἔτι μέρος τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς Κορδυαίων ὄρεσι τῆς Ἀρμενίας διαμένειν, καί τινας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου κομίζειν ἀποξύοντας ἀσφαλτον, χρᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποτροπιασμούς. Ἐλθόντας οὖν τούτους εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τά τε ἐκ Σισπάρων γράμματα ἀνορύξαι καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς κτίζοντας καὶ ἱερὰ ανιδρυσαμένους πάλιν ἐπικτίσαι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα (Syn. 55, 16–56, 3).

6. DESTRUCTION BY FIRE

The opposite idea to the destruction by a great flood is the destruction of the world by fire. No mention of such an idea has yet been found in any original Babylonian or Assyrian text, but there is evidence that such a doctrine did prevail among the Babylonians. Seneca quotes Berosus as having made an allusion to this, and the passage is so important that it is here reproduced. There seems good reason also for supposing that this Babylonian idea may have passed over to the Hebrews. The matter is not quite certain, but the following passages, cited by Zimmern, may be echoes of this Babylonian idea: Mic. 1. 4; Nah. 1. 5; Psa. 97. 5; 104. 32; 2 Pet. 3. 7, 10.

Berosus[1] who interpreted Bel,[2] says that this will happen through the course of the stars, and affirms it to

[1] The passage occurs in Seneca, *Nat. Qu.*, iii, 29. It is quoted in Carl Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, ii, p. 510 (Paris, 1848). Compare Zimmern in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 560 n. 2.; Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, p. 63f., English translation, p. 70f.

[2] The expression is of doubtful meaning.

Berosus, qui Belum interpretatus est, ait cursu ista siderum fieri, et adeo quidem id affirmat, ut conflagrationi atque diluvio tempora

this extent that he appoints times for the conflagration and for the deluge. He argues that the earthly things will be burned, when all the stars,[1] which now have diverse courses, shall come together in Cancer,[2] so that placed in one position a straight line might pass through all. On the other hand, there will be a flood when the same stars come together in Capricorn. The former is the summer solstice, the latter the winter solstice—signs of great moment, for in them are the chief changes of the year.

[1] He means here, of course, the planets.
[2] The Cancer is the zodiacal sign of the spring solstice as Capricorn is that of the winter solstice.

assignet. Arsura enim terrena contendit, quando omnia sidera, quae nunc diversos agunt cursus, in cancrum convenirent, sic sub eodem posita vestigio, ut recta linea exire per orbes omnium possit; inundationem futuram, quum eadem siderum turba in capricornum convenerit. Illic solstitium, hîc bruma conficitur; magnae potentiae signa, quando in ipsa mutatione anni momenta sunt.

VI. EA AND ATRAKHASIS[1]

From Ashurbanipal's library have come down to us four badly broken columns of a text originally containing six columns. Its fragmentary condition makes it difficult to be perfectly certain about its bearing upon the Atrakhasis myth of the Deluge. It may be tentatively suggested, as Zimmern has done, that this text has the same general application as the small text from the reign of Ammizadugga (see p. 104f.). In this tablet the story seems to be that men had sinned, and because of this had been afflicted with famine, which became so severe that children were eaten. In

[1] The text is published in *Cuneiform Texts*, xv, Plate 49. It has been translated by Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xiv, pp. 277ff.; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 274ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 128ff; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 61ff. Compare also Weber, *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*, pp. 94ff.; Jensen, *Das Gilgamesh-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, pp. 68ff.

this terrible suffering Atrakhasis sought the aid of Ea. The text is, unhappily, broken at this point, but we next hear of an assembly of the gods in which Ellil complains again of the sins of men. The inference would seem to be that the famine had been removed meanwhile and fruitfulness restored, but that men had resumed their sins. Then pestilence was sent as a punishment, and again Atrakhasis appeals to Ea, and again men are spared only to resume their sins. Again they are plunged into difficulties with unfruitfulness of the land and the failure of child-birth. The idea of the whole series of punishments would seem to be that Ellil is trying differing punishments, and when all have failed then he resorts at last to the sending of a flood. See for further exposition of this theory Zimmern in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 552ff. The text was used as an incantation over women about to bear children.

Column I:

[When the] second year [came, there began . . .]
[When] the third year [came,
The people in their . . . became changed.
When the fourth year came, . . . their cities were reduced to straits,
Their broad . . . became narrow (?)
The people wandered in the street downcast.
When the fifth year came, a daughter looks for the entering of the mother,

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Column I:

[II] šattu [i-na ka-ša-di-šu . . .]
III šattu [i-na ka-ša-di]
ni-šu i-na . . . ši-na it-tak-ru
IV šattu i-na ka-[ša-di]-šu ma-ḫa(?)-zi-šu-nu ik-ru-ni
rap-ša-tu . . . ši-na is-si-ka
ka-da-niši[t-ta-n]a-la-ka ni-šu i-na su-ḳi
V šattu i-na ka-ša[-di] e-rib ummi mârtu i-da-gal

The mother opens not the door to her daughter;
The treasures of the mother the daughter watches,
The treasures of the daughter the mother watches.
When the sixth year came, they prepared the [daughter] for a repast,
They prepared the child for food (?); full was [. . .]
One house devoured another,
Like ghosts their faces were veiled;
The people lived with bated breath,
They took a message [. . .]
They entered [. . .]

Column II:

Above Adad diminished his rain,
Below it was restrained [so that the stream rose not in the sources.]
The field diminished its produce
The bosom of Nisaba[1] changed; by night the fields were white:
The wide plain bore salt;[2]
The plant came not forth, the lambs fattened not,

[1] The goddess Nisaba is a vegetation deity, and her bosom means the hills of earth. These disappear in the sense that they are not covered by growing grain, and at night the ground looks white instead of green.
[2] Under the influence of drought *salts* appear on the dried ground.

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ummu a-na mârti ul i-pa-te bâbi-[ša]
zi-ba-ni-it ummi martu i-[na-ṭal]
zi-ba-ni-it mârti i-na-ṭal [ummu]
VI šattu i-na ka-ša-di il-tak-nu ana nap-t[a-ni mârta]
a-na pat-te bu-na il-tak-nu: im-la-ni ma-šu [. . .]
bîtu il-ta-nu šanu-u i-[ri-ḫa-ma]
ki-i (?) simâtu pa-nu-ši-na [kat-mu]
ni-šu i-na šu-par-ki-e [napišti bal-ṭa-at]
šipra il-ku-u [. . .]
e-tar-bu-ma [. . .]

Column II:

e-liš (ilu) [Adad zu-un-na-šu u-ša-kir]
is-sa-kir šap-[liš ul iš-ša-a me-lu i-na na-ak-bi]
iš-šur eklu [iš-pi-ki-e-šu]
[i-ni-' irtu ša] (ilu) Nisaba [mûšâti ip-ṣu-u ugârê]
[ṣêru pal-ku-u u]-li-id id-[ra-nu]
[šammu ul u-ṣa]-a šu-[u ul i-im-ru]

35 Calamity was placed upon men,
The womb was closed, no child came forth
[. . . . . .]
[When the second year came, there] began
When the third year came,
40 The people in their . . . became changed
[When the fourth year came], their cities were reduced to straits.
[Their broad . . .] . . . became narrow?
[The people wandered] in the street [downcast]
[When the fifth year came], the daughter looked for the entering of the mother.
45 The mother opens not the door to her daughter,
[The treasures of the mother] the daughter watches,
[The treasures of the daughter] the mother watches,
[When the sixth year came, they prepared] the daughter for a repast,
[They prepared] the child [for food]
50 [Full was . . .] one house devoured another.
[As . . . were their faces veiled;
[The people] lived [with bated] breath.
[The wise] Atrakhasis, the man,—

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35 [iš-ša-kin-ma a-na nišê a-sa-ku]
[rêmu (?) ku-ṣur-ma ul u-še-šir šir-ra]
[. . . . . .]
II šattu i-na ka-ša-di-šu . . .] na-gan-[ma]
[III šattu i-na ka-ša-di-šu . . .] ka-ša-di
40 [nišu i-na . . . ši-na] it-tak-ru
[IV šattu i-na ka-ša-di-šu ma-ḫa(?)-zi-] šu-nu ik-ru-ni
[rap-ša-tu . . . ši-na] is-si-ka
[ka-da-niš it-ta-na-la-ka ni-šu] i-na su-ki
[V šattu i-na ka-ša-di e-rib] um-mi mârtu i-da-gal
45 [ummu a-na mârti ul i-p]a-te bâbi-ša
[zi-ba-ni-it ummi mârtu] i-na-ṭal
[zi-ba-ni-it mârti i]-na-ṭal ummu
[VI šattu i-na ka-ša-di il-tak-nu] a-na nap-ta-ni marta
[a-na pat-te bu-na] il-tak-nu
50 [im-la-ni ma-šu . . . bîtu i]l-ta-nu ša-nu-u i-ri-ḫa-ma
[ki-i (?) simâtu pa-nu-ši]-na kat-mu
[nišu i-na šu-par-ki]-e napišti bal-ṭa-at
[bêl ta-ši-im-t]i A-tar-ḫasis amêlu

To Ea, [his lord,] is his thought turned;
[He speaks] with his god;
[But his lord Ea] speaks with him.
[Then went he out] to the door of his god,
By the river he set up his couch.
. . . . . seeks his rains

COLUMN III:

By their clamor he (Ellil) was [troubled?]
On account of their . . .
[Ellil] held his assembly
And said to the gods, his children,
"The clamor of men [disturbs me?]
"Because of their clamor I am troubled."
On account of their . . . gives me no heed,
[. . .] let chill come!
[Quickly] (?) let pestilence make an end (?) to their clamor.
Like a tempest shall rise against them,
Illness, headache, chill, calamity!"
Then [. . .] and chill began.

[ana bêli-šu (ilu) E]a uzni-šu pi-ta-at
[i-ta-m]u it-ti ili-šu
[bêli-šu (ilu)] E-a it-ti-šu [la šu] i-ta-mu
[u-ṣi-im-ma] bâb ili-šu
[i-n]a pu-ut nâri il-ta-kan[1] ma-a-a-al-šu
[. . .] mi-it-ra-tu-šu paḳ-rat

COLUMN III:

rig (ri-gi)-me-ši-na it-da-d[ir?]
[. . .] ḫu-bu-ri-ši-na la i-ṣa-ba-su [. . .]
[(ilu) En]-lil il-ta-kan pu-ḫur-[šu]
[iz-za]-ka-ra a-na ilâni mârê-šu
[. . . ta . . . ri]-gi-im a-me-lu-te
[eli ri-gi]-me-[ši-n]a at-ta-a-(di-ir)-dir
[. . .] ḫu-[bu]-ri-ši-na la i-ṣa-ba-ta ni-ši-tu
[. . .] ma šu-ru-bu-u lib-ši
[sur-r]iš li-ṣi ri-gim-ši-na nam-tar
[ki-m]a me-ḫi-e li-zi-ḳa-ši-na-ti-ma
[mur-ṣ]u ṭi-'u šu-ru-bu-u a-sa-ku
[. . .] ma šu-ru-bu-u ib-ši

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[1] Sign is *mal*.

[Quickly?] did the pestilence make an end to their clamor.
Like a tempest rose against them,
Illness, headache, chill, calamity.
The wise Atrakhasis, the man,—
To Ea, his lord, is his thought turned,
[He] speaks with his god,
His [lord] Ea speaks with him.
Atrakhasis opened his mouth,
[He spoke to] Ea, his lord;
"O lord, [Ea] men are in misery,
Thy anger consumes the land.
Oh my lord, men lament [. . .] thy . . . consumes the land,
[The anger?] of the gods consumes the land.
[O, Lord?] thou who hast created us,
Let the illness, headache, chills, calamity [cease?]."
[Ea opened his mouth and] spake, he said to Atrakhasis,
[. . .] confusion has ceased in the land.
[. . . . . pray to your goddess

[Several lines badly broken]

[sur]-riš (ri-iš) i-ṣi ri-gim-ši-na nam-tar
[ki-ma] me-ḫi-e i-zi-ka-ši-na-ti-ma
[mur]-ṣu ṭi-'u šu-ru-bu-u a-sa-ku
[bêl ta]-ši-im-ti A-tar-ḫasis amêlu
[ana bêli-šu (ilu) E-a uzni-šu pi-ta-at
[i-t]a-mu it-ti ili-šu
[bêli]-šu (ilu) E-a it-ti-šu i-ta-mu
A-tar-ḫasis pâ-šu êpu-ša i-ḳab-bi
[izakkara] a-na (ilu) E-a bêli-šu
[. . .] bêlu ut-ta-za-ma ta-ni-še-ti
[. . . . . .] ṣi-ku-nu-ma e-kal mâ-tu
[. . .] a bêli ut-ta-za-ma ta-ni-še-ti
[. . .] ša ilani-ma e-kal mâ-tu
[. . .]-ma te-ib-nu-na-ši-ma
[li-ip-par]-sa mur-ṣa ṭi-'u šu-ru-bu-u a-sa-ku
[(ilu) E-a pâ-šu êpu-ša i]-ḳab-bi: a-na A-tar-ḫasis-me izakkar-šu
[. . . . . .]: ka-lu ša-pu-u i-na mâ-ti
[. . . . .]-a tu-sa-pa-a (ilu) Ištar-ku-un

[Several badly broken lines]

[Ellil] held his assembly, he spoke to the gods his children,
[. . . . . do nothing for them.
[Their sins (?)] have not been diminished, they are more numerous than before.
[By] their clamor I am troubled,
On account of their . . . I give no heed (?)
They shall be cut off for the people the [. . .]
In their belly vegetables shall be wanting,
Above Adad shall diminish his rain,
Below shall be obstructed the flood that it rise not in the source,[1]
The field shall diminish its produce (?)
The bosom of Nisaba shall be changed, by night the fields shall be white:
The wide field shall bear salt,
Her bosom shall disappear (?) the plant shall not come forth, lambs shall not fatten,
Calamity shall be placed upon men,
Let [the womb] be closed, let it bring forth no little one.
Then there was cut off for the people the [. . .]

[1] The idea in lines 44 and 45 is that the earth is watered by the rains from the skies, and also by the water which rises out of springs; this latter being supplied from the great fountains beneath the earth. The same idea is in the Genesis Flood story (see Gen. 7. 11).

37 [(ilu) En-lil] il-ta-kan pu-ḫur-šu: izakkara a-na ilâni mârê-šu
[. . .] ra-me e ta-aš-ku-na-ši-na-ti
[. . .] la im-ṭa-a a-na ša pa-na i-ṭa-at-ra
40 [eli] rig-me-ši-na at-ta-a-dir
[. . .] ḫu-bu-ri-ši-na la i-ṣa-ba-ta ni-ši-tu
[lip-par]-sa-ma a-na ni-še e-ti-ta
[i-n]a kar-ši-ši-na li-me-ṣu šam-mu
[e]-liš (ilu) Adad zu-un-na-šu lu-ša-ḳir
45 [li-is]-sa-kir šap-liš ia iš-ša-a me-lu i-na na-aḳ-bi
[ʃ]i-šur eḳlu iš-pi-ki-e-šu
[ʃ]i-ni-' irtu ša (ilu) Nisaba: mušâti lip-ṣu-u ugâre
sêru pal-ku-u lu-li-id id-ra-nu
[ʃ]i-bal-kat ki-ri-im-ša: šam-mu ia u-ṣa-a šu-u ia i-im-ru
50 [li]š-ša-kin-ma a-na niše a-sa-ku
[rêmu] lu ku-ṣur-ma ia u-še-šir šir-ra
ip-[par-]su a-na ni-še e-ti-ta

In their belly vegetables were wanting.
Above Adad diminished his rain
Below obstructed was the flood, that it rose not in the source.
The field diminished its produce.
The bosom of Nisaba changed; by night the fields became white.
The wide field bore salt; its bosom disappeared;
Plants came not forth; lambs fattened not,
Calamity was placed upon men,
The womb was closed, it suffered not a child to come forth.

[A passage is here missing.]

Column IV:

[. . . . . .] says Ea,[1]
[. . . an incantation] he shall cause her to recite
[She recited] an incantation; after she had recited the incantation,
She spat upon the clay,
Fourteen pieces she pinched off; seven pieces she placed on the right;

[1] In the portion wanting between cols. iii and iv men must have been all destroyed, and now in col. iv Ea forms more to take their place. In this he is assisted by Nami (i. e., Aruru), who calls to her aid seven mothers.

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i-na kar-ši-ši-na e-me-ṣu šam-mu
e-liš (ilu) Adad zu-un-na-šu u-ša-ḳir
is-sa-kir šap-liš ul iš-ša-a me-lu ina na-aḳ-bi
iš-šur eḳlu iš-pi-ki-šu
i-ni-' irtu ša (ilu) Nisaba: mušâti ip-ṣu-u ugâre
ṣêru pal-ku-u u-li-id id-ra-na: ib-bal-kat ki-ri-im-ša
šam-mu ul u-ṣa-a šu-u ul i-im-ru
iš-ša-kin-ma a-na nišê a-sa-ku
rêmu ku-ṣur-ma ul u-še-šir šir-ra

[A passage is here missing.]

Column IV:

[. . . (ilu) E-a iz-za-kar
[. . . u-šam-na-ši
[. . . tam]-nu ši-ip-ta: iš-tu-ma tam-nu-u ši-pa-sa
[ta-at]-ta-di eli ṭi-iṭ-ti-ša
[xiv gi-ir]-ṣi taḳ-ri-iṣ: vii gi-ir-ṣi ana imni taš-ku-un

Seven pieces she placed on the left, between them she placed a brick.
[. . . . . .] the nostrils, she opened for it.
Then she called the wise (?) the instructed (?)
Seven and seven mothers; seven formed males,
Seven formed females.
The mother creator of destiny,
Finished them,
She finished them before her,
The figures of men Mami formed.

[vii gi]-ir-ṣi ana šumêli taš-ku-un: i-na be-ru-šu-nu i-ta-di libittu
[. . .] a ap-pa-ri ba-ri-ik a-pu-un-na-te tip-te-ši
[. . . is]-si-ma ir-še-te mu-te-ti
[vii] u vii ša-su-ra-ti: vii u-ba-na-a zikarê
[vii] u-ba-na-a sinnišâti
[š]a-su-ru ba-na-at ši-im-tu
ši-na-šan (ša-na) u-ka-la-la-ši-na
ši-na-šan (ša na) u-ka-la-la maḫ-ru ša
u-ṣu-ra-te ša nišê-ma u-ṣa-ar (ilu) Ma-mi

VII. ISHTAR'S DESCENT TO HADES[1]

To the land of No-return, the region [that is dark]
Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, directed her thought,[2]
The daughter of Sin directed her thought,
To the house of darkness, Irkalla's dwelling place,
To the house from which he who enters never returns,

[1] The original text is in IV R., 2d edition, 31, and in *Cuneiform Texts*, xv, pl. 45–48. It is translated by Jeremias, in Roscher, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, iii, 1, col. 258ff.; also by the same, *Hölle und Paradies*, in *Der Alte Orient*, i, 3te Auf.; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 80ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 326ff.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 65ff. Compare also Zimmern in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 561ff.; O. Weber, *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*, pp. 99ff.; Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 191ff.

[2] Literally, "placed her ear."

a-na irṣiti la târi kak-ka-ri [la(?) . . .]
(ilu) Ištar mârat (ilu) Sin u-zu-un-ša [iš-kun]
iš-kun-ma mârat (ilu) Sin u-zu-un-ša
a-na bît e-ṭi-e šu-bat (ilu) Ir-[kal-la]
a-na bîti ša e-ri-bi-šu la a-ṣu-[u]

To the road whose path turns not back.
To the house where he who enters is deprived of light,
Where dust is their sustenance, their food clay,
Light they see not, in darkness do they sit,
They are clothed like a bird, with wings as a *covering*,
Over door and bolt is spread the dust.
Ishtar, when she came to the door of the land of No-return,
Addressed the word to the porter of the door:
"O watchman, open the door,
Open the door that I may enter.
— If thou dost not open the door, that I may enter,
— I shall shatter the door, I shall break the bolt,
I shall shatter the threshold, I shall tear down the doors,
I shall bring up the dead that they may eat the living,[1]
The dead shall be more numerous than the living."
The porter opened his mouth and spake

[1] There has been much discussion of the meaning of this line, though it would appear hardly justified. The Assyrian means, literally, "I shall bring up the dead, eating, living." Maspero and Dhorme translate, "I shall bring up the dead that they may eat the living," and Ungnad agrees that this is "possible." I feel doubtful about it, but perhaps the idea was that they would be like vampires.

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a-na ḫar-ra-ni ša a-lak-ta-ša la ta-a-a-[rat]
a-na bîti ša e-ri-bu-šu zu-um-mu-u nu-[u-ra]
a-šar epru bu-bu-us-su-nu a-kal-šu-nu-ti ṭi-ī[ṭ-ṭu]
nu-u-ra ul im-ma-ru ina e-ṭu-ti aš-[bu]
lab-šu-ma kima iṣ-ṣu-ri ṣu-bat kap-[pi]
eli (iṣu) dalti u (iṣu) sikkuri ša-pu-uḫ ip-ru
(ilu) Ištar a-na bâb irṣiti la târi ina ka-ša-di-ša
a-na (amêlu) âtî ba-a-bi a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar
(amêlu) âtî-me-e pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka
pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka-ma lu-ru-ba a-na-ku
šum-ma la ta-pat-ta-a ba-a-bu la ir-ru-ba a-na-ku
— a-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ dal-tum sik-ku-ru a-šab-bir
a-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ si-ip-pu-ma u-ša-bal-kat (iṣu) dalâti
u-še-el-la-a mi-tu-ti ikkalu[1] ḫal-ṭu-ti
eli bal-ṭu-ti i-ma-'-du mi-tu-ti
(amêlu) âtû pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-ḳab-bi

[1] Usually read âkilûti. I adopt this rather doubtfully.

He spake to the great Ishtar:
"Stay, my lady, do not destroy,
I will go, I will announce thy name to my sovereign Ereskigal"[1]
The watchman went within, he spake [to Eresh-kigal]:
This is thy sister Ishtar [. . .]
The enmity (?) of the great houses of joy [. . . ."][2]
When Ereshkigal [heard this . . .]
As when one cuts down the tamarisk [she moved (?)][3]
As when one breaks the reed [. . . she said?]
"For what has her heart moved her to me? For what has her mind borne her to me?
These, there . . . I [. . .]
For food I will eat the clay, for drink I will drink [water.]
That I may weep for the men who have left their wives,
That I may weep for the women [torn] from their husbands bosoms,
That I may weep for the little child [snatched away before] its time.
Go, watchman, open the gate,

[1] Ereshkigal is queen of Hades, and wife of Nergal, god of the dead.
[2] The sense of the line is still quite undetermined.
[3] The meaning of this line, as also that of the next, is quite uncertain.

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iz-zak-ka-ra a-na rabî-ti (ilu) Iš-tar
i-zi-zi be-el-ti la ta-na-da-aš-ši
lu-ul-lik šumi-ki lu-ša-an-ni a-na šar-ra-ti (ilu) Er[-eš-ki-]gal
e-ru-um-ma (amêlu) âtû iz-zak-k[a-r]a [ana (ilu) Ereš-ki-gal
an-ni-tu-me-e a-ḫa-ta-ki (ilu) Iš-tar i [. . .]
nu-kur-tu ša kip-pi-e rabûti da [. . .]
(ilu) Ereš-ki-[gal] an-ni-t[a] i-n[a še-mi-ša]
ki-ma ni-kis (iṣu) bi-[n]i e-ru-[. . .]
ki-ma ša-pat ku-ni-ni is-li [. . .]
mi-na-a lib-ba-ša ub-la-an-ni mi-na-a kab-t[a-as-sa iš-ša-an-ni]
an-ni-tu-me-e a-na-ku it-ti [. . .]
ki-ma akalê a-kal ṭiṭṭu ki-ma šikarê a-šat-[ti] [-me-e]
lu-ub-ki a-na idlê ša e-zi-bu (sinništu) ḫi-[ra-ti-šu-un]
lu-ub-ki a-na (sinništu) ardâti ša ina sûn (amêlu) ḫa-i-ri-ši-na [. . .]
a-na (amêlu) ṣiḫri la-ki-e lu-ub-ki ša ina la ûmê-šu TAR [. . .]
a-lik (amêlu) âtû pi-ta-aš-ši ba-ab-k[a]

– Do unto her according to the ancient laws."
The watchman went and opened for her his gate:
"Enter, my lady, the underworld greets thee.
May the palace of the land of No-return be glad at thy presence."
– The first door, he made her enter, he opened it wide, he took the great crown from her head.
"Why, watchman, hast thou taken the great crown from my head?"
"Enter, my lady, so are the orders of the sovereign of the land."
The second door he made her enter, he opened it wide, he took the pendants from her ears.
"Why, watchman, hast thou taken the pendants from my ears?"
"Enter, my lady, so are the orders of the sovereign of the land."
The third door he made her enter, he opened it wide, he took the chains from her neck.
"Why, watchman, hast thou taken the chains from my neck?"
"Enter, my lady, so are the orders of the sovereign of the land."
The fourth door he made her enter, he opened it wide, he took the ornaments from her bosom.

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up-pi-is-si-ma ki-ma parṣê la-bi-ru-t[i]
il-lik (amêlu) âtû ip-ta-aš-ši ba-ab-[šu]
ir-bi be-el-ti Kûtû (ki) li-riš-ki
ekallu irṣiti la târi li-iḫ-du ina pa-ni-ki
išt-en bâbu u-še-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ṣi it-ta-bal agâ raba-a ša ḳaḳḳadi-ša
am-me-ni (amêlu) âtû ta-at-bal agâ raba-a ša ḳaḳḳadi-ia
ir-bi be-el-ti ša (ilu) Bêlit irṣi-tim ki-a-am parṣê-ša
šana-a bâbu u-še-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ṣi it-ta-bal in-ṣa-ba-te ša uzna-ša
am-me-ni (amêlu) âtû ta-at-bal in-ṣa-ba-te ša uznâ-ia
ir-bi be-el-ti ša (ilu) Bêlit irṣi-tim ki-a-am parṣê-ša
šal-šu bâbu u-še-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ṣi it-ta-bal (abnu) erimmâti ša kišadi-ša
am-me-ni (amêlu) âtû ta-at-bal (abnu) erimmâti ša kišadi-ia
ir-bi be-el-ti ša (ilu) Bêlit irṣi-tim ki-a-am parṣê-ša
rebu-u bâbu u-še-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ṣi it-ta-bal du-di-na-te ša irti-ša

"Why, watchman, hast thou taken the ornaments from my bosom?"

"Enter, my lady, so are the orders of the sovereign of the land."

The fifth door he made her enter, he opened it wide, he took the girdle, with birth stones, from her hips

"Why, watchman, hast thou taken the girdle, with birth stones, from my hips?"

"Enter, my lady, so are the orders of the sovereign of the land."

The sixth door he made her enter, he opened it wide, he took the bracelets from her hands and feet.

"Why, watchman, hast thou taken the bracelets from my hands and feet?"

"Enter, my lady, so are the orders of the sovereign of the land."

The seventh door he made her enter, he opened it wide, he took the breech-cloth from her body.

"Why, watchman, hast thou taken the breech-cloth from my body?"[1]

"Enter, my lady, so are the orders of the sovereign of the land."

When Ishtar had descended to the land of No-return,

[1] Ishtar is now nude; only thus may one enter the abode of the dead.

am-me-ni (amêlu) âtû ta-at-bal du-di-na-te ša irti-ia
ir-bi be-el-ti ša (ilu) Bêlit irṣi-tim ki-a-am parṣê-ša
ḫan-šu bâbu u-še-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ṣi it-ta-bal šib-bu (abnu) alâdi sa kablê-ša
am-me-ni (amêlu) âtû ta-at-bal šib-bu (abnu) alâdi ša kablê-ia
ir-bi be-el-ti ša (ilu) Bêlit irṣi-tim ki-a-am parṣe-ša
šeš-šu bâbu u-še-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ṣi it-ta-bal šemirê ḳâta-ša u šêpâ-ša
am-me-ni (amêlu) âtû ta-at-bal šemirê ḳâtâ-ia u sêpâ-ia
ir-bi be-el-ti ša (ilu) Bêlit irṣi-tim ki-a-am parṣe-ša
sibu-u bâbu u-še-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ṣi it-ta-bal ṣu-bat šu-pil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ša
am-me-ni (amêlu) âtû ta-at-bal ṣu-bat šupil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ia
ir-bi be-el-ti ša (ilu) Bêlit irṣi-tim ki-a-am parṣê-ša
iš-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma (ilu) Iš-tar a-na irṣiti la târi u-ri-du

Ereshkigal saw her and in her presence was irritated.
Ishtar took no heed, she went toward her.
Ereshkigal opened her mouth and spoke,
To Namtar,[1] her messenger she addressed a word,
"Go, Namtar, lock her up [in my palace],
Loose against her sixty maladies . . . Ishtar,
Malady of the eyes against [her eyes,]
Malady of the sides against [her sides,]
Malady of the feet against [her feet,]
Malady of the heart against [her heart,]
Malady of the head against [her head,]
Against her altogether [. . .]
Since the lady Ishtar descended to the land of No-return
The bull does not spring upon the cow, the ass does not bow over the jenny
The man no more bows over the woman in the street,
The man sleeps in his chamber
The woman sleeps alone.[2]

[1] Namtar, besides being a messenger, is also a demon of illness.
[2] Ishtar is the goddess of love, and during her absence in the land of the dead is not able to exercise her influence upon the generative instincts.

(ilu) Ereš-ki-gal i-mur-ši-ma ina pa-ni-ša ir-'-ub
(ilu) Ištar ul im-ma-lik e-li-nu-uš-ša nit-bi
(ilu) Ereš-ki-gal pa-a-ša i-pu-uš-ma i-ḳab-bi
a-na (ilu) Nam-tar sukkalli-ša a-ma-t[um] iz-zak-kar
a-lik (ilu) Nam-tar u[d]-dil-[ši ina ekalli]-ia-ma
šu-ṣa-aš-ši 1 šu-ši m[urṣê šu-ṣa-a ana] (ilu) Ištar
muruṣ ênâ [a-na ênâ]-ša
muruṣ a-ḫi a[-na aḫi]-ša
muruṣ šepâ a-[na šepâ]-ša
muruṣ lib-bi a-[na lib-bi-ša]
muruṣ ḳaḳḳadi i[na ḳaḳḳadi-ša]
a-na ša-a-ša gab-bi-ša-ma a-na [. . .]
ar-ki (ilu) Iš-tar be-el-ti a[-na irṣiti la târi u-ri-du]
a-na pur-ti alpu ul i-šaḫ-ḫi-i[ṭ imêru atâna ul u-ša-ra]
ar-da-tum ina suḳi [ul u-ša-ra id-lu]
it-til id-l[u i-na kum-mi-šu]
[it]-til a[r-da-tum i-na a-ḫi-ša]

REVERSE:

The countenance of Papsukkal,[1] messenger of the great gods, was fallen, his face darkened,
He was clad in mourning, with torn garments covered,
Then went Shamash,[2] before Sin his father, he wept.
In the presence of king Ea came his tears:
"Ishtar has descended to the earth, she has not come up again.
Since Ishtar has descended to the land of No-return,
The bull has not sprung upon the cow, the ass has not bent over the jenny
The man no more bows over the woman in the street,
The man sleeps in his chamber,
The woman sleeps alone.
Then Ea created in his wise heart an image,
He created Asushunamir,[3] a player (?)[4]
"Go, Asushunamir, set thy face to the gate of the land of No-return,

[1] Papsukkal is in mourning for Ishtar; what other function he performed in this poem is not clear.
[2] Shamash is the brother of Ishtar, and therefore mourns her. Sin is the father of both, and, as apparently he fails of suggestion in the premises, Shamash turns to Ea.
[3] The name means "his origin is brilliant."
[4] The meaning of *assinu*, here translated "player," is uncertain. The context would seem to convey the idea that he was to play or perform before Ereshkigal and win her favor.

REVERSE:

(ilu Pap-sukkal sukkal ilâni rabûti gu-ud-du-ud ap-pa-šu pa-ni-šu [ar-pu]
kar-ra la-biš ma-li-e na-[ši]
il-lik (ilu) Šamaš i-na pa-an (ilu) Sin abi-šu i-bak[-ki]
i-na pa-an (ilu) E-a šarri il-la-ka di-ma-a-[šu]
(ilu) Iš-tar a-na irṣi-tim u-rid ul i-la-a
ultu ul-la-nu-um-ma (ilu) Iš-tar a-na irṣiti la târi u-ri-du
a-na pur-ti alpu ul i-šaḫ-ḫi-iṭ imêru atâna ul u-ša-ra
ar-da-tum ina sûḳi ul u-ša-ra [i]d-lu
it-til id-lu i-na kum-mi-šu
it-til ar-da-tum i-na a-ḫi-ša
(ilu) E-a ina im-ḳi lib-bi-šu ib-ta-ni zik-ru
ib-ni-ma Aṣû-šu-na-mir (amêlu) as-sin-nu
al-ka Aṣu-šû-na-mir i-na bâb irṣiti la târi šu-kun pa-ni-ka

The seven doors of the land of No-return shall be opened before thee.
Ereshkigal shall behold thee, and in thy presence rejoice.
When her heart has been calmed, her soul enlivened,
Let her swear by the great gods![1]
Lift thy head, turn thy attention to the khalziki-water skin
O Lady, let one give me the *khalziki*-water skin, that I may drink water therefrom."
When Ereshkigal heard this
She beat upon her breast and bit her finger;
Thou hast expressed a desire which may not be desired.
Go, Asushunamir, I curse thee with a great curse.
"The food in the gutters of the city shall be thy food,
The sewers of the city shall be thy drink,
The shadow of the walls shall be thy dwelling,
The thresholds shall be thy habitation,
The drunken and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek."
Ereshkigal opened her mouth and spoke

[1] The idea of this and the following lines seems to be that, having won her favor, he was to ask an impossible thing after she had sworn to grant anything. When she refused, and so broke her oath, she would no longer have power over Ishtar.

VII bâbu irṣiti la târi lip-pi-tu-u i-na pa-ni-ka
(ilu) Ereš-ki-gal li-mur-ka-ma i-n[a] pa-ni-ka li-iḫ-du
ul-tu lib-ba-ša i-nu-uḫ-ḫu kab-ta-as-sa ip-pi-rid-du-u
tum-me-ši-ma šum ilâni rabûti
šu-ḳi rêšê-ka a-na (mašku) ḫal-zi-ḳi uz-na šu-kun
e be-el-ti (mašku) ḫal-zi-ḳi lid-nu-ni mê ina lib-bi lu-ul-ta-ti
(ilu) Ereš-ki-gal an-ni-ta ina še-mi-ša
tam-ḫa-aṣ sûni-ša taš-šu-ka u-ba-an-ša
te-tir-ša-an-ni e-riš-tum la e-ri-ši
al-ka Aṣû-šu-na-mir lu-zir-ka iz-ra raba-a
akâlê (iṣu) narṭabê ali lu a-kal-ka
(karpatu) ḫa-ba-na-at ali lu ma-al-ti-it-ka
ṣillu dûri lu-u man-za-zu-ka
as-kup-pa-tu lu mu-ša-bu-u-ka
šak-ru u ṣa-mu-u lim-ḫa-ṣu li-it-ka
(ilu) Ereš-ki-gal pa-a-ša i-pu-uš-ma i-ḳab-bi

To Namtar, her messenger, she addressed the word:
"Go, Namtar, knock at the palace of justice,
Knock at the thresholds of gleaming jewels,
Bring forth the Anunnaki,[1] let them be seated upon the golden throne,
Sprinkle Ishtar with the water of life, and take her away from me"
Namtar went and knocked at the palace of justice,
He knocked at the thresholds of gleaming jewels,
He brought forth the Anunnaki, he seated them upon the golden throne,
He sprinkled Ishtar with the water of life, and brought her forth,
From the first door he brought her out, and gave her back the breech-cloth of her body,
From the second door he brought her out, and gave her back the bracelets of her hands and feet,
From the third door he brought her out, and gave her back the girdle, with birth stones, of her hips,
From the fourth door he brought her out, and gave her back the ornaments of her bosom,
From the fifth door he brought her out, and gave her back the chains of her neck,

[1] The Anunnaki have charge, it would appear, of the administration of justice in the nether world.

30 a-na (ilu) Nam-tar sukkalli-ša a-ma-ta iz-zak-kar
a-lik (ilu) Nam-tar ma-ḫa-aṣ ekalli kêni
(abnu) askuppâti za-'-i-na ša (abnu) PA-MEŠ
(ilu) A-nun-na-ki šu-ṣa-a i-na (iṣu) kussî ḫurâṣi šu-šib
(ilu) Ištar mê balâṭi su-luḫ-ši-ma li-ḳa-aš-ši ina maḫ-ri-ia
35 il-lik (ilu) Nam-tar im-ḫa-aṣ ekallu kênu
(abnu) askuppâti u-za-'-i-na ša (abnu) PA-MEŠ
(ilu) A-nun-na-ki u-še-ṣa-a ina kussî ḫurâṣi u-še-šib
(ilu) Iš-tar mê balâti is-luḫ-ši-ma il-ḳa-aš-ši
išt-en bâbu u-še-ṣi-ši-ma ut-te-ir-ši ṣu-bat šu-pil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ša
40 šana-a bâbu u-še-ṣi-ši-ma ut-te-ir-ši še-mir ḳâtâ-ša u šepâ-ša
šal-ša bâbu u-še-ṣi-ši-ma ut-te-ir-ši šib-bu (abnu) alâdi ša kablê-ša
rebu-u bâbu u-še-ṣi-ši-ma ut-te-ir-ši du-di-na-te ša irti-ša
han-šu bâbu u-še-ṣi-ši-ma ut-te-ir-ši (abnu) erimmati ša kišâdi-ša

From the sixth door he brought her out, and gave her back the pendants of her ears,
From the seventh door he brought her out, and gave her back the great crown of her head.
"If she do not accord her deliverance to thee, turn thy face to her,[1]
To Tammuz, beloved of her youth,[2]
Pour out pure waters, offer good oil.
With a red garment clothe him, let him play upon a flute of lapis-lazuli
Let the maidens of joy, their mind [. . .]
[When] Belili,[3] the treasure [. . .]
With precious stones her bosom is filled
Belili heard the wailing of her brother, Belili smote the treasure which [. . .]
The precious stones she arranged [in] her sanctuary.
"My only brother do not hurt me,
In the days of Tammuz play for me on the flute of lapis-lazuli, on the ring of jade (?), play with him,

[1] The meaning of the line is in itself uncertain, and its connection with what precedes obscure. Jensen supposes that something has fallen out of the text, but there is no clear evidence in support of this. The difficulty may be due to our inability so to understand the words as to supply mentally the gaps which the interpretation requires.
[2] The lines from here to the end are obscure.
[3] Belili is the sister of Tammuz.

šeš-šu bâbu u-še-ṣi-ši-ma ut-te-ir-ši in-ṣa-ba-te ša uznâ-[ša]
sibu-u bâbu u-še-ṣi-ši-ma ut-te-ir-ši a-gu-u ra-ba-a ša ḳaḳ[ḳadi-ša]
šum-ma nap-ṭi-ri-ša la ta-ad-di-nak-kam-ma a-na ša-ša-ma tir-r[a [panû-ka]
a-na (ilu) Dumu-zi ḫa-mir ṣi-iḫ-ru-[ti-ša]
mê el-lu-ti ra-am-me-ik šamnu ṭâbu rum-[mi-ik]
ṣubâtu hušša-a lu-ub-bis-su malîl (abnu) uknî lim-ḫaṣ [. . .]
[(sinn]ištu) šam-ḫa-te li-na-'-a kab-ta-a[s-si-na]
[. . .] (ilu) Be-li-li šu-kut-ta ša u-šak-[li-lu]
[(ab]nu(?)) ênâ-te ma-la-a bir-k[a-a-ša]
ik-kil a-ḫi-ša taš-me tam-ḫa-aṣ (ilu) Be-li-li šu-kut-ta ša [. . .]
(abnu) ênâ-te-ša un-dal-la-a parṣ[e-ša]
a-ḫi e-du la ta-ḫab-bil-an-[ni]
ina û-me (ilu) Dumu-zi el-la-an-ni malîl (abnu) uknî šemiru (abnu) sâmti it-ti-šu el-la-an-ni

Play with him, O male and female players,
So that the dead may return and smell the incense.[1]

[1] This poem is part of a ritual said at a sacred meal for the souls of the dead.

it-ti-šu el-la-an-ni (amêlu) bâkû-ti u (sinništu) bâkâti
mîtûti li-lu-nim-ma ḳut-ri-in li-iṣ-ṣi-nu

VIII. NERGAL AND ERESHKIGAL[1]

When the gods prepared a feast,
To their sister Ereshkigal
They sent a messenger:
"Even if we should descend to thee,
Thou wouldst not come up to us,
Therefore send (hither) and take thy portion."[2] (lit. food)
Ereshkigal sent Namtar, her messenger.
Namtar went up to the high heaven
And entered [the hall] the gods were talking,
They [rose and greeted] Namtaru
The messenger of their great sister.

[1] The myth has come down to us on two fragments found in 1887 at Tell-el-Amarna, Egypt. One piece is in the British Museum, and was published by Bezold and Budge, *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 82. The other is in the Berlin Museum, and was published by Winckler and Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 240. Compare J. A. Knudtzon, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 130ff. It is translated by Jensen in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 74ff.; by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 69f.; and by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 357. Knudtzon is now persuaded that the two tablets were originally one. See further on the contents Zimmern in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 583f.; and Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*.

[2] Ereshkigal, goddess of Hades, cannot leave her post, therefore the gods above offer to permit her share in the feast to be sent to her.

i-nu-ma i-lu iš-ku-nu ki-e-ri-e-ta
a-na a-ḫa-ti-šu-nu E-ri-eš-ki-i-ga-a-al
iš-pu-ú-ru ma-a-ar ši-i-ip-ri
ni-i-nu ú-lu nu-ur-ra-da-ak-ki
ù at-ti ul ti-li-in-na-a-ši
šu-ú-up-ri-im-ma li-il-gu-ú ku-ru-um-ma-at-ki
iš-pu-ra-am-ma E-ri-iš-ki-i-ga-al nam-ta-a-ra šu-uk-ka-la-ša
i-la-am-ma N[am-ta]-ru a-na sa-me-e ṣi-i-ru-ú-ti
i-te-ru-[u-ub . . . i-dab-b]u-bu-ma i-la-nu
ú-pa-r[a . . .] ru-[ú] Nam-ta-a-ra
ma-ar ši [i-ip-ri-im a-ḫa-ti]-šu-nu ra-a-a-bi-i-ti

[A number of lines here are illegible, and some are missing altogether. It is, however, easy to divine from what follows that they contained substantially the following. When Namtar entered the hall of the great gods and all arose to receive him with honor, Nergal remained seated. Namtar reported the discourtesy to Ereshkigal, who interpreted it as a slight to her, and sends him back to the gods with a threat of vengeance, —she will kill the offender.]

Ea [. . .]
went [. . .]
Go, my sister [. . .]
Saying: "To the god who did not arise before my messenger,
Bring to him this message, I will kill him."
Namtaru went; he spoke to the gods.
The gods called him; they spoke with him,
"Behold the god, who did not arise before thee,
Take him before thy lady."
Namtaru counted them; a god was missing in the rear.
Where is the god, who did not arise before me?"
Behold, Namtar goes away, [he gave his message].
[A number of lines illegible, except as to a few disconnected words.]
He went away, to bring [report] to Ereshkigal
Before Ea, his father . . . [. . .] me [. . .]

(ilu) E-a [. . . . . .] ṣi-i-[is-ma]
il-l[i . . .]
a-li-ik [u] a-ḫa-a-ti [. . . bi]-e-ia
um-ma i-li ša i-na pa-ni ma-ar ši-ip-ri-ia la-a it-bu-[ú]
a-na mu-ú-ḫi-e-šu bi-la-ni-ma um-ma lu-ú-du-uk-šu
il-li-ka-am-ma Nam-ta-ru i-da-ab-bu-ub a-na i-la-ni
il su-šu-ma i-la-nu i-da-ab-bu-bu it-ti-šu mu-ú-[. . .]
a-mu-ur-ma i-la ša i-na pa-ni-ka la it-bu-ú
li-ḳi-e-šu a-na ma-ḫa-ar be-el-ti-ka
im-nu-šu-nu-ti-ma Nam-ta-ru i-lu ar-ku-ú gu-bu-uḫ
[i]a-a-nu šu i-lu [š]a i-na pa-ni-ia [l]a it-bu-ú
[a-mu]r [il]-la-ak Nam-ta-a-ru [iš-ku-un ṭi]-e-im-šu
[A number of illegible lines.]
li-i-ki a-na E-ri-iš-ki-gal i-ba-a[k . . .]
a-na pa-ni (ilu) E-a a-bi-šu i-ma-ra-an-[ni . . .]

Or life to me. I should not have had fear, [Ea answered him:]
"I will give thee seven and seven [demons]
To go with thee: [. . . ba, Mutabriku,]
Sharabdû, [Râbîsu, Tirid, Idibtu]
Bê[nnu, Sîdanu, Mikit, Bel-upri]
Ummu, [Lîbu these fourteen]
With thee [shall they go. When Nergal came to the] door
Of Erishkigal, he called, "Porter [open] thy door
[. the bands loosen that I may enter before thy lady
Erishkigal. I am sent. The porter went away.
He said to Namtaru, "A god is standing at the entrance of the door,
Come, look at him, whether he may enter." Namtar went out.
He looked at him [. . . . .] he said
To his lady: "My lady, it is the god who in former
Months disappeared, and did not arise before me.
Let him enter [as soon as] he comes before me. I will slay him."
Namtar went out [and said to Nergal] enter, my lord,
Into the house of thy sister [. . .] thy departure.

ú-lu ba-la-ṭa-an-ni la-a pa-al-[ḫa-ti . . .]
a-na-an-di-na-ak-ku VII u VII a-m[i . . .]
it-ti-ka a-na a-la-ki (ilu) [. . . ba (ilu) Mu-ta-ab-ri-ga]
(ilu) Ša-ra-ab-da-a (ilu) [Ra-a-bi-i-ṣa (ilu) Ṭi-ri-id (ilu) I-dib-tu]
(ilu) Bi-e-e[n-na (ilu) Ši-i-da-na (ilu) Mi-ki-it (ilu) Bi-e-el-up-ri]
(ilu) Um-mu (ilu) [Li-i-ba . . .]
it-ti-ka [. . . b]a-a-bu
E-ri-iš-ki-gal i-š[a-si a-tu a [. . .] a ba-ab-ka
ub-bi ru-um-mi-ma a-na-ku lu-ru-ú-ub a-na ma-ḫ[ar bi]-e-el-ti-ka
E-ri-iš-ki-gal a-na-ku ša-ap-ra-ku il-li-ik-ma a-tu-ú
iḳ-ta-bi a-na Nam-ta-ri i-lu iš-te-en i-na pi-i ba-a-bi iz-za-z[a]
al-ka-ma bu-úr-ri[-šu]-ma li-ru-ub ú-ṣa-[am-m]a Nam-ta-a-r[u]
i-mu-ur-šu-ma ḫa-a-di-du an-ni-iš k[a . . .] lum iḳ-ta-a-bi
a[-na be-e-el-ti-šu be-e-el-ti [i-lu š]a i-na ar-ḫa-a-[ni]
pa-a-[nu-ú-te iḫ-l[i-ku-ma i-na pa-ni]-ia la it-bu-ú
šu-ri-ba [š]u [. . . il]-la-ka lu-ú-du-u[k-šu]
ú-ṣa-am-ma Nam-ta-ru [. . .] ir-ba bi-e-li
a-na bi-tu a-ḫa-ti-ka-ma mu-[. . .]-ur ṣi-i-it-ta-ka

Nergal answered: "May thy heart rejoice in me."[1]
[About three lines are here missing.]
[. . . he stationed, when he entered the (second) door]
[. . .]ba at the third, Mutabriku[2] at the fourth,
Sharabdu at the fifth, Rabisu at the sixth, Tirid
At the seventh, Idibtu at the eighth, Bennu
At the ninth, Sidanu at the tenth, Mikit
At the eleventh, Belupri at the twelfth,
Ummu at the thirteenth, Libu at the fourteenth
Door he stationed as his [. . .] In the court he cut down
Namtaru. To his warriors he gave command: "The doors
Shall be opened. Look, (else) will I break out upon you."
Within the house he seized Ereshkigal
By the hair, he dragged her down from the throne
To the ground, to cut off her head.

[1] The meaning of lines 43 to 62 seems to be the following: Namtar had gone before the gods who gave him permission to pick out the offending god, whom they would then deliver over to death. He did not find him. Then Ea orders his son Nergal to go before Ereshkigal, and promises to send with him as a defense fourteen demons of sickness as his defenders. Thus accompanied, Nergal goes to the realm of Ereshkigal.

[2] These are the names of the demons of sickness, their names meaning little else than "Fever," "Fire," "Heat," and the like, which Ea had given Nergal as his defense.

[. . . m]a Nergal li-ib[-bu-k]a li-iḫ-da-an-ni
[About three lines are here missing.]
[. . . -l]a [id]-ḳa-a b[a-a-ba i-na e-ri-bi]
[(ilu) . . . .]-ba i-na ša-al-ši (ilu) Mu-ta-ab-ri-ga i-na ri-e-bi-[i]
(ilu) Ša-ra-ab-da-a i-na ḫa-an-ši (ilu) Ra-a-bi-i-ṣa i-na ši-iš-ši (ilu) Ṭi-ri-id
[i-n]a ši-e-bi-i (ilu) I-dib-tu i-na sa-ma-ni-i (ilu) Bi-e-en-na
i-na ti-ši-i (ilu) Ṣi-i-da-na i-na eš-ri-i (ilu) Mi-ḳi-it
i-na il-te-en-še-e-ri-i (ilu) Bi-e-el-up-ri i-na ši-i-in-še-e-ri-i
(ilu) Um-ma i-na ša-la-še-e-ri-i(ilu) Li-i-ba i-na ir-bi-še-e-ri-i
ba-a-bi il-ta-ka-an ḫu-úr-ba-a-ša i-na ta-ar-ba-ṣi it-ta-ki-is
(ilu) Nam-ta-ru ṣa-a-bi-šu ṭi-e-ma i-ša-ka-an ba-ba-tu
lu pu-ut-ta-a a-nu-um-ma a-na-ku a-la-as-su-ma-ku-ú-nu-ši
i-na li-ib-bi bi-i-ti iṣ-ṣa-ba-at E-ri-eš-ki-i-gal
i-na ša-ar-ti-ša ú-ḳi-id-di-da-aś-ši-im-ma iš-tu ku-us-si-i
a-na ga-a-ag-g[a-r]i ga-ga-as-sa a-na na-ka-si

"Kill me not, my brother. I will speak a word with thee."
Nergal hearkened; his hands relaxed. She wept and sobbed.
"Thou shalt be my husband; I will be thy wife, I will give thee to seize
Sovereignty over the wide earth. I will set the tablet
Of wisdom in thy hand. Thou shalt be lord,
I will be lady." When Nergal heard her word,
He seized her, kissed her, and wiped away her tears:
What thou hast wished from me from distant months,
Now let it be fulfilled.

la-a ta-du-ka-an-ni a-ḫu-a-a a-ma-ta lu-uḳ-ba-a-ku
iš-mi-ši-i-ma Nergal ir-ma-a ka-ta-a-šu i-ba-ak-ki ut-ta-ḫa-az
at-ta lu mu-ti-ma a-na-ku lu aš-ša-at-ka lu-še-iṣ-bi-it-ka
šar-ru-ta i-na ir-ṣi-e-ti ra-pa-aš-ti lu-uš-ku-un tu-up-pa
ša ni-mi-e-ḳi a-na ga-ti-ka at-ta lu bi-e-lu
a-na-ku lu bi-il-tu Nergal iš-mi-e-ma an-na-a ga-ba-ša
iṣ-ba-si-ma ú-na-aš-ša-ak-ši di-i-im-ta-ša i-ka-ap-pa-ar
mi-i-na-am-ma te-ri-ši-in-ni iš-tu ar-ḫa-ni ul-lu-ti
a-du ki-na-an-na.

IX. THE LEGEND OF SARGON, KING OF AGADE[1]

COLUMN I:

Sargon, the mighty king, the king of Agade, am I,
My mother was a priestess, my father I knew not,
And the brother of my father dwells in the mountain.

[1] First published in Part III R., 4, No. 7, and in full by King, in *Cuneiform Texts*, xiii, pp. 42ff., and by him again in *Chronicles concerning Old Babylonian Kings*, ii, pp. 87ff. It has been often translated, e. g., by George Smith, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, i, p. 46f.; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 26f. n. 1; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, part i, p. 100f.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 79. Compare also Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 529, and Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, p. 206.

COLUMN I:

Šarru-ukên šarru dan-nu šar A-ga-de(ki) a-na-ku
um-mi e-ni-tum a-bi ul i-di
aḫ abi-ia i-ra-ni ša-da-a

My city is Azupiranu,[1] which lies on the bank of the Euphrates.
My vestal mother conceived me, in secret she brought me forth.
She set me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen she closed my door;
She cast me into the river, which rose not over me.
The river bore me up, unto Akki, the irrigator, it carried me.
Akki, the irrigator, with . . . lifted me out,
Akki, the irrigator, as his own son . . . reared me,
Akki, the irrigator, as his gardener appointed me.
While I was a gardener the goddess Ishtar loved me,
And for . . . -four years I ruled the kingdom.
The black-headed *peoples* I ruled, I gov*erned;*
Mighty *mountains* with axes of bronze did I de*stroy.*
I climbed the upper mountains;
I burst through the lower mountains.
The Country of the Sea three times did I besiege;
Dilmun did . . .

[1] The location of the city is unknown.

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a-li (alu) A-zu-pi-ra-a-ni ša i-na a-ḫi (nâru) Puratti šak-nu
i-ra-an-ni um-mu e-ni-tum i-na pu-uz-ri u-lid-an-ni
iš-kun-an-ni i-na ḳup-pi ša šu-ri i-na iddî bâbi-ia ip-ḫi
id-dan-ni a-na [nâ]ri ša la e-li-e-a
iš-ša-an-ni nâru a-na eli (m)Ak-ki (amelu) nâk-mê u-bil-an-ni
(m)Ak-ki (amêlu) nâḳ-mê i-na hi-ib [. . .] li [. . .] lu-u u-še-la-an-ni
(m)Ak-ki (amêlu) nâḳ-mê a-na ma-ru-ti-šu [. . .] u-rab-ban-ni
(m)Ak-kı (amêlu) nâḳ-mê a-na (amêlu) . . . ti-šu lu-u [iš]-kun-[an-*ni*]
i-na (amêlu) . . . ti-ia (ilu) Iš-tar lu-u i-ra-man-ni-ma
. . . IV šanâti šarru-u-ta lu-u e-pu-uš
[nišê] šalmât ḳaḳḳadi lu-u a-be-el lu-u aš-[pur]
šadê(e) dannûti ina aḳ-ḳul-la-te ša erû lu-u ub-[bit]
[lu-u] e-dil-li ša-di-i e-lu-[ti]
[lu-u] at-ta-[nab]-lak-ka-ta ša-di-i šap-l[u-ti]
[ma]-ti ti-amat lu-u al-ma-a III šanîtu
Dilmun (ki) lu-u ik-[. . .]

Unto the great Dur-ilu[1] *I went up*, I
. . . I altered . . .
Whatsoever king shall be exalted after me,
. . . . . .
Let him rule, let him govern the black headed peoples;
Mighty mountains with axes of bronze let him destroy.
Let him climb the upper mountains;
Let him burst through the lower mountains.
The country of the Sea let him three times besiege
And Dilmun[2] . . .
To the great Dur-ilu let him go up . . .
[. . .] from my city of Akkad [. . .]

[1] A city in eastern Babylonia, the name signifies, "Wall of God."
[2] An island in the Persian Gulf.

[a-n]a Dûr-ilu(ki) rabî(i) [lu-u e-li] lu-u [. . .]
[. . . .]-ni lu u-nak-kir-ma [. . .]
[man]-nu šarru ša i-la-a arki-ia
. . . . . .
[ni]-šê ṣalmât ḳaḳḳadi l-ib[e-el li-iš-pur]
šadê dannâti ina ak-kul-la-[te ša erû [lib-bi-it]
[l]i-te-dil-li šadê elûti
[lit-ta-nab-lak-kat šade šaplûti
[m]a-ti ti-amat lil-ma-a III šanîtu
[Dilmun (ki) . . .]
[a-n]a Dûr-ilu rabî(i) li-li-ma [. . .]
[. . . .] ul-tu ali-ia A-ga-[de(ki) . . .]

HYMNS AND PRAYERS

HYMNS AND PRAYERS

THERE are no greater treasures in all the literature of Babylonia and Assyria than the hymns and prayers. They have, indeed, sometimes been valued too highly, chiefly because they have so frequently been appraised solely by means of extracts, sometimes indeed by very short passages, and even when judged by longer excerpts, these have been so chosen as to leave out essential contexts. The passages here given are complete, even the incantation rituals being carefully set down with the lyrical or supplicative contents. The parallels to the Hebrew psalter need to be very cautiously drawn. Superficial resemblances are misleading, and the deeper analogies are sometimes not easily discerned. There is no general agreement yet secured among scholars upon these delicate points. It is, however, quite clear that in spite of much that is beautiful in these hymns, they are as a whole deficient in individual character, having much sameness of phrase and, so far as we are able to judge, of metre, and in these qualities, as well as in pure religious character, stand far below the book of Psalms.

1. HYMN TO SIN, THE MOON GOD

O Lord, chief of the gods, who alone is exalted on earth and in heaven.

[1] Published in IV R., 9. Translated by Zimmern, *Hymnen*, p. 11f.; by E. G. Perry, *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 1ff.; and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 80, 81. Compare also Zimmern in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 608, 609; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, pp. 436ff.; Combe, *Culte de Sin*, pp. 94ff. The hymn is a bilingual, being handed down in Sumerian, in the *eme-sal* dialect, and in Assyrian.

ù-mu-un nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne an-ki-a áš-ni maḫ-a-an
be-lum e-tel-lí ilâni ša ina šamê(e) u irṣitim(tim) e-diš-ši-šu ṣi-i-ru

Father Nannar, Lord, Anshar, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, Lord, great Anu, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, Lord, Sin, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, Lord of Ur, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, Lord of Egisshirgal,[1] chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, Lord of the tiara,[2] brilliant one, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, whose rule is perfect, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, who dost go forth in the robe of majesty, chief of the gods,
O strong, young bull, with huge horns, perfect in limbs, with beard[3] of lapis-lazuli color, full of glory and perfection.

[1] The temple of Sin in Ur.
[2] The moon from the 11th to the 15th day was seen as a great glowing tiara.
[3] The moon in art is represented with a long beard. See plate at the end of the book.

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a-a (*dimmer*) *Uru* (*ki*) *umun An-šár nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne*
a-bu (ilu) Na-an-nar be-lum An-šár e-tel-li ilâni
a-a (*dimmer*) *Uru* (*ki*) *umun An gal-e nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne*
a-bu (ilu) Na-an-nar be-lum (ilu) A-num rabû(u) e-tel-li ilâni
a-a (*dimmer*) *Uru* (*ki*) *unum* (*dimmer*) *En-zu-na nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne*
a-bu (ilu) Na-an-nar be-lum (ilu) Sin e-tel-li ilâni
a-a (*dimmer*) *Uru* (*ki*) *umun Uru* (*unu*) (*ki*)*-ma nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne*
a-bu (ilu) Na-an-nar be-el Ú-ri e-tel-li ilâni
a-a (*dimmer*) *Uru* (*ki*) *umun é-giš-šir-gal nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne*
a-bu (ilu) Na-an-nar be-el é-giš-šir-gal e-tel-li ilâni
a-a (*dimmer*) *Uru* (*ki*) *umun mèn* ZUBU*-na nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne*
a-bu (ilu) Na-an-nar be-lum a-gi-e šu-pu-ú e-tel-li ilâni
a-a (*dimmer*) *Uru* (*ki*) *na-ám-mèn gal-li-eš šu-dù-a nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne*
a-bu (ilu) Na-an-nar ša šar-ru-tú ra-biš šuk-lu-lum e-tel-li ilâni
a-a (*dimmer*) *Uru* (*ki*) *tug-tug na-ám-duru-na šud-šud nir-gál dím-me-ir-e-ne*
a-bu (ilu) Na-an-nar ša ina ti-di-iḳ ru-bu-tú i-šad-di-ḫu e-tel-li ilâni
amar banda si gúr-gúr-ra à-úr šú-dù sù (*sà?*) *za-gìn-na šud-šud šár-gub la-la ma-al-la-ta*
bu-ru iḳ-du ša ḳar-ni kab-ba-ru ša meš-re-ti šuk-lu-lum ziḳ-ni uk-ni-i zaḳ-nu ku-uz-bu u la-la-a ma-lu-ú

Fruit which hath created itself, of lofty form beautiful to look upon, in whose being one cannot sufficiently sate himself;

Mother womb, begetter of all things, who hast taken up his exalted habitation among living creatures;

O merciful, gracious Father, who hath taken into his care the life of the whole world.

O Lord, thy divinity is full of awe, like the far-off heaven and the broad ocean.

O creator of the land, founder of sanctuaries, proclaimer of their names.

O Father, begetter of gods and men, who dost build dwellings and establish offerings,

Who dost call to lordship, dost bestow the sceptre, determinest destinies for far-off days.

O mighty leader, whose deep inner being no god understands.

---

gi-rin im-ba mu-un-dìm-ma é-mar ĕ-a i-de-bar GAN-UL *la-la-bi nu-ge-ge*

en-bu ša ina ra-ma-ni-šu ib-ba-nu-u ši-ḫa kat-ta ša ana nap-lu-si as-mu la-la-šu la eš-še-bu-u

ama gam nigin-na mu-lu ši da-ma-al-la ki-dúr maḫ ne-in-ri

ri-i-mu a-lid nap-ḫa-ri ša it-ti šik-na-at na-piš-ti šub-tam ellitim(tim) ra-mu-u

a-a šà-lá-šud mar-ra-na mu-lu na-ám-ti-la gú ka-nag-gá šu-šú mu-un-dib-ba

a-bu rim-nu-u ta-a-a-ru ša ba-laṭ nap-ḫar ma-a-ti ga-tuš-šu tam-ḫu

umun na-ám-dím-me-ir-zu an-šud-dam a-ab-ba da-ma-al-la nì mu-un-gùr-ru-e

be-lum i-lut-ka ki-ma šamê(e) ru-ḳu-ti tam-tim ra-pa-aš-tú pu-luḫ-tú ma-lat

ù-[lu]-ud-da ka-nag-gá zag mu-un-šub-ba mu-un-da-ab-sá-e-me

b[a-nu]-u ma-a-ta mu-šar-ši-du eš-ri-e-ti na-bu-ú šu-me-šu-un

ad MUḪ*-na dím-me-ir-e-ne na-ám-galu*-[găl-lu] [*gàl-*(*mùl*)*-lu*] *bara ri-a-an* SUK*-dimmer* NINNI *mu-un-gi-eš-a-an*

a-bu a-lid ilâni u a-me-li mu-šar-mu-u šub-tum mu-kin nin-da-bi-e

na-ám-bara-e-ne mu-sá-a mudum(PA?) *ṣi-ém-mu-a ud-šú* (*ud*)*-da-šú* [*nam*] *mu-ni-íb*(?)*-tar-e-ne*

na-bu-ú šar-ru-ti na-din haṭ-ṭi ša šim-ti ana umê(me) ru-ḳu-ti i-šim-mu

i-de-eš-gin(*dim*) *gìr* (*mir*)*-ra šă-ab-sú-ud dimmer na-me nu-mu-un-pa*(*d*)*-da-e-ne*

a-ša-ri-du ga-aš-ru ša lìb-ba-šu ru-ú-ḳu ilu man-man la ut-tu-u

O hastening steed, sturdy one, whose knees do not grow weary, who dost open the road for the gods, thy brothers,

Thou that from the base of heaven to the height of heaven dost march in glory, opening the door of heaven, and granting light to all men.

O Father, begetter of all things, who lookest upon all living beings, seeker of . . .

O Lord, who determinest the decisions of heaven and earth, whose command is not set aside.

Who holdest fire and water, and leadest all souls. What god reaches thy fullness?

Who is exalted in heaven? Thou alone art exalted.

Who is exalted on earth? Thou alone art exalted.

Thy word is proclaimed in heaven, and the Igigi prostrate themselves;

---

dura kàṣ-dúg-ga-ra ṣi-ib-ba nam-kuš-šá kaskal mu-un-ri-r[i d] ím-me-ir šeš-e-ne

agalu la-as-mu ša bir-ka-šu la in-na-ḫa mu-pat-tu-u [ur-ḫi] ilâni at-ḫi-šu

[*an-ú*]*r-ta an-*PA-*šú lag-ga mu-un-làḫ-làḫ giš-šir u*[*ku-cdū-šú*] *mar-ra an-na-d*[*a-ma*]*-al-la*

20 ša iš-tu i-šid šamê(e) ana e-lat [samê(e) it-ta-na-al-la-k]u(?) pi-tu-u da-lat šamê(e) ša-kin n[u-u-ra ana kul]-lat niš[ê]

[*ad*] MUḪ-*mu nigin-na ši-mà-al igi-duḫ* [ ]-*a*(?)-*an kin-kin*[ ]

a-bu a-lid nap-ḫ[a-ri mu-up-pa-li-is šik-nat na-piš-ti muš-te-'-u] . . .

umun dúg-áš-bar bar-ra an-ki-a m[*u*]-*l*[*u dúg-ga-b*]*i nu-m*[*u-un-kúr-ri-e-ne*]

be-lum pa-ri-is purussê šamê(e) u irṣitim(tim) ša ki-bit-su man-m[a-an la ú-na-ak-ka-ru]

a (*dimmer*) *Mu-bar-ra šú-mu-un-da-ab-ḫa-za túm-túm ši ma-a*[*l-la*] *dím-me-ir na-me a-ba-zu mu-un-dìm-ma*

ta-me-iḫ (ilu) Gír-ri ù me-e mut-tar-ru-ú šik-na-at na-piš-tim a-a-ú ilu ma-la-ka im-ṣi

an-na a-ba maḫ-me-en za-e ušu-zu maḫ-a-an

ina šamê(e) man-nu ṣi-i-ru at-ta e-diš-ši-ka ṣi-rat

ki-a a-ba maḫ-me-en za-e ušu-zu maḫ-a-an

25 ina irṣitim(tim) man-nu ṣi-i-ru at-ta e-diš-ši-ka ṣ[i-ra]t

za-e e-ne-ém-zu an-na mu-un-pa(*d*)*-da* (*dimmer*) *Nun-gal-e-ne ka šú-ma-ra-an-gál* (*mal*)*-li-eš*

ka-a-tú a-mat-ka ina šamê(e) i-zak-kar-ma ilâni Igigi ap-pa i-lab-bi-nu

Thy word is proclaimed on earth, and the Anunaki kiss the ground.

Thy word sounds on high like a storm wind, and food and drink do abound.

Thy word sounds over the earth, and vegetation springs up.

Thy word makes fat stall and stable, and multiplies living creatures.

Thy word causes truth and righteousness to arise, that men may speak the truth.

Thy word is like the distant heaven, and the concealed earth, which no man can see.

Thy word, who can know it, who can compare with it?

O Lord, in heaven, thou hast, among the gods thy brothers no rival in dominion, nor in rule upon earth.

---

za-e e-ne-ém-zu ki-a mu-un-pa(d)-da (dimmer) A-nun-na-gè-e-ne ki-a mu-un-su-ub-su-ub

ka-a-tú a-mat-ka ina irṣitim(tim) i-za-kar-ma ilâni A-nun-na-ki ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru u-na-ša-ḳu

za-e e-ne-ém-zu an-na immir-dìm diri(g)-ga-bi ú-a ú-a ka-nag-gá mu-un-di(b)-di(b)

ka-a-tú a-mat-ka e-liš ki-ma ša-a-ri ina ni-ḳil-pi-[ša ri-i-tú-u maš-ki-tum u-da-aš-ša

za-e e-ne-ém-zu ki-a ni-ma-al ú-rig ba-an-mà(SAR)*-mà*(SAR)

ka-a-tú a-mat-ka ina ir-ṣi-ti ina ša-ka-ni ur-ki-tum ib-ba-an-ni

za-e e-ne-ém-zu tùr-ra amaš-da peš-e ši-ma-al mu-un-da-ma-al-la

ka-a-tú a-mat-ka tar-ba-ṣu u su-pu-ru u-šam-ri šik-na-at na-piš-ti ú-ra-pa-aš

za-e e-ne-ém-zu ám-gi-na ám-si-di mu-un-ma-al na-ám-gál (múl)-gàl (mùl)-lu inim-inim mu-un-gi-na

ka-a-tú a-mat-ka kit-tú u mi-ša-ri ú-šab-ša ni-ši i-ta-mu-u kit-tum

za-e e-ne-ém-zu an-na mu-un-šú-ud-da ki-a mu-un-šu-šu ám na-me nu-mu-un-pa(d)-da-e-ne

ka-a-tú a-mat-ka šamê ru-ḳu-ti irṣitim(tim) ka-tim-tú ša man-ma-an la ut-tu-u

za-e e-ne-ém-zu a-ba mu-un-zu-a a-ba mu-un-da-ab-di-a

ka-a-tú a-mat-ka man-nu i-lam-mad man-nu i-ša-na-an

umun-e an-na na-ám-umun-e ki-a na-ám-nir-ra dím-me-ir šeš-zu-ta gab-ri nu-tuk-a-an

belum ina šamê(e) be-lu-tú ina irṣitim(tim) e-tel-lu-tú ina ilâni at-ḫi-ka ma-ḫi-ri ul ti-i-ši

35 King of kings, exalted, whose decrees none rival, no god is like unto thy divinity.
Where thine eye does glance faithfully there cometh harmony (?)
Where thou dost grasp the hand, there cometh salvation (?)
Gleaming Lord, who dost guide and lead truth and righteousness in heaven and upon earth (?)
Look upon thy temple, look upon thy city,
40 Look upon Ur, look upon Egisshirgal,
May thy dear wife [*Ningal* (?)] the gracious [mother], may she say to thee: "O Lord be appeased."
The hero Shamash, [thy son] may he say to thee: "(O Lord be appeased)."
The Igigi (may they say to thee): "O Lord (be appeased)."
The Anunnaki (may they say to thee): "O Lord (be appeased)."

BE (*til*)-*bara* *ìl-la* *me-bi* *mu-lu* *al-nu-di* *nam-dím*-[*me-ir-bi*-] *nu-mu-un-da-ab-si*(*g*)-*si*(*g*)-*ga*
35 šar-šar-ri ša-ḳ[u-u ša par-ṣi-šu man-man la i-ša-an-na-nu an]a ilûti (ti)-šu ilu la maš-lu
ki-i-de-zi-d[*a* *mu-un-si-in-bar* . . . *sè*]-*ga-eš-a-an*
a-šar en-k[a ke-niš tap-pa-li-su . . .] tam-gu-ra
ki *šú-zi-g*[*è* *šú-gíd-ba-an-na-ab* (?) *šú-ta-kar-dáḫ* (?)]-*a d*[*ú*]
a-šar ta-[ṣa-ba-tu ke-niš (?) ḳata šú-z]u-ba [te-pu-uš (?)]
ù-mu-un PA-[UD-DU *na-ám-gi-na* *na-ám-si-di*]-*a* *an-ki-a* *ba-an-ë*
be-lum šú-[pu-u ša kit-tú u me-ša-ri ina šamê u irṣitim uš]-ti-šir uš-ti-ṣa
ê-zu [*u-di* *uru-z*]*u* *ú-di*
bit-ka n[ap-li-is ali-ka] nap-lis
Uru (*unu ki*) *ú-di* *e-giš-šir-gal* *ú-di*
40 u-ru na[p-li-is e]-giš-šir-gal nap-lis
mu-ud-na *ke*[*ngad-zu* *ama* *šàg*]-*ga* *umun* [KU-*mal* *ḫu*]-*mu-ra-ab-bi*
ḫi-ir-tum[na-ram-ta-ka ummu d]a-me-iḳ-tú be-lum nu-uḫ liḳ-bi-ka
šul (*dimmer*) [*Babbar-ra* *umun*] KU-*mal* *bi*
id-lum [(ilu) Šamaš belum nu-uḫ
(*dimmer*) *Nun-g*[*al-e-ne* *umun ku-má*]
ilâni Igi[gi be-]lum
(*dimmer*) *A-n*[*un-na-gè-e-ne* *umun ku*]-*má*
ilâni A-[nun-na-ki be]-lum

45 The god (?) [. . . may he say to thee]: "O Lord (be appeased)."
The goddess Nin [. . . may she say to thee]: "O Lord (be appeased)."
The bolt of Ur, "O "
The gods of heaven ["]

A prayer of the lifting of the hand 4[8 lines to Sin]

Mighty one, Lord of power (?) [

Copied and compared according to the original.
Tablet of Ishtar-shuma-eresh, chief copyist
of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria,
son of Nabu-zer-lishteshir, the chief copyist.

---

di[mmer *umun kumá]*
45 i[lu be-l]um
(*dimmer*) *Nin-[gal* (?) *umun ku-má]*
(ilu) [Nin-gal (?) be-l]um
(*giš*) (*miš šagil u[ru*]
(isu) me-dil ú[-ri]
dim-me-ir an-[ki-a]

šú ìl-lá XL[VIII-*a-an mu-bi im* (*dimmer*) *Uru kan*]

alim-ma umun gìr (*mir*)*-r[a*
kîma (ma) lâbiri-šu šà-ṭir-ma bâri(m)

dup-pi(m) (ilu) Ištar-šuma-ereš(eš) (amelu) ràb-dup-šar-ri
ša(m) (ilu) Ašur-bani-aplu šàr kiššati šàr (mat) Ašur (ki)
mâr(m) (ilu) Nabu-zer-lištešir (amelu) ràb ḳanû(u)

2. HYMN TO RAMMAN, THE WEATHER GOD[1]

"Ramman[2] the glorious," is thy name, exalted god;
"Lord Ramman, mighty bull and glorious," is thy name, exalted god;

[1] This strange but powerful hymn, written in Sumerian, belongs to a remote period of antiquity, perhaps as early as the third millenium before Christ. It is published by King in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, xv, 15, 16, and was first translated by Langdon, in *Babyloniaca*, ii, pp. 162–167, and again in his *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 280–283, and yet again in the *Expositor*, June, 1910; and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 83, 84.

[2] The name in Sumerian is Ishkur, and the god corresponds to Ramman of the Assyrians, the West-Semitic god Adad.

[(dingir) Iškur sīg]-è-a mu-zu dingir [zag-šú]
[ù-mu-un] (dingir) Iškur gud-maḫ sīg-è-a mu-zu dingir [zag-šú]

"Ramman, child of heaven, mighty bull and glorious," is thy name, exalted god;
"Lord of Karkar,[1] mighty bull and glorious" is thy name, exalted god;
"Ramman, lord of plenty, mighty bull and glorious" is thy name, exalted god;
"Companion of the lord Ea, mighty bull and glorious" is thy name, exalted god;[2]
"Father Ramman, lord that rideth the storm" is thy name, exalted god;
"Father Ramman, that rideth the great storm" is thy name, exalted god;
Father Ramman, that rideth the great lion," is thy name, exalted god;
Ramman, lion of heaven, mighty bull and glorious, is thy name, exalted god;
Thy name doth enthrall the land,
Thy splendor covers the land like a garment.
At thy thunder the great mountain father Mullil[3] is shaken.
At thy rumbling the great mother Ninlil trembles.
Ellil sent forth his son Ramman:

[1] Karkar is the seat of the cultus of this god.
[2] The text as published does not contain the refrain in this line, but the line is broken at the end and may have contained at the edge the sign for "ditto." It seems improbable that it was omitted altogether.
[3] Enlil (Ellil) (Mullil), the god of the earth, and Ninlil is his wife.

(dingir) Iškur dumu an-na gud-maǧ sīg-è-a mu-zu dingir [zag-šú]
ù-mu-un IM (ki)-ge gud-maǧ sīg-è-a mu-zu dingir [zag-šú]
(dingir) Iškur ù-mu-un ĝen-gál-la gud-maǧ sīg-e-a mu-zu dingir
maš-tab-ba ù-mu-un (dingir) am-an-ki-ga gud-maǧ sīg-è-a
a-a (dingir) iškur ù-mu-un ud-da ū-a mu-zu dingir zag-šú
a-a (dingir) iškur uda galla ū-a mu-zu dingir zag-šú
a-a (dingir) iškur ug-gal-la ū-a mu-zu dingir zag-šú
(dingir) iškur ug an-na gud-maǧ sīg-è-a mu-zu dingir zag-šú
mu-zu kalama mu-un-dú-dú-ul
me-lam-zu kalama túg-dím im-mi-in-dul
za-pa-ág-zu-šú kùr-gal a-a (dingir) mu-ul-lil sag im-da-sīg-gi
mur-du-zu dagal-gal (dingir) ninlil ba-e-di-ǧu-luǧ-e
(dingir) En-lil-li dumu-ni (dingir) Iškur-ra á-mu-un-da-an-ág

Who, oh my son, directeth the storm, sendeth forth the storm?

Ramman directeth the storm, sendeth forth the storm.

The storm like the seven demons (?) flieth; he sendeth forth the storm.

Spirit, may thy sonorous voice give forth its utterance, he sendeth forth the storm.

The lightning, thy messenger, goeth before (thee), he sendeth forth the storm.

Who, my son, beareth splendor, who that cometh can strive (with thee)?

If the foe do evil (thy) father is by thee, who can strive (with thee)?

The little hail thou holdest, who can strive with thee?

The great hail thou holdest, who can strive with thee?

Thy little and great hail stones let be upon him.

Let thy right hand destroy the foe, thy left arm pluck him away."

Ramman gave ear to the words of the father, his creator.

The father Ramman went out of the house, spirit of sonorous voice,

Out of the house, out of the city went (he) up, the youthful lion,

---

galu dumu-mu ud um-me-ši-si-sig ud um-me-ši-lal-lá
(dingir) Iškur-ri ud um-me-ši-si-sig ud um-me-ši lal-lá
ud imin-zig-dím ǧe-dal-lá ud um-me ši-lal-lá
ud ka-silim-zu dúg-bi ǧa-ra-ab-ba ud um-me-ši-lal-lá
nim-gir sukkal-zu igi-šú-mu-ra-du ud
galu dumu-mu ul gin-na a-ba zi-gi-en te-ba
ki-bal ǧul-gíg a-a muǧ-zu-šú a-ba za-e-dím te-ba
nà-IM tūr-tūr-e šu-um-me-ti a-ba za-e-dím te-ba
nà-gal-gal-e šu-um-me-ti a-ba za-e-dím te-ba
ná-tūr-tūr-zu nà-gal-gal-zu muǧ-ba u-me-ám
ki-bal a-zi-da-zu ù-mu-e-gul kab-bu-zu ù-mu-e-sig
(dingir) iškur-ri dúg-dúg-ga a-a muǧ-na-šú giš-ni-ba-ši-in-ag
a-a (dingir) Iškur é-ta è-a-ni ud ka-silim na-nam
é-ta úru-ta [è-]a-ni ug'-ban-da na-nam

30 Out of the city took his way, the spirit of thunderous voice.

xxx lines; a psalm to Ramman.

30 úru-ta [ ] ga-ra-ni ud ka-mur-ra na-nam

3. PROCESSIONAL HYMN TO MARDUK[1]

O Lord, on thine entrance into thy house, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Mighty Lord Marduk, on thine entrance into thy house,[2] may thy house rejoice in thee.

Great warrior, lord Enbilulu, on thine entrance into thy house, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, O Lord, rest, O Lord, may thy house rejoice in thee.

5 Rest, lord of Babylon, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, lord of E-sagila,[3] may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, lord of E-zida, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, lord of E-makhtila, may thy house rejoice in thee.

E-sagila, the house of thy lordship, may thy house rejoice in thee.

[1] This text exists both in an Assyrian copy belonging to Ashurbanipal's library, and also in a Sumerian and Babylonian original discovered by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Babylon. The former is published IV R., 18, No. 2, the latter by F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miszellen* (1903), Plate 13f., who also translates it pp. 36ff. It is also translated by Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 178, 179, where there is also some discussion of its characteristics. It is translated again by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 85, with the omission of lines 13-28.

[2] In the second line and thereafter only the word "house" is repeated, the rest of the formula being mentally supplied from the first line.

[3] Esagila is Marduk's temple in Babylon, E-zida the temple of Nabu in Borsippa, and also the name of a sanctuary of the same god in the temple of E-sagila; E-makhtila is a temple or chapel of Nabu in Borsippa.

be-lum ana bîti ina e-ri-bi-ka [bîtu-ka li-iḫ-du-ka]
kab-tu be-lum (ilu) Marduk ana bîti ina e-ri-bi-ka bîtu-ka
ḳar-ra-du ra-bu-ú bêlum (ilu) *do.* ana bîti ina e-ri-bi-ka bîtu-ka
nu-uḫ bêlum nu-uḫ bêlum bîtu-ka
5 nu-uḫ be-el Ba-ab-ili
nu-uḫ be-el Ê-sag-il-la
nu-uḫ be-el Ê-zi-da
nu-uḫ be-lum Ê-maḫ-ti-la
E-sag-ila bît be-lu-ti-ka

Thy city cries out to thee, "Rest,"[1] may thy house rejoice in thee.
Babylon cries out to thee, "Rest," may thy house rejoice in thee.
The great Anu, father of the gods, cries out to thee, "Rest at last."
May the mighty mountain, father Bel,[2] cry to thee, "Rest at last."
The queen of city and house, the great mother Belit, cry to thee, "Rest at last."
Ninib, the first born of Bel, with the exalted armor of Anu, cry to thee, "Rest at last."
Sin, the light of heaven and earth, cry to thee, "Peace at last."
The strong hero, Shamash, son of Nin-gal, cry to thee, "Peace at last."
Ea, king of the deep, cry to thee, "Peace at last."
Damkina, queen of the deep, cry to thee, "Peace at last."
Sarpanitum, the daughter-in-law[3] of the deep, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

[1] The word "Rest" here and elsewhere in the hymn is an abbreviation of the old formula of the incantation texts, "May thy heart be appeased." The hymn was to be sung antiphonally, the priest repeating the first half of the line and the people responding with the refrain. Compare the *Hallel Psalms of the Hebrews*, Psalms 113–118.

[2] "Mighty mountain," the home of the gods. Father Bel is Ellil, the elder Bel of Nippur.

[3] She is the wife of Marduk, who was the son of Ea, god of the deep.

10 alu-ka nu-uḫ liḳ-bi-ka
Ba-bi-lu nu-uḫ liḳ-bi-ka
A-nu ra-bu-u a-bi ilâni ma-ti nu-uḫ liḳ-bi-ku
ša-du-ú ra-bu-ú a-bi (ilu) En-lil
ru-bat a-li u bîti um-mu ra-bi-tum (ilu) *do*
15 (ilu) Nin-ib ma-ru riš-tu-ú ša (ilu) En-lil e-mu-ḳa-an ṣi-ra-tu ša (ilu) A-nim
(ilu) Sin na-an-nar šamê(e) u irṣi-tim
id-lum (ilu) Šamaš da-ar-ru mâru (ilu) Nin-gal
(ilu) Ê-a šar-rum ap-si-i
[ilu] Dam-ki-na be-lit ap-si-i
20 [(ilu) Sar-pa-ni-tu]m kal-lat ap-si-i

The true messenger, Nabu, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

The daughter-in-law, first born of Urash, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

. . . Tashmitum, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

The exalted, great, my mistress, queen Nana, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

The lord Madanu, the overseer of the Anunaki, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

Bau, the gracious consort, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

Adad, beloved son of Anu, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

Shala, the great lady,[1] cry to thee, "Peace at last."

The lord, possessor of power, who dwells in E-kur, may the courage[2] of thy godhead be appeased.

Lord of the gods art thou, may the gods of heaven and earth appease thine anger,

Thy city, Nippur, cast not away. Let them cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

Sippar cast not away. Let her cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

Babylon, the city of thy peace, cast not away. Let her cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

---

[1] She was apparently the wife of Adad, for she is named with him in Sennacherib's Bavian Inscription, line 48.

[2] "Courage," so Weissbach, but it is doubtful.

[sukkallu kînu (ilu) Nâbu
[kallâtum mârtu riš-ti-tum ša (ilu) Uraš
[. . . .] (ilu) Taš-me-tum ma-ti nu-uḫ liḳ-bi-ku
[š]ur-ba-tum ra-bi-tum be-el-tum (ilu) Na-na-a
be-lum (ilu) Ma-da-nu a-ši-ir (ilu) A-nun-na-ki
(ilu) Ba-ú sin-niš-tum da-me-iḳ-tum
(ilu) Adad ma-ru na-ram (ilu) A-nim
(ilu) Ša-la ḫi-ir-tum ra-bi-tum
be-lum ša-ga-pu-ru ša ina Ê-kur aš-bu ka-bit-ti (an) a-nu-ti-ka li-nu-uḫ
e-til-li ilâni at-ta ilâni ša šame(e) u ir-ṣi-tim uz-za-ka li-ni-iḫ-ḫu
alu-ka Ni-ip-pu-ru la ta-nam-di bêlum nu-uḫ liḳ-bu-ka
Si-ip-par la ta-nam-di
Ba-bi-la ala ḫi-du-ti-ka la ta-nam-di

Look graciously upon thy house. Look graciously upon thy city. Let them cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

Look graciously upon Babylon and E-sagila. Let them cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

The bolt of Babylon, the lock of E-sagila, the defense of E-zida

Bring back to their places. The gods of heaven and earth, let them cry to thee, "O lord, peace."[1]

[1] At the close is a colophon directing that the hymn be used on the eleventh day of Nisan, the first month of the new year, when Marduk entered his own especial sanctuary in the temple of Ê-sagila.

bîta-ka nap-li-is ala-ka nap-li-is
Ba-bi-la u Ê-sag-ila nap-li-is
mi-dil šú-ma ši-gar šu-ma li-bit-ti Ê-zi-da
a-na aš-ri-šu tu-ur-ra ilâni ša šame(e) u irṣi-tim be-lum nu-uḫ liḳ-bu-ka

4. A "PRAYER OF THE RAISING OF THE HAND" TO ISHTAR[1]

Incantation. I pray unto thee, sovereign of sovereigns, goddess of goddesses,

Ishtar, queen of all men, directress of mankind.

O Irnini,[2] O exalted one, mistress of the Igigi,

Thou art mighty, thou art queen, thy name is exalted,

Thou art the light of heaven and earth, O valiant daughter of Sin,

[1] Neo-Babylonian text published and translated by L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, pp. 222ff., ii, Plate lxxvff.; Zimmern, *Hymnen*, pp. 19ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 356ff.; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii, pp. 66ff.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 85ff.

[2] Ishtar is here identified with Irnini, and below with Gushea. This process of identification was widely extended. Elsewhere she is identified with Nana, Belit, etc.

šiptu u-sal-li-ki be-lit be-li-e-ti i-lat i-la-a-ti
(ilu) Ištar šar-ra-ti kul-lat da-ad-me muš-te-ši-rat te-ni-še-e-ti
(ilu) Ir-ni-ni mut-tal-la-a-ti ra-bit (ilu) Igigi
gaš-ra-a-ti ma-al-ka-a-ti šu-mu-ki ṣi-ru
at-ti-ma na-an-na-rat šamê(e) u irṣitim(tim) ma-rat (ilu) Sin ḳa-rit-ti

Bearing arms, establishing combat,
Framing all laws, wearing the crown of dominion.
O lady, thy greatness is majestic, exalted above all the gods.
Star of lamentation, who makest hostility among brethren at peace,
Making them abandon friendship,
For a friend. O lady of defeat, who disturbs my peace.
O Gushea, who art covered with battle, who art clothed with fear,
Thou dost perfect destiny and decision, the law of earth and heaven,
Sanctuaries, shrines, divine dwellings and temples worship thee.
Where is thy name not heard? Where not thy decrees?
Where are thy images not made? Where are thy temples not founded?
Where art thou not great? Where art thou not exalted?
Anu, Ellil and Ea have exalted thee, among the gods have they increased thy dominion.

OBVERSE:

They have exalted thee among the Igigi, they have made thy place great.

---

mut-tab-bi-la-at kakkê ša-ki-na-at tu-ḳu-un-ti
ḫa-mi-mat gi-mir par-ṣi a-pi-rat a-gi-e be-lu-ti
(ilu) bêlti šu-pu-u nar-bu-ki eli ka-la ilâni ṣi-ru
ḳaḳab ta-nu-ḳa-a-ti muš-tam-ḫi-ṣa-at aḫê mit-gu-ru-ti
mut-ta-ad-di-na-at it-ba-ru
it-bur-ti be-lit tu-ša-ri mut-tak-ki-pat šalimti-ia
(ilu) Gu-še-a ša tu-ḳu-un-ta ḫal-pat la-bi-šat ḫar-ba-ša
gam-ra-a-ti šip-ṭa u purussâ ur-ti irṣitim(tim) u ša-ma-mi
suk-ku eš-ri-e-ti ni-me-da u parakkê u-tuk-ḳu ka-a-ši
e-ki-a-am la šumu-ki e-ki-a-am la par-ṣu-ki
e-ki-a-am la uṣ-ṣu-ra uṣurâti-ki e-ki-a-am la innadû parakkê-ki
e-ki-a-am la ra-ba-a-ti e-ki-a-am la ṣi-ra-a-ti
(ilu) A-num (ilu) Ellil u (ilu) E-a ul-lu-u-ki ina ilâni u-šar-bu-u be-lu-ut-ki

OBVERSE:

u-ša-aš-ḳu-ki ina nap-ḫar (ilu) Igigi u-ša-ti-ru man-za-az-ki

At the thought of thy name the heaven and the earth quake,
The gods tremble, the Anunaki falter.
Thy name is terrible, men do pay homage to it.
For thou art great, thou art exalted.
All the black headed race, all mankind, adore thy power.
Thou judgest the cause of men with justice and right;
Thou regardest with mercy the despised man, thou settest right the down-trodden every morning.
How long wilt thou tarry, O lady of heaven and earth, shepherdess of pale-faced men?
How long wilt thou tarry, O lady of the holy E-anna, the pure storehouse?
How long wilt thou tarry, O lady whose feet are unwearied, whose knees do run?
How long wilt thou tarry, O lady of conflict and all battles?
O thou glorious one, that ragest among the Igigi, who dost subdue angry gods,
Powerful over all princes, holding the sceptre of kings,
That openest the bonds of all slaves,
That art raised on high, that art firmly established,—
O valiant Ishtar, great is thy might.

---

20 a-na ḫi-is-sat šu-me-ki šamû(u) u irṣitim(tim) i-ru-ub-bu
ilâni i-ru-bu i-nar-ru-ṭu (ilu) A-nun-na-ki
šumu-ki ra-aš-bu iš-tam-ma-ra te-ni-še-e-ti
at-ti-ma ra-ba-a-ti u ṣi-ra-a-ti
nap-ḫar ṣal-mat ḳaḳ-ḳa-di nam-maš-šu-u te-ni-še-e-ti i-dal-la-lu kurdi-ki
25 di-in ba-ḫu-la-a-ti ina kit-ti u mi-ša-ri ta-din-ni at-ti
tap-pal-la-si ḫab-lu u šaḳ-šu tuš-te-eš-še-ri ud-da-kam
a-ḫu-lap-ki be-lit šamê(e) u irṣitim(tim) ri-e-a-at nišê a-pa-a-ti
a-ḫu-lap-ki be-lit E-an-na ḳud-du-šu šu-tum-mu el-lu
a-ḫu-lap-ki (ilu) bêlti ul a-ni-ḫa šêpâ-ki la-si-ma bir-ka-a-ki
30 a-ḫu-lap-ki be-lit ta-ḫa-zi ka-li-šu-nu tam-ḫa-ri
šu-pu-u-tum la-ab-bat (ilu) Igigi mu-kan-ni-šat ilâni šab-su-ti
li-'-a-at ka-li-šu-nu ma-al-ku ṣa-bi-ta-at ṣir-rit šarrâni
pi-ta-a-at pu-su-um-me ša ka-li-ši-na ardâti
na-an-še-a-at na-an-di-a-at ḳa-rit-ti (ilu) Ištar ra-bu-u ḳur-di-ki

Brilliant torch of heaven and of earth, light of all dwellings,
Terrible in combat, without a rival, strong in battle.
Flame that roarest against the foe, and cuttest off the mighty,
O furious Ishtar, who assemblest troops,
O goddess of men, goddess of women, whose decision none may apprehend.
Where thou dost regard the dead live, the sick arise.
The unjust become just beholding thy face,
I invoke, sorrowful, sighing, suffering thy servant.
Look upon me, O my lady, and accept my supplication,
Pity me in truth, and hearken unto my prayer
Speak deliverance unto me, let thy heart be appeased.
Deliverance for my suffering body, full of troubles and disorders?
Deliverance for my afflicted heart, full of sorrow and sighing?
Deliverance for my suffering bowels, troubled and confused?
Deliverance for my troubled house, pouring forth complaints?

---

35 na-mir-tum di-par šamê(e) u irṣitim (tim) ša-ru-ur kal da-ad-me
iz-zi-it ḳab-lu la ma-ḫar a-li-lat tam-ḫa-ri
a-ku-ku-u-tum ša ana ai-bi nap-ḫat ša-ki-na-at šul-lu-uḳ-ti ik-du-ti
mu-um-mil-tum (ilu) Ištar mu-paḫ-ḫi-rat pu-uḫ-ri
i-lat zikrûti ilu Iš-tar sinnišâti ša la i-lam-ma-du mi-lik-šu ma-am-man
40 a-šar tap-pal-la-si i-bal-luṭ (amêlu) mîtu i-te-ib-bi mar-ṣu
iš-ši-ir la i-ša-ru a-mi-ru pa-ni-ki
ana-ku al-si-ki an-ḫu šu-nu-ḫu šum-ru-ṣu arad-ki
a-mur-in-ni-ma (ilu) bêlti-ia li-ḳi-e un-ni-ni-ia
ki-niš nap-li-sin-ni-ma ši-mi-e tas-li-ti
45 a-ḫu-lap-ia ḳi-bi-ma ka-bat-ta-ki lip-pa-aš-ra
a-ḫu-lap zumri-ia na-as-si ša ma-lu-u e-ša-a-ti u dal-ḫa-a-ti
a-ḫu-lap lib-bi-ia šum-ru-ṣu ša ma-lu-u dim-ti u ta-ni-ḫi
a-ḫu-lap te-ri-ti-ia na-as-sa-a-ti e-ša-a-ti u dal-ḫa-a-ti
a-ḫu-lap bîti-ia šu-ud-lu-bu ša u-na-as-sa-su nissâti

Deliverance for my spirit, full of sorrow and sighing?
O . . .[1] Irnini, fierce lioness, may thy heart be appeased.
Raging wild ox, may thy heart be appeased.
May thine eyes be benevolent toward me.
In thy glorious appearance look faithfully upon me.
Put an end to the evil bewitchments of my body; that I may see thy clear light.
How long, O my lady, shall mine accusers persecute me?

REVERSE:

How long shall they devise evil in rebellion and treachery,
My persecutor, my pursuer, shall spy after me?
How long, O my lady, shall the crippled and diseased seek me?
He hath prepared for me a mourner's garment, but I appear joyously before thee.
The weak have become strong, but I have become weak.
I am troubled like a flood, which the evil wind maketh to rage (?)

[1] The scribe erased here and did not rewrite.

50 a-ḫu-lap kab-ta-ti-ia ša uš-ta-bar-ru-u dim-ti u ta-ni-ḫi
(ilu) Ir-ni-ni [. . .[1]]-i-tum la-ab-bu na-ad-ru lib-ba-ki li-nu-ḫa
ri-i-mu šab-ba-su-u ka-*bit*-ta-ki lip-pa-aš-ra
damkâti înâ-ki lib-ša-a e-li-ia
ina bu-ni-ki nam-ru-ti ki-niš nap-li-sin-ni ia-a-ši
55 uk-ki-ši u-pi-ša limnêti ša zumri-ia nûru-ki nam-ru lu-mur
a-di ma-ti (ilu) bêlti-ia bêlê da-ba-bi-ia ni-kil-mu-u-in-ni-ma

REVERSE:

ina sur-ra-a-ti u la ki-na-a-ti i-ḳap-pu-du-ni lim-ni-e-ti
ri-du-u-a ḫa-ṭu-u-a iš-tam-ma-ru eli-ia
a-di ma-ti (ilu) bêlti-ia lil-lu a-ku-u i-ba-'-an-ni
60 ib-na-an-ni muḳ-ḳu ar-ku-um-ma ana-ku am-mir-ki[2]
en-šu-ti id-ni-nu-ma ana-ku e-ni-iš
a-sab-bu-' ki-ma a-gi-i ša up-pa-ḳu šâru lim-na

[1] Erasure in original text.
[2] The meaning of the line is extremely doubtful. The translation above given is due to suggestions of Langdon.

My heart hath taken wing, it hath flown away like a bird of the heavens.
I moan like a dove, night and day.
I am made desolate, and I weep bitterly,
In pain and sorrow my soul is distressed.
What have I done, O my god and my goddess?
Is it because I feared not my god or my goddess that trouble hath befallen me?
Sickness, headache, ruin and destruction are come upon me;
Miseries, turning away of countenance, and fullness of anger are my lot,
Indignation, wrath, anger of gods and men.
I behold, O my lady, days of affliction, months of sorrow, years of misfortune;
I behold, O my lady, judgment of disorder and violence,
Death and misery make an end of me.
Desolate is my sanctuary, my shrine is desolate,
Over my house, my gate, and my fields is affliction poured forth.
As for my god his face is turned elsewhere;
My family is scattered, my house walls are broken into.

---

i-ša-' it-ta-nap-raš lib-bi ki-ma iṣ-ṣur ša-ma-mi
a-dam-mu-um ki-ma su-um-ma-tum mu-ši u ur-ra
na-an-gu-la-ku-ma a-bak-ki zar-biš
ina '-u-a a-a šum-ru-ṣa-at ka-*bit*-ti
mi-na-a e-pu-uš ili-ia u (ilu) iš-tar-ia a-na-ku
ki-i la pa-liḫ ili-ia u (ilu) ištari-ia ana-ku ep-še-iḳ
šak-nu-nim-ma mur-ṣu ṭi-'-i ḫu-lu-uḳ-ḳu-u u šul-lu-uḳ-ti
šak-na-ni ud-da-a-ti suḫ-ḫur pa-ni u ma-li-e lib-ba-a-ti
uz-zu ug-ga-ti šib-sat ilâni u a-me-lu-ti
a-ta-mar (ilu) bêlti-ia ûmê uk-ku-lu-ti arḫê na-an-du-ru-ti šanâti ša ni-zik-ti
a-ta-mar (ilu) bêlti-ia šib-ṭa i-ši-ti u saḫ-maš-ti
u-kal-la-an-ni mu-u-tu u šap-ša-ḳu
šu-har-ru-ur sa-gi-e-a šu-ḫar-ru-rat a-šir-ti
eli bîti bâbi u ḳar-ba-a-ti-ia ša-ḳu-um-ma-ti tab-kat
ili-ia ana a-šar ša-nim-ma suḫ-ḫu-ru pa-nu-šu
sap-ḫat il-la-ti ta-bi-ni pur-ru-ur

But unto my lady do I give heed, my ear is turned toward her;
My prayer is unto thee, dissolve my ban.
Blot out my sin, my fault, my mockery and my offence!
Forgive my mockery, accept my supplication,
Free my breast, send me comfort,
Guide my footsteps that happily and proudly among the living I may pursue my way.
Speak the word, that at thy command the angry god may be favorable,
And that the goddess who is angry may be gracious.
My gloomy, smoking brazier may shine,
My quenched torch may be relighted,
May my scattered family be collected.
May the fold be wide, and the enclosures be spacious.
Be favorable to the abasement of my face, give ear unto my prayer.
Look upon me in truth and [*accept my supplication.*][1]
How long, O my lady, wilt thou be angry, and thy face be turned away?
How long, O my lady, wilt thou be furious, and thy soul be in anger?

[1] Supplied by King.

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u-pa-ka a-na (ilu) bêlti-ia ka-a-ši ib-ša-ki uzna-a-a
u-sal-li-ki ka-a-ši '-*il-ti* pu-uṭ-ri
pu-uṭ-ri ar-ni šir-ti ḳil-la-ti u ḫi-ṭi-ti
mi-e-ši ḳil-la-ti-ia li-ḳi-e un-ni-ni-ia
ru-um-mi-i[1] ki-rim-ia šu-bar-ra-a-a šuk-ni
šu-te-ši-ri kib-si nam-riš e-til-liš it-ti balṭuti lu-ba-' sûḳi
ḳi-bi-ma ina ḳi-bi-ti-ki ilu zi-nu-u li-is-lim
(ilu) ištari ša is-bu-sa li-tu-ra
e-ṭu-u ḳatru lim-me-ir ki-nu-ni
bi-li-ti li-in-na-pi-iḫ di-pa-ri
sa-pi-iḫ-tu il-la-ti lip-ḫur
tarbaṣu li-ir-piš liš-tam-di-lu su-pu-ri
mug-ri li-bi-en ap-pi-ia ši-me-e su-pi-e-a
ki-niš nap-li-sin-ni-ma [erasure by the scribe]
a-di ma-ti (ilu) bêlti-ia zi-na-ti-ma suḫ-ḫu-ru pa-nu-ki
a-di ma-ti (ilu) bêlti-ia ra-'-ba-ti-ma uz-uz-za-at kab-ta-at-ki

[1] Text i̯a. Read *i* or *e* (?); i̯a for *i*, also ll. 11 and 95, evidently to be pronounced ī [Langdon].

Incline thy neck, *now turned* away, let a word of grace be before thy face,
As the free waters of the river, may thy soul be freed.
My oppressors, may I trample them under foot like the clay,
And they that are angry against me, subdue them, and crush them beneath my feet.
Let my prayers and supplications come unto thee,
And let thy great mercy be upon me,
That they who see me in the street may magnify thy name,
And I will glorify thy godhead and thy might before men.
Ishtar is exalted! Ishtar is queen!
The lady is exalted! The lady is queen!
Irnini, the valiant daughter of Sin, hath no rival.

PRAYER OF THE RAISING OF THE HAND TO ISHTAR

Formula of the raising of the hand to Ishtar
This is the (magical) ritual: thou shalt kneel at the foot, a green bough shalt thou sprinkle with pure water; four bricks *saḫḫu* shalt thou set up;

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95 tir-ri ki-šad-ki ša ta-ad-di-i[1] a-mat damiḳtim(tim) pa-ni-ki šuk-ni
ki-ma mê pa-šir nâri ka-bit-ta-ki lip-pa-aš-ra
ik-du-ti-ia ki-ma ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru lu-kab-bi-is
šab-su-ti-ia kun-ni-šim-ma šu-pal-si-ḫi ina šap-li-ia
su-pu-u-a u su-lu-u-a lil-li-ku eli-ki
100 ta-a-a-ra-tu-ki rab-ba-a-ti lib-ša-a eli-ia
a-mi-ru-u-a ina sûḳi li-šar-bu-u zi-kir-ki
u ana-ku ana ṣal-mat ḳaḳkadi ilu-ut-ki u ḳur-di-ki lu-ša-pi
(ilu) Iš-tar-ma ṣi-rat (ilu) Iš-tar-ma šar-rat
(ilu) bêlti-ma ṣi-rat (ilu) bêlti-ma šar-rat
105 (ilu) Ir-ni-ni ma-rat (ilu) Sin ḳa-rit-ti ma-ḫi-ra ul išat

106 INIM-INIM-MA ŠU-IL-LÂ (DINGIR) INNANNA(NA)-KAM

kikiṭṭu šuatu ašar šêpa taḳadda-ad[2] gušuru arḳu mû ellu tasallaḫ IV libnâti šaḫḫi tanaddi (di)

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[1] See note on line 83.
[2] See *Babyloniaca*, iii, 236.

A lamb shalt thou take; with sarbatu wood shalt thou fill the [*the censer*], and thou shalt set fire (thereto); sweet scented unguents, fine meal (?) and some cypress-wood

Shalt thou heap thereon; a drink offering shalt thou offer, but thou shalt not bow thyself down. This incantation before the goddess Ishtar

Three times shalt thou recite . . . and thou shalt not look behind thee.

Incantation. "O exalted Ishtar, that givest light unto the four quarters of the world."

This copy from Borsippa,[1] like unto its archetype, has Nergal-balatsu-iqbi, son of Atarad-*kalme*, magician,

Written for his life, and has revised it, and deposited it in the temple of E-sagila.[2]

[1] Borsippa, center of the worship of Nabu, and the sister city of Babylon, with which it was connected by a processional street.
[2] Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon.

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immeru teliḳe(e) (iṣu) ṣarbatu te-ṣi-en išatu tanaddi(di) riḳḳê maṣḫati burašu
tattabak (ak) mi-iḫ-ḫa tanaḳḳi (ki)-ma lâ tuš-kin mi-nu-tu an-ni-tu ana pân (ilu) Iš-tar
šušlu-šu tamannu (nu) KI-ZA-ZA-[1]MA ana arki-ka lâ tappalas

šiptu ša-ḳu-tum (ilu) Iš-tar mu-nam-mi-rat kib-ra-a-ti
gab-ri Bar-sip (ki) kîma labiri-šu(m) (ilu) Nergal-balâṭ-ṣu-iḳ-bi apil(m) a-ta-rad-KAL-ME (amelu) ašipu
ana balâṭi-šu išṭur ibri-ma ina é-sag-ila u-kin

[1] Name of an incantation.

5. HYMN TO ISHTAR

O light of the heavens, thou that dost flame like a fire over the earth,

[1] This hymn belongs to a series, called in Sumerian ÚRU GULAGE, i. e., "She whose city is destroyed," which consisted originally of six tablets, of which the third and fourth have been lost. The hymn is found on the reverse of Tablet Six, and was also used independently, as is shown by its preservation upon a separate tablet (British Museum S. 954, published by Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3rd edition, pp. 134–136). It has been translated by Hussey, *Sumerian-Babylonian Hymns*, American Journal of Semitic Languages, xxiii, pp. 169ff., and by Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 192ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 366ff.

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nu-úr šamê(e) ša ki-ma i-ša-tim i-na ma-a-tim nap-ḫat at-ti-ma

O goddess, when thou dost rise above the earth,
Even as the earth thou art made to journey forth,
Unto thee the way of truth[2] shows praise,
When thou enterest into a man's house,
Thou art a leopard, gone in to seize the lambs,
Thou art a lion which strides over the plain!
Light of day, virgin, ornament of the heavens.
A virgin is Ishtar, ornament of the heavens.
Who art adorned with craftsmanship of precious stones, ornament of the heavens.
O regent sister of Shamash, ornament of the heavens.
(Ishtar speaks) "To give forth omens do I arise, do I arise in perfectness.
For my father Sin, to give omens do I arise, do I arise in perfectness.
For my brother Shamash, to give omens do I arise, do I arise in perfectness.
Me hath my father Shamash established to give out omens do I arise, do I arise in perfectness.
In the gleaming heaven to give omens, do I arise, do I arise in perfectness.
In jubilation over my praise, in jubilation over my praise,

Iš-ta-ri-tum i-na ir-ṣi-ti i-na u-zu-zi-ki
ša [ki-ma ir]-ṣi-tim šu-tu-ḳat at-ti-ma
ka-a-ši su-li-e kit-ti i-kar-rab-ki
a-na bît a-me-lim i-na e-ri-bi-ki
bar-ba-ru ša a-na li-ḳi-e bu-ḫa-di šú-lu-ku at-ti
ni-e-šu ša ina ḳir-be-ti it-ta-na-al-la-ku at-ti
û-mu ar-[da]-tum ú-su-ma šame(e)
ar-da-tum (ilu) Iš-tar u-su-ma šame(e)
ša šu-kut-ti šú-bi-i šak-na-at u-su-ma šame(e)
ta-lim-ti (ilu) Šamaš u-su-ma šame(e)
a-na šu-ta-bu-ul te-ri-e-ti az-za-az git-ma-liš az-za-az
a-na a-bi-ia (ilu) Sin šu-ta-bu-ul te-ri-e-ti az-za-az git-ma-liš az-za-az
a-na aḫi-ia (ilu) Šamaš šu-ta-bu-ul te-ri-e-ti az-za-az git-ma-liš az-za-az
ia-a-ši a-bi (ilu) Na-an-na-ru ul-zi-iz-an-ni šu-ta-bu-ul te-ri-e-ti az-za-az
i-na šame(e) id-di-šu-ti šu-ta-bu-ul te-ri-e-ti az-za-az git-ma-liš az-za-az
i-na ri-ša-a-ti ta-na-da-tu-u-a i-na ri-ša-a-ti ta-na-da-tu-u-a

In jubilation a goddess I walk loftily (?)
I am Ishtar goddess of the evening,
I am Ishtar goddess of the morning,
Ishtar who openeth the bolt of the gleaming heaven, that is my glory,
I darken the heaven, I quake the earth, that is my glory,
She that darkeneth the heaven, and shake the earth, that is my glory.

Reverse:

She who flameth on heaven's terrace, she whose name is brilliant in all the earth, for my glory.
Queen of the heavens *proclaimed* above and below for my glory.
The mountains all together do I subdue, for my glory.
The great wall of the mountains am I, their bolt am I, for my glory.
Let thy heart be appeased, let thy soul be calmed.
May the lord, the great Anu, appease thy heart.
May the lord, the great mountain, Ellil, calm thy soul,
O goddess, lady of the heavens, let thy heart be appeased.

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i-na ri-ša-a-ti iš-ta-ri-tum ana-ku ša-ki-iš al-lak
(ilu) Ištar i-lat ši-me-tan ana-ku
(ilu) Ištar i-lat še-ri-e-ti ana-ku
(ilu) Ištar pi-ta-at ši-gar šame(e) el-lu-ti ta-na-da-tu-u-a
šame(e) u-ra-ab ir-ṣi-tum u-nar-raṭ ta-na-da-tu-u-a
mu-rib-bat šame(e) mu-nar-ri-ṭa-at irṣi-tim ta-na-da-tu-u-a

Reverse:

ša ina šu-pu-uk šame(e) nap-ḫat ina da-ad-mi zi-kir-ša šu-pu-u ta-na-da-tu-u-a
šar-rat šame(e) e-liš u šap-liš liḳ-ḳa-ba-a ta-na-da-tu-u-a
ša-di(i) il-te-niš a-sap-pan ta-na-da-tu-u-a
ša ša-di(i) du-ur-šu-nu ra-bu-u ana-ku ši-gar-šu-nu rabu-u ana-ku ta-na-da-tu-u-a
lib-ba-ki li-nu-uḫ ka-bat-ta-ki lip-šaḫ
be-lum (ilu) A-num rabu(u) lib-ba-ki li-ni-iḫ
be-lum ša-du(u) rabu(u) (ilu) Ellil ka-bat-ta-ki li-pa-aš-ši-iḫ
(ilu) Iš-ta-ri-tum be-lit-šame(e) lib-ba-ki li-nu-uḫ

O lady, queen of heaven, let thy soul be calmed.[1]
O lady, queen of E-anna, let thy heart be appeased.
O lady, queen of Erech, let thy soul be calmed.
O lady, queen of the shining Erech, let thy heart be appeased.
O lady, queen of Kharsagkalama, let thy soul be calmed.
O lady, queen of E-tur-kalama, let thy heart be appeased.
O lady, queen of Babylon, let thy soul be calmed.
O lady, my queen Nana, let thy heart be appeased.
Queen of the house, Queen of the gods, let thy soul be calmed.
A Psalm on the flute to Ishtar.

[1] From line 9 to the end of the hymn the Assyrian translation does not accompany the Sumerian, which is simply a series of exclamations.

NIN GAŠAN AN-NA BAR-ZU
NIN GAŠAN E-AN-NA ŠA-ZU
NIN GAŠAN KI UNUG(KI)-GA BAR-ZU
NIN GAŠAN KI HALLABI (KI) ŠA-ZU
NIN GAŠAN HAR-SAG-KALAM-MA BAR-ZU
NIN GAŠAN E-TUR-KALAMA-MA ŠA-ZU
NIN GAŠAN TIN-TIR-(KI)-RA BAR-ZU
NIN GAŠAN-MU (DIMMER) NA-NA-A ŠA-ZU
GAŠAN E-A GAŠAN DIM-ME-IR-E-NE BAR-ZU ḪE-EN-SE-NE
er-šem-ma (dingir) *innina-ge*

6. FRAGMENT OF WISDOM LITERATURE, THE SO-CALLED BABYLONIAN JOB, SECOND TABLET OF THE WISDOM OF ṬÂBI-UTUL-ELLIL[1]

I attained unto (long) life, I moved beyond the appointed time,

[1] Published IV R., 2d edition, 60. The text was already the subject of comment in Assyrian times, and explanations in Assyrian are published in V R., 47. It has been repeatedly translated in whole or part; see especially Zimmern, in Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 385, and also in *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete* (*Der Alte Orient*, vii, 3), pp. 28ff.; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii, pp. 125ff.; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 372ff.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 92, 93. A résumé by Jastrow, in ZA, xx, pp. 191ff. A portion of the third tablet has been published recently by R. Campbell Thompson, PSBA, 1910, pp. 18ff. The suffering hero seems to have been an ancient king, *Ṭâbi-utul-Bêli*, whose name is preserved in a philological commentary on this text. V R. 47, Rev. 5.

akšud-ma a-na ba-laṭ a-dan-na i-te-iḳ

Wherever I turn, there is evil, evil—
Oppression is increased, righteousness I see not.
I have cried unto my god, but he showed me not his face.
I invoked my goddess, but she lifted not up her head.
The Enchanter did not fix through his oracle the future.
The seer, at the libation, did not establish my right.
I turned to the necromancer, but he opened not my ear.
The magician by his sorceries did not loosen my ban.
How different are the issues in the world!
If I look behind me trouble pursues me (?)
As if the sacrifice I had not brought my god.
As if at mealtime I had not called upon my goddess,
Had not inclined my face and my adoration had not been seen,
Like one in whose mouth prayers and tears were stopped,
For whom god's day has ceased, the new moon's feast is diminished,

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a-saḫ-ḫur-ma li-mun li-mun-ma
ṣa-bur-ti u-ta-ṣa-pa i-šar-ti ul ut-tu
ili al-si-ma ul id-di-na pa-ni-šu
u-sal-li (ilu) Iš-tar-ri ul i-šaḳ-ḳa-a ri-ši-ša
(amêlu) bârû ina bi-ir ar-kat ul ip-ru-us
ina ma-aš-šak-ka u amêlu ša-'-ilu ul u-ša-pi di-i-ni
za-ḳi-ḳu a-pul-ma ul u-pat-ti uz-ni
(amêlu) mašmašu ina ki-kiṭ-ṭi-e ki-mil-ti ul ip-ṭur
a-a-i-te ip-še-e-ti ša-na-a-ti ma-ti-tan
a-mur-ma ar-kat ri-da-ti ip-pi-ru
ki-i ša tam-ḳi-tum a-na ili la uk-tin-nu
u ina ma-ka-li-e (ilu) Iš-tar-ri la zak-ru
ap-pi la e-nu-u šu-kin-ni la am-ru
ina pi-i-šu ip-par-ku-u su-up-pi-e tas-li-ti
ib-ṭi-lu û-mu ili i-maṭ-ṭu eš-še-ši

Who has lain down on his side	and has despised their images,
Who has not taught his people	*god's* fear and veneration,
Who called not upon his god	when he ate of his food,
Who abandoned his goddess	and brought her not what was written (?)
He who forgot his lord,	who was to be honored (?)
Who pronounced lightly	the mighty name of his god—I was like him.
But I myself took thought only	for prayers and supplication.
Prayer was my rule,	sacrifice my order,
The day of god's honoring	was my heart's joy,
The day of following after the goddess	was for me gain and riches,
The prayer of the king,	that was my joy,
And his song,	that was pleasant unto me.
I taught my land	to keep god's name.
To honor the name of of the goddess	I cautioned my people.
The respect of the king	I made of highest power,

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id-du-u aḫ-šu ṣal-mi-šu-nu i-mi-šu
pa-la-ḫu u it-'-u-du la u-šal-mi-du niše-šu
ili-šu la iz-kur e-kul a-kal-šu
i-zib (ilu) Iš-tar-ta-šu maš-ṭar la ub-la
a-na ša im-ḫu-u bêli-šu im-šu-u
niš ili-šu kab-ti ḳal-liš iz-kur a-na-ku am-šal
aḫ-su-us-ma ra-man su-up-pu-u tas-li-ti
tas-li-ti ta-ši-mat ni-ḳu-u šak-ku-u-a
ûmu pa-la-aḫ ilâni ṭu-ub lib-bi-ia
ûmu ri-du-ti (ilu) Iš-tar ni-me-li ta-at-tur-ru
ik-ri-bi šarri ši-i ḫi-du-ti
u ni-gu-ta-šu a-na da-me-iḳ-ti šum-ma
u-šar a-na mâti-ia mê ili na-ṣa-ri
šu-mi (ilu) Iš-tar šu-ḳur nišê-ia uš-ta-ḫi-iz
ta-na-da-a-ti šarri e-liš u-maš-šil

	In reverence of the palace	I instructed the people.
	For I knew that before the god	such deeds are in good favor.
	That which seemeth good to itself,	that is evil with god,
35	And that which in its heart is rejected,	that is good with god,
	Who can understand the counsel of the gods	in heaven?
	The plan of the gods full of darkness,	who shall establish it?
	How shall pale-faced *men* understand	the way of the gods!
	He who lives in the evening	is in the morning dead,
40	Quickly is he in trouble,	suddenly is he smitten;
	In a moment	he is singing and playing,
	In an instant	he is howling like a complainer.
	Every moment	so are their thoughts changed,
	Now they are hungry,	and are like a corpse,
45	Again they are full,	and are like unto god.

u pu-luḫ-tu ekalli um-man u-šal-mid
lu i-di ki-i it-ti ili i-ta-am-gur an-na-a-ti
ša dam-ḳat ra-ma-nu-uš [a]-na ili ḳul-lul-tum
35 ša ina lib-bi-šu mu-us-[su]-ḳat eli ili-šu dam-ḳat
a-a-u ṭe-im ilâni ki-rib šame-e i-lam-mad
mi-lik ša ili za-nun zi-e i-ḫa-ak-kim man-nu
e-ka-a-ma il-ma-da a-lak-ti ili a-pa-a-ti
ša ina am-šat ib-lu-ṭu i-mut ud-di-eš
40 sur-riš uš-ta-dir za-mar iḫ-ta-maš
ina ṣi-bit ap-pi i-za-am-mur e-li-la
ina pi-it pu-ri-di u-zar-rab lal-la-ri-eš
ki-i pi-te-e u ka-ta-mi ṭe-en-ši-na šit-ni
im-mu-ṣa-ma im-ma-a ša-lam-taš
45 i-šib-ba-a-ma i-ša-an-na-na ili-šun

If it go well with them, they speak of climbing up to heaven;
If they be in trouble, they talk of going down to hell.

[At this point there is wanting a considerable passage.]

REVERSE:

My house is become a prison for me.
In the chains of my flesh are my arms laid,
In my own bonds [?] are my feet cast
. . . . . .
With a whip he has beaten me, not . . .
With a staff he has pierced me, the point was strong.
All day long doth follow the avenger,
In the middle of the night he lets me not breathe for a moment.
Through tearings my joints are sundered,
My limbs are undone, are . . .
Upon my couch I passed the night like a bull,
I was covered with my excrement like a sheep.

---

ina ṭa-a-bi i-ta-ma-a i-li ša-ma-'-a
u-taš-ša-ša-ma i-dib-bu-ba a-rad ir-kal-la

[broken]

REVERSE:

a-na ki-suk-ki-ia i-tur-ra bi-e-tu
il-lu-ur-tum ši-ri-ia na-da-a i-da-a-a
maš-kan ram-ni-ia muḳ-ḳu-tu še-pa-a-a
ni-da-tu . . .
ḳi-na-zi id-da-an-ni-ma la-a zil-la-a-tum
pa-ru-uš-šu u-saḫ-ḫi-il-an-ni zi-ḳa-ta dan-nat
kâl û-mu ri-du-u i-ri-id-da[n-ni]
ina šat mûši ul u-nap-pa-ša-an-ni sur-riš
ina i-tab-lak-ku-ti pu-uṭ-ṭu-ru rik-su-u-a
meš-ri-tu-u-a su-up-pu-ḫa i-ta-at-ta-a a-ḫi-tum
ina ru-ub-ši-ia a-bit ki-i al-pi
ub-tal-lil ki-i immeri ina ta-ba-aš-ta-ni-ia

My symptoms of fever were not clear (?) to the magicians,
And my omens did the diviner leave dark.
The sorcerer did not handle well my illness.
And the necromancer could not make an end of my malady.
The god helped me not, he took me not by the hand,
The goddess did not pity me, she came not to my side.
The tomb hath opened, they seized my habitation (?)
Before I was dead, the death wail was finished.
My whole land cried out, "How is he destroyed!"
When mine enemy heard, his face glowed,
As friendly news they brought it to him, his heart was brightened,
But I knew the time, of all my family,
When among the guardian angels their divinity had mercy.[1]

[1] The reference is to the protecting care exercised by the souls of ancestors.

sa-kik-ki-ia iš-ḫu-ṭu (amêlu) mašmašu
u te-ri-ti-ia (amêlu) bârû u-taš-ši
ul u-ša-pi a-ši-pu ši-kin mur-ṣi-ia
u a-dan-na si-li-'-ti-ia (amêlu) bârû ul id-din
ul i-ru-ṣa ilu ka-ti ul iṣ-bat
ul i-ri-man-ni (ilu) Iš-ta-ri i-da-a-a ul il-lik
pi-ti ḳimaḫḫu ir-šu-u šu-ka-nu-u-a
a-di la mi-tu-ti-i-ma bi-ki-ti gam-rat
kal ma-ti-ia ki-i ḫa-bil iḳ-bu-ni
iš-me-e-ma ḫa-du-u-a im-me-ru pa-ni-šu
ḫa-di-ti u-ba-as-si-ru ka-bat-ta-šu ip-pir-du
i-di û-mu ša gi-mir kim-ti-ia
ša ki-rib še-di-e ilu-ut-su-un i-rîm

7. AN INCANTATION WITH ETHICAL CONTENTS[1]

[Incantation. I invoke you], ye great gods,
. . . God and goddess, lords of atonement,
On account of N, son of N, whose god is N, whose goddess is N,
He is sick and afflicted, full of pain and trouble.
Has he offended his god, has he offended his goddess?
Has he for consent[2] spoken denial, has he for denial spoken consent?
Has he . . . . . pointed with the finger?
. . . . . , while he spoke vainly?
. . . . . whispering,
. . . . . .
Has he despised his god, has he despised his goddess?
[. . . . . .], has he spoken evil?
[. . . . . .], has he spoken hatefully?
[. . . . . .], has he spoken unlawfully?

[1] Published by Zimmern, *Die Beschwörungstafeln Shurpu, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion* (1901), and also translated, pp. 1ff., and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 96ff., and portions of it, with comment, by Rogers, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 157ff. This incantation forms the second of the nine tablets composing the Shurpu (i. e., Burning) series. These incantations are intended to remove bans and curses of all kinds, through ritual ceremonies, in which various objects are burned. The interest of this particular tablet is found especially in the very high ethical ideas mingled promiscuously with primitive views of demoniacal forces. The man wishes to be delivered from his afflictions, but the exorciser seeks first to know what guilt has brought these upon him.

[2] The words here translated "consent" and "denial" are extremely difficult to render. The former is cognate with the Hebrew חֵן, grace.

[šiptu . . . . . .] ilâni rabûti
[. . . . . ilu u] (ilu) Ištar bêlê tap-šir-ti
[pulpul (?) apil] pulpul (?) ša ili-šu pulpul (?) (ilu) Ištar-šu pulpul (?)-tum
[. . .] mar-ṣu nak-du na-as-su šú-ud-lu-bu
i[k ki]b ili-šu i-ku-lu ikkib (ilu) Ištar-šu i-ku-lu
a-na an-na ul-la iḳ-bu-u a-na ul-la an-na iḳ-bu-u
[. . . . . .] ubâna it-ru-ṣu
[. . . . . .] lâ ul-la-a-ta i-ta-mu-u
[. . . . . .] mu-uṣ-ṣap-ru
[. . . . . it (?)-te (?)]-ik-ru
[. . . . . .] (ilu) Ištar-šu i-me-šú
[. . . . . .] limutta iḳ-bu-ú
[. . . . . l]a ba-ni-tum iḳ-bu-ú
[. . . . . .] za-lip-ta ú-šad-bi-bu

15 [Has he . . . bribery (?)] caused a judge to receive?
[Has he upon] the fallen, trampled?
[Has he . . .] spoken, and added to it?
[. . . . .] to oppress the weak?
[Has he . . . . .] driven to (?) her city?
20 Has he set a son at variance with a father?
Has he set a father at variance with a son?
Has he set a daughter at variance with a mother?
Has he set a mother at variance with a daughter?
Has he set a daughter-in-law at variance with a mother-in-law?
25 Has he set a mother-in-law at variance with a daughter-in-law?
Has he set a brother at variance with a brother?
Has he set a friend at variance with a friend?
Has he set a companion at variance with a companion?
Has he not set free a prisoner, or loosed a captive?
30 Has he not let a prisoner see the light?
Has he said of a prisoner, "Seize him," or of a bondman, "Bind him"?
Is it perchance a sin against a god, or a transgression against a goddess?

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15 [. . . . . -t]um da-a-a-nu ú-ša-ḫi-zu
[. . . . . .] ab-ta-a-ta iz-za-az-zu
[. . . . . .]-bu-u i-ḳab-bu-u ut-ta-ru
[. . . . . .] e-niš-tum da-a-ṣu
[. . . . . .] pa-ni ali-ša ú-saḫ-ḫi-ru
20 [itti a]bi mâra ip-ru-su
[itti] mâri aba ip-ru-su
[itti] ummi mârta ip-ru-su
[itti] mârti umma ip-ru-su
[itti] e-me-ti kal-la-ti ip-ru-su
25 itti ka-la-ti e-me-ti ip-ru-su
itti a-ḫi a-ḫi-šu ip-ru-su
itti ib-ri i-bir-šu ip-ru-su
itti ru-'-a ru-'-a-šu ip-ru-su
sabta la ú-maš-ši-ru ka-sa-a la ú-ram-mu-u
30 ša bît ṣi-bit-ti la ú-kal-li-mu nu-ú-ra
a-na ṣa-ab-ti ṣa-bat-su-ma a-na ka-si-i ku-us-si-šu-ma iḳ-bu-u
ul i-di šer-ti ili ul i-dí en-nit (ilu) Iš-tar

Has he vexed a god, despised a goddess?
Against a god are his sins, against a goddess his failings?
Is it offense against . . . , hate against an elder brother?
Has he despised father and mother, has he insulted an elder sister?
Has he yielded in little things, (and) refused in great?
For No, *said* Yes?
For Yes, *said* No?
Has he *spoken* an unsuitable word, has he a rebellious . . . ?
Has he spoken coarsely?
Has he used false weights, . . . ?
Has he accepted counterfeit money, has he not accepted good money?
Has he driven out a righteous son, has he an unrighteous son set up?
Has he set up a wrong landmark, has he not set up a right landmark?
Has he moved a mark, a territory and boundary?
Has he entered his neighbor's house?
Has he approached his neighbor's wife?
Has he shed his neighbor's blood?

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ilu i-da-aṣ (ilu) Iš-tar im-te-eš
a-na ili-šu ar-nu-šu a-na (ilu) Iš-tar-šu ḫab-la-at-su
a-na be-en-ni da-ṣa-a-tum a-na aḫi rabî(i) zi-ra-a-ti
aba umma im-te-eš a-na aḫatti rabi-ti uḳ-tal-lil
ina ṣi-ḫir-ti it-ta-din ina ra-bi-ti im-t[e-eš]
a-na ia-'-mu i-ba-[aš-ši iḳ-ta-bi]
a-na i-ba-aš-ši ia-['-nu iḳ-ta-bi]
la a-mi̯r-ti i[ḳ-ta-bi l]a sa-niḳ-t[i . . .]
tuš-ša iḳ-ta-bi [. . .]
(iṣu) zi-ba-nit la ket-ti i[ṣ-bat . . .]
ka-sap la ket-ti il-te-ki ka-[sap ket-ti ul il-te]-ki
apla kun-na it-ta-saḫ apla [la kun-na ú]-kin
ku-dúr-ru la ket-ti uk-ta-dir ku-dúr-[ru ke]t-ti ul ú-ka-dir
ú-sa mi-iṣ-ra u ku-dúr-ru uš (?)-te-li
a-na bît tap-pi-e-šu i-te-ru-ub
a-na aššat tap-pi-e-šu it-te-ḫi
da-mi tap-pi-e-šu it-ta-ba-ak

Has he taken away his neighbor's garment?
Has he not set a man free from force?
Has he driven away a brave man from his family?
Has he broken up a united family?
Has he lifted himself up against a superior?
Was his mouth straightforward, but his heart false?
Did his mouth consent, but his heart deny?
Is it on account of evil which he thought?
To pursue the just and oppress him,
To destroy, drive away, cast down,
To set up power, to stir up, to cause to speak against (?)
To do evil, to rob, to cause to rob,
To busy himself with evil?
Is his mouth loose and foul?
His lips are they deceitful, contentious?
Has he taught impurity, unseemliness commended?
After evil has he followed?
Has he exceeded the bounds of right?
Has he done evil?
Has he mixed with magic and witchcraft?
Is it because of a grave misdeed which he has done?

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su-bat tap-pi-e-šu it-ta-bal
mi-ra-nu-uš-šu ed-lu la ú-maš-ši-ru
ed-lu dam-ḳa ina kim-ti-šu ú-še-lu-ú
kin-na pu-ḫur-ta ú-sap-pi-ḫu
a-na la-pu-ut-ti-i iz-za-az-zu
pi-i-šu tar-ṣu lib-ba-šu la ki-i-ni
pi-i-šu an-na lib-ba-šu ul-la
ina gab-bi-šú i-ta-mu-ú la ki-na-a-tum
ki-nu-ú i-ru-ud-du i-rat-tu-tum
ib-ba-tum i-ṭar-ra-du ú-ḫal-la-ḳu
ú-kan-nu ú-bar-ru ú-ša-aṣ-ba-ru
i-ḫab-bi-lu i-tab-ba-lu ú-šat-ba-lu
a-na limutti ḳa-as-su ú-bal-lu
maš-ru pa-ar-šú pi-i-šu
maš-da sa-ḫa-ra šap-ta-šú
la-a am-ra-a-ti lum-mu-du la na-ṭa-ti šú-ḫu-zu
ar-ki limutti te-bu-u
i-te-e ketti i-ti-ḳu
la ba-ni-ta i-pu-šu
a-na kiš-pi u ru-ḫi-e ḳat-su ú-bi-lu
ina ikkibi mar-ṣi ša i-ku-lu

On account of the many sins, which he has sinned,
On account of the company, which he has broken up,
On account of the united band, which he tore asunder,
Is it on account of all wherein he despised his god and his goddess?
Did he promise with heart and mouth, but not keep it?
Through an offering did he dishonor the name of his god?
Did he vow, promise, but not fulfil?
Did he offer something . . . but not eat it?
. . . . . and offered a prayer?
Did he take away the lawful sacrifice?
Has he angered his god and his goddess?
Did he rise in a company, and speak wrongly?
May he be freed from whatever ban has been put upon him.
Whether he has been banned by receiving,
Whether he has been banned by . . .,
Whether by a present, which he made he has been banned,
Whether he has been banned by a living being,
Whether after a figure pointed by the finger,

---

ina ârni	ma-'-du-ti	ša iḫ-ta-ṭu-u
ina puḫri		ša ú-sap-pi-ḫu
ina il-la-ti	ka-ṣir-ti	ša ú-par-ri-ru
ina gab-bi	ili-šu u (ilu) Ištar-šu	ša i-me-šú
ina lib-bi-šú ŭ pi-i-šu	iḳ-bu-u	la id-di-nu
ina šur-ki	šùm ili-šu	i-me-šu
ú-ḳad-di-šu	ú-na-az-zi-mu	ik-lu-u
im-i-ru	ú-ri-iḫ-ḫu	i-ku-lu
iš-ru-ru-ma	niš ḳa-ti	ir-šú-u
paššûra	kun-na	ú-saḫ-ḫu-u
ili-šu	u (ilu) Ištar-šu	itti-šu ú-za-an-nu-ú
ina ši-pa-ri	iz-za-az-zu-ma	la šal-ma-a-te i-ta-mu-u
lu-ú paṭ-ra	ul i-di-ma	it-ta-mi
il-te-ki-ma		it-ta-mi
iḫ-te-si-ma		it-ta-mi
ina šur-ki	iš-ru-ḳu	it-ta-mi
ina napšâti		it-ta-mi
a-na an dunâni	uban-šu	it-ta-ra-aṣ

Whether by the figure of a father, or of a mother he was banned.

Whether by the figure of an older brother, or older sister he was banned.[1]

[1] So through many lines the exorciser tries to discover by what witchcraft the sufferer has been afflicted, and then finally the tablet ends with exorcisms intended to bring the ban to an end.

an dunân abi u um-mi it-ta-mi
an dunân aḫi rabî(i) u aḫatti rabî-ti it-ta-mi

8. FRAGMENT OF WISDOM LITERATURE[1]

OBVERSE:

. . . their freedom (?) shalt *thou not take away*,
Thou shalt not tyrannically oppress them.
With one, who thus acts, his god is angry,
He is not pleasing to Shamash, he will requite him with evil.

Give food to eat, give wine to drink,
Seek the truth, provide for and . . .
With him, who thus acts his god is pleased,

[1] A didactic poem, of which we possess several fragments. The principal fragment [K. 3364] was first studied by George Smith, who supposed it to be part of the Epic of Creation, forming an address of "the deity to the newly created man on his duties to his god" (*Chaldean Genesis*, p. 80), but this has been disproved by King, who published a much larger Neo-Babylonian fragment [BM 33851, parts of four columns]. The fundamental text is published by King, *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, xiii, 29f., where the reverse and obverse were confused; the late duplicate in Neo-Babylonian, in King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, ii, Plates lxiv–lxvi. Compare also vol. i, pp. 201–3. An important duplicate [K. 7897] was published by Macmillan, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v, pp. 622-3, and the available texts combined and translated, pp. 557–62. Zimmern published a fragment [K. 8231] in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, v, pp. 622–3, vol. xxiii, p. 368f., which completes the Macmillan fragment materially. See also Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, and Ungnad in Gressmann's *Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 98–9.

OBVERSE:

ṣur-ru [. . .] ma ši-ṭu-uṣ-su-nu e tal-ḳut (?)
šal-ṭi-iš e-li-šu-nu e tak-tan-ni-iš (?)
a-na an-nim-ma ilu-šu e-zi-is-su
ul ṭa-a-bi eli (ilu) Šamaš i-ra-ab-šu lim-nu

šu-kil a-ka-lu ši-ki ku-ru-un (?)-nu
e-riš kit-tu e-pi-ir ù [. . .
a-na an-nim-ma ilu-šu ḫa-di-šu

He is pleasing to Shamash, he will requite him with good.

Bring help, protect [the weak]
A maid in the house, thou shalt not . . .
. . . . . he shall not rule . . .
. . . . . thy body thou shalt not . . .
. . . . . thy . . . thou shalt not . . .
In the mouth of the people thy reputation (?) thus shalt be wholesome.
The house of an handmaid be lord over (?) . . . (?)
Thou shalt not take an harlot whose husbands are multitudinous (?)
A prostitute who has been consecrated to god,
An outcast whose speech is abundant,
In thine adversity will not lift thee up.
In thy conflicts she will ridicule thee.
Fear of god and humility are not with her.
If she come to (thy) house remove her therefrom,
Upon the track of a foe let her attention be turned.

ṭa-a-bi eli (ilu) Šamaš i-ra-ab-šu du-[. . .

šub-šu u-sa-ta gi-mil du-[. . .]
amtu ana bîti e tu-[. . .]
. . . ša tim-ma la i-be-el u-ru
. . . ša ra (?)-a-ti pa-gar-ka la te-eš-ši . . .
. . . ru tu . . . ka la tu-ur-ra . . .
ina pi-i nisê . . . ka-ma ki (?)-a-am taš-lim
bît am ti-ma be-el i-sap-pu-uḫ
e ta-ḫu-uz ḫa-rim-ta ša ša-a-ri mu-tu-ša[1]
iš-ta-ri-tu ša a-na ili zak-r[at]
zer-ma-ši-tu ša amâti-ša ma-'-[da-at]
ina ma-ru-uš-ti-ka-ma ul i-na-aš-ši-ka
ina ṣal-ti-ka-ma e-li-ka ša-an-ṣa-at
pa-la-ḫu u ka-na-ša ul i-ba-aš-ši it-ti-ša
lu-u bîta [ta]-kaš-šad-ma (?)[2] u-ru-ši ina libbi
a-na kib-si a-ḫi-e u-zu-un-ša tur-rat

---

[1] So Zimmern, who suggests also *ḫa-ri-mu-tu-ša*.
[2] Or *bîta šuata takaššad-ma*.

REVERSE[1]:

Thou shalt not slander, (but) speak kindly;
Thou shalt not utter evil, but speak good.
Him who slanders and speaks evil,
As a recompense Shamash will wait for him (*lit.* his head).

Open not wide thy mouth but guard thy lips;
The words of thy thoughts speak not alone.
If thou speakest quickly thou shalt take it back,
And in silence must sadden thy mind.
Daily present to thy god
Sacrifice and prayer, appropriate to incense.
Before thy god mayest thou have a tried heart.
This is appropriate to the deity.

Prayer, petition, and prostration
Every morning shalt thou render him, then will he give thee gifts
And with god's help thou shalt be abundantly prosperous.

[1] K. 8231 contains seventeen fragmentary lines on the reverse, which probably preceded the lines here given. The numbering here given is from the Macmillan tablet.

---

e ta-kul ḳar-[ṣi] ḳi-bi ba ni-ti
lim-ni-e-ti e ta-me da-me-iḳ-ta ti-iz-kar
ša a-kil ḳar-ṣi ḳa-bu-ú li-mut-ti
ina ri-ba-a-ti-ša (ilu) Šamaš ú-ka-'-a-ú ris-su

e tu-ma-aṣ-ṣi pi-i-ka ú-ṣur šap-ti-ka
e-nim-me-e ḳab-ta-ti-ka e-di-iš e taḳ-bi
sur-riš ta-ta-mu-u ta-ra-aš-ši ar-ka-niš
ù i-na sa-naḳ at-me-e tu-ša-an-na-aḫ ṭe-en-ka
u-mi-šam-ma ilu-ka kit-rab
ni-ḳu-ú ḳi-bi pi-i si-mat ḳut-rin-ni
a-na ili-ka libba barâ lu-ú ti-i-ši
an-nu-um-ma si-mat ilu-ú-ti

su-up-pu-ú su-ul-lu-ú u la-ban ap-pi
ud-da-at ta-nam-din-aš-sum-ma i-dan-ka bi-lat
ù a-na at-ri-im-ma it-ti ili tuš-te-šir-[ka?][1]

[1] So Macmillan, but uncertain. K. 3364 does not have *ka*.

In thy wisdom read from the tablet.
The fear (of god) begetteth favor,
Offering enriches life,
And prayer brings forgiveness of sins.
He who fears the gods will not cry (to them in vain?)
He who fears the Anunnaki will lengthen [his days]
With friend and companion thou shalt not speak [evil?]
Thou shalt not speak anything base, but good [shalt thou speak]
If thou hast promised aught, give [it to him]
If thou hast encouraged (him), [leave him not afterwards at loss]
[The lines following are too badly broken to be intelligible.]

---

ina iḫ-zi-ka-ma a-mur ina dúp-pi
pa-la-ḫu da-ma-ka ul-la-ad
ni-ḳu-u ba-la-ṭu [ut]-tar
ù tas-li-tu ar-ni [ta]-paṭ (?)-ṭar
pa-liḫ ilûti ul i-še-is-su [. . .]
pa-liḫ (ilu) A-nun-na-ki ur-rak [ûmê-š-u]
it-ti ib-ri u tap-pi-e-e e ta-ta-me [. . .]
šap-la-a-ti e ta-ta-me damiḳta [. . .]
ṣum-ma taḳ-ta-bi-ma i-din [. . .]
šum-ma tu-tak-kil-ma ta [. . .]

9. A PRAYER FOR RESTORATION TO DIVINE FAVOR[1]

The priest speaks: [*Open*] his bond, remove his fetter,
Make bright his face, commend him to his god, his creator,
Give life to thy servant, that he may praise thy might,
That he may adore thy greatness in all dwellings.

[1] First published IV R., 61, No. 1, lines 36ff., republished in 2d edition, Plate 54, No. 1, pp. 43–48. Published and translated by Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, pp. 89, 90. Translated also by King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, p. 240.

[pi-te] il-lu-ur-ta-šu pu-ṭur ma-ak-si-šu
nu-um-mir [pa-ni-šu] pi-ḳid-su i-liš ba-ni-šu
bul-liṭ arad-ka [lit-ta]-'-id ḳur-di-ka
nar-bi-ka li-[id-lu-la] kal da-ad-me

5 Receive his gift, accept his purchase money,
That he may walk before thee in the land of peace.

---

5 mu-ḫur ḳat-ra-šu li-ḳi pi-di-e-šu
ina ḳaḳ-ḳar šul-me maḫ-ra-ka lil-tal-lak

10. HYMN TO TAMMUZ[1]

(Where (?)) are tied the ewe and her lamb
(Where (?)) are bound the she-goat and her kid.
4, 5 Ewe and her lamb they carry away as spoil (?)
She-goat and her kid they carry away as spoil (?)
Ewe and her lamb they cause to be slaughtered.
10 She-goat and her kid they cause to be slaughtered.
I, a hero, go to the conflict, the way of no return.
Alas, O hero, lord of healing.
Alas, my lord, my Damu.
15 Alas, O son, lord Gishzida
Alas, Lamga, lord of the net.
Alas, O prince, lord of prayer.

[1] This hymn is a bilingual, the Assyrian version, from the library of Ashurbanipal, is published in IV R., 30, No. 2, the Babylonian, by G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen* (Berlin, 1896), No. 37, from a tablet in the Berlin Museum, which has since been collated by Zimmern (*Sumerisch-Babylonische Tamuzlieder*, Berichte der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Band 59, 1907, pp. 201ff.), who translated it for the first time, *ib.*, pp. 204ff. It has since been translated by Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 304–311, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 94, 95.

[. . . šar ik-ka-[mu-u laḫ-ra u pu-ḫad-su]
. . . á-lal-a úz [máš-bi]
šar ik-ka-su-u en-za u la-la-ša
ganam síl-bi ga-ga-mu
5 laḫ-ra u pu-ḫat-sa i-šal-la-[lu]
úz máš-bi ga-ga-mu
en-za u la-la-ša [išallalu]
ganam síl-bi ri-ri-ga-mu
[laḫra u puḫadsa] u-šam-ḳa-tu
10 úz máš-bi ri-ri-ga-mu
al-di ga-da-an-du lig me-en ǧar-ra-an nu-gí-gí
tu-ḳu-um-ma al-lak id-lu u-ru-uḫ la ta-ri
a-rì ur-sag dingir umun-a-zu
a-rì lig-mu (dingir) da-mu-mu
15 a-rì ṭu-mu umun múš-zi-da
a-rì dingir Lamga umun sa-[par]
a-rì li-bi-ir umun sub-[bé]

Alas, god of wailing and shining eyes.
Alas, my heavenly wailer (?)
Alas, Dagalushumgalanna
Alas, brother of the mother of *Bêlit-ṣêri*.
He has gone, he has gone to the bosom of the earth.
And the dead are numerous in the land.[1]
With wailing for him in the day of gloom (has he gone)[2]
In the month of thy[3] year which brings not peace [hast thou gone]
Thou hast gone on a journey that makes an end of thy people.
With sighing for Damu, the lord,
Has the hero gone unto the far away land which is not revealed.

How long shall the springing of verdure be restrained?

[1] Gloss, "The sun multiplies the dead upon the earth."
[2] Semitic translation, "(Men) are filled with sorrow, by day they stagger in gloom."
[3] The Semitic text reads "his."

a-rì dingir gú-sìr i-dé-šúb-ba
a-rì mu-lu-sìr-ra-an-na-mu
a-rì dingir dagal ušumgal-an-[na]
a-rì šeš dagal dingir múš-din-[an-na]
in-di in-di gab-kùr-ra-[šú]
il-lik i-lik ana i-rat ir-ṣi-tim
[ni] zal-e [babbar-ni-e] kúr-dìg-na šú
uš-ta-bar-ri (ilu) Šamaš ir-ta-bi-šu ana irṣitim mi-tu-ti
i-si-iš-na-šú udu šub-ba-na-šú
ni-is-sa-tu ma-li i-na u-um im-ḳu-tu-ma ina i-dir-tim
iti nu silim-ma mu-zu-šú
ina ar-ḫi la mu-šal-li-mu šat-ti-šu
kaskal-la ba-an-da-til mu-lu gál-lu-zu-šú
a-na ḫar-ra-ni ga-mi-rat ni-ši
sir da-mu umun-na šú
a-na ṣir-ḫi ša be-lí
mese ki-a-na sud nu mu-un-da-pad-da
id-lu ana irṣi-tim ru-uḳ-ti ša la in-nam-ma-ru

a lum-ma á-lal-e a lum-ma á lal-e
a-ḫu-lap un-nu-bi ša ik-ka-mu-u

How long shall the putting forth of leaves be held back?
My city is oppressed; the shepherd sits in desolation.
In the city the laws of my land are suppressed.
From the secret chamber thou hast gone forth.
Thou, O lord, from the secret chamber hast gone forth.

REVERSE:

Alas, O hero, lord of healing.
Alas, my lord, my Damu.
Alas, O son, lord Gishzida.
Alas, Lamga, lord of the net.
Alas, O prince, lord of prayer.
Alas, god of wailing and shining eyes.
Alas, thou of the yearly wailing (?)
Alas, Tammuz.
Alas, brother of the mother of *Bêlit-ṣêri*.
In his infancy in a sunken boat he lay.
In his manhood in the submerged grain he lay.
In a storm from the south, and tempest, he lay.
. . . . . in rest[1] he lay not.
[Remainder broken, and of uncertain meaning.]

[1] Perhaps the marriage bed is meant, so Ungnad.

a-ḫu-lap uš-šu-bi ša ik-ka-su
ǧar-mu al-è-ne sìb-ba gil-li-em-mà al-[dùr]
úru me-a ǧar-mu al-è-[ne]
é gè-par-ta im-ma-ra-è
kalag me-en gè-par-ta im-[è]
a-rì ur-sag dingir umun-a-zu
a-rì kalag-mu (dingir) da-mu-mu
a-rì ṭu-mu umun múš-zi-da
a-rì (dingir) lamga umun sa-par
a-rì li-bi-ir umun sub-[be]
a-rì (dingir) gú-sír i-de-šub-ba
a-rì mu-lu-sìr-ra-an-na-mu
a-rì (dingir) Dagal-ušumgal-an-[na]
a-rì šeš-dagal (dingir) mu-din-[an-na]
tūr-tūr-bi (giš) má sud-sud in-nad
ṣi-iḫ-ḫi-ru-tu-šu ina e-lip-pi ṭi-bi-tim ṣal-lum
gal-gal-bi šelu sud-sud in-nad
rab-bu-tu-šu ina e-bu-ri šal-lu-ma ṣal-lum
[im]-găl-lu im-ri-ga-mun in-nad
. . . a-šam-šu-ti ṣal-lum
. . . nu-mu-un-kuš-šá-ne
. . .] nu-BAD la iṣ-[lal]
. . . su-nu . . .?

Reverse of Berlin Tablet (VA Th. 402):

2 . . . . . water he drank not . . .
4 . . . . . food he ate not . . .
6 . . . . . the *gallû* is seized . . .
8 . . . . . they have laid hold of the gallû . . .
10 . . . . . his . . .
12 . . . . . his slayer . . .

13 . . . . . she is cast in gloom, thou alone why sittest thou?
15 . . . . . she is cast in gloom, she sits alone.
16 . . . . . fourth long tablet of *edina šam sag-gà-ge*
17 In . . . like its original copied and collated,
18 By Nabu-nadin-šum son of Iddina-Papsukal.

---

2 . . . . . la iš-tu
3 [. . . . ú] nu kú
4 . . . . . a-ka-lu la i-ku-lu
5 . . . . . li-bi-ir-ri ba-an-dib
6 . . . . . gal-lu-u in-ni-ib-tu
7 . . . . . gàl-lá-e ba-an-dib
8 . . . . . šu gal-lu-u it-mu-ḫu
9 . . . . . du mul-lu šu-dū-a-na
10 . . . . . ri il-la-ku-šu
11 . . . . . mu-lu ág-gi-ra-na
12 . . . . . šu da-i-ki-šu

13 . . . . . lú-lú áš-zu de dúr-a
14 . . . . . me-ḫi-e dul-lu-ḫat e-diš-ši-ki mi-na tu-uš-bi
15 [. . . . dul-] lu-ḫat e-diš-ši-ša aš-bat
16 . . . . . giṭṭu 4-kam edin-na šam sag-gà-ge
17 . . . . ki ki-ma labiri-šu ša-ṭir-ma barî
18 [iṣi . . .] Nabu-na-din-šum mâr Idin-na-(ilu)Papsukal

11. HYMN TO TAMMUZ [1]

[The lord of destiny (?) abides no more], the lord of destiny (?) abides no more.[2]

[1] The text in the Sumerian language is published by King in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, xv, No. 18. It was first translated by Zimmern (*Sumerisch-babylonische Tamuzlieder*, Berichte der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Band 59, 1907, pp. 226ff.). It has been again edited and translated by Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 317–321, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 95, 96, and again by J. D. Prince, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxx, pp. 95ff.

[2] The hymn is spoken by the goddess Ishtar as a lament for her consort. The expression "abides no more" means "abides no more on earth." The hymn is quite curious because of its refrains, "abides no more," etc. Compare Psalm 136.

[am-mu-ra nu-un-til] am-mu-ra nu-un-til

Tammuz, the . . .] abides here no more, the lord of destiny (?) abides no more.

. . . . . he of wailings abides no more, the lord of destiny (?) abides no more.

I am queen, my consort abides no more.
My Damu abides no more.
Dagalushumgalanna abides no more.
The lord of Aralu abides no more.
The lord of Durgurgurru[1] abides no more.
The shepherd, lord Tammuz abides no more.
The lord, shepherd of the folds, abides no more.
The consort of the queen of heaven abides no more.
The lord in the cattle stalls abides no more.
The brother of the mother *Bêlit-ṣêri* abides no more.
[He who causes] the sprouting (?) of the Land abides no more.
The heroic lord of the land abides no more.

When he slumbers, the sheep and lambs slumber also.

When he slumbers, the she-goats and the kids slumber also.

[1] A city in southern Babylonia and a seat of metal workers. See Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, p. 358f. Tammuz was the city god of Durgurgurru, and is mentioned in that capacity along with Shamash in a text of Sin-idinnam. See Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 208, 209.

. . nu-un-til am-mu-ra nu-un-til
. . . mu-lu-[sìr] nu-un-til am-mu-ra nu-un-til
[gašan (?) mèn muš-tan-na-mu nu-un-til
[(dingir) Da-mu-mu nu-un-til
[(dingir) Dagal] ušumgal-an-na nu-un-til
ù-mu-un-e -Àra-li nu-un-til
ù-mu-un-e bád-gurgura (ki) nu-un-til
sàb-ba en(dingir)-dumu-zi nu-un-til
u-mu-un-e dul-[sàb-]ba nu-un-til
múš-tan-na ga-ša-an ana-ka nu-un-til
ù-mu-un-e é-tùr-a nu-un-til
še[š dag]al mu-ten-na nu-un-til
. . . lum-lum ka-na-ág-gà nu-un-til
ù-mu-un gĭr ka-na-ág-gà nu-un-til
bí-e a-dím nad-de-en udu-sìl-bi ù-bi a-dím ne-dúr
bí-e a-dím nad-de-en úz máš-bi ù-bi a-dím ne-dúr

As for me to the abode of the abyss
I set my thoughts.
To the abode of the exalted one I set my thoughts.
"O hero, my lord, ah me" I will say,
"Food I eat not" I will say,
"Water I drink not" I will say,
"My good maiden[1]" I will say,
"My good husbandmen" I will say,
"Thy lord, the exalted, unto the nether world has taken his way.
Thy . . . the exalted, unto the nether world has taken his way."

REVERSE:

Because of the exalted one of the nether world, him of the radiant face, yea radiant,
Of the exalted one of the nether world, him of the dovelike voice, yea dovelike,
Because of the exalted
one, because of the lord,
Food I eat not because of the lord,
Water I drink not because of the lord,
My good maiden,[2] because of the lord,

[1] The maiden and the husbandmen are evidently the worshipers of Ishtar, so Zimmern.
[2] Supply, "Food I eat not," "water I drink not."

---

me-e dù-ṭul li-ga-ám-ma-tar
dù elim-ma li-ga-ám-ma-tar
[kalag] mu-lu-mu me-a ga-ám-ma-dúg
[ù]nu-kú-a-mu ga-ám-ma-dúg
a nu-nag-a-mu ga-ám-ma-dúg
ki-el šág-ga-mu ga-ám-ma-dúg
kal šág-ga-mu ga-ám-ma-dúg
[mu-lu-]zu elim-e kùr-áš ba-HU+SI
[. . .]zu elim-e kùr-áš ba-HU+SI

REVERSE:

[elim] kùr-ra i-dé sù-nu sù-nu-e
[elim] kùr-ra ka ĝu-tud-dú ĝu-tud-dú-e
elim ù-mu-un-da ù-mu-un-da
ù nu-kú-a-mu ù-mu-un-da
a nu-nag-a-mu ù-mu-un-da
ki-el šág-ga-mu ù-mu-un-da

My good husbandmen,[1] because of the lord,
The hero, your lord, has suffered destruction,
The god of grain, the child, your lord, has suffered destruction,
His sacred look bestows peace no more,
His sacred voice bestows salvation (?) no more,
. . . in his resting place like a dog he slumbers;
My lord in his . . . like a raven slumbers,
In solitude he himself is,
My lord! for whom the wail is raised.

Forty-one lines, a psalm on the flute to Tammuz.

[1] Supply, "Food I eat not," "water I drink not."

kal šág-ga-mu ù-mu-un-da
kalag mu-lu-zu-ne mu-da-ab-ğa-lam-ma
(dingir) ab-šam dumu mu-lu-zu-ne mu-da-ab-ğa-lam-ma
i-dé-bar šág-ga-ni šè nam-ba-e-ga-ga
sir-maš-šág-ga-ni mud na-an-ní-bar-ri
. . . ? ág-dag-ga-na ur ba-e-nad
mu-lu-mà PA-KAB-DU-ga-na ú-nag-ga-[ğu] ba-e-dúr
gi-di-da-ni im-e ám-me
mu-lu-mà li-du-ni im-mi-ir-ri-ám-me

XLI er-šem-ma (dingir) Dumu-zi-da.

12. A PRAYER FOR A FAVORABLE DREAM[1]

From my wickedness cause me to depart, and let me be saved by thee.
Send unto me and let me behold a favorable dream.
May the dream I behold be favorable.
May the dream I behold be true.

[1] First published in IV R., 66, No. 2, line 54 fol., and repeated with corrections in the 2d edition, 59, No. 2 rev., line 20 fol. Published and translated by Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 101f., and by King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, pp. 238, 239.

It-ti lum-ni šu-ti-ḳa-an-ni-ma lu-un-ni-ṭir it-ti-ka
šup-ra-an-ni-ma šuttu damiḳtam(tu) luṭ-ṭul
šuttu a-na-ṭa-lu lu-u damḳat (at)
šuttu a-na-ṭa-lu lu-u kīnat (at)

Turn the dream I behold unto favor.
May the god . . . the goddess of dreams stand at my head.
Cause me to enter into Esagila, the temple of the gods, the house of life.
Unto Marduk the merciful commend me into his favorable hands for favor.
So will I bow myself before thy greatness, will I glorify thy divinity,
And the people of my city will praise thy power.

šuttu a-na-ṭa-lu ana damiḳti (ti) tir-ra
(ilu) Ma-mă ilat ša šunâti ina rēši-ia lu kān(an)
šu-ri-ba-an-ni-ma a-na E-sag-ila ekal ilāni bit balāṭi
a-na (ilu) Marduk ri-me-ni-i a-na damiḳtim(tim) ana ḳātā ii damkāti piḳ-dan-ni
lud-lul nir-bi-ka lut-ta-'-id ilu-ut-ka
nišê ali-ia li-še-pa-a ḳur-di-ka

LITURGICAL AND DOCTRINAL TEXTS

1. THE SUPPOSED BABYLONIAN SABBATH[1]

(1) An evil day. (2) The shepherd of great peoples (3) shall not eat flesh, cooked upon the coals, or bread of the oven.[2] (4) The garment of his body he shall not change, he shall not put on clean (garments). (5) He shall not bring an offering. The king shall not ride in his chariot. (6) He shall not speak as a ruler (?). The priest shall not give a decision in the secret place. (7) The physician shall not lay his hand on a patient. (8) To do business it (the day) is not suitable. (9) At night (10) the king shall bring his gift before Marduk and Ishtar, he shall offer a sacrifice. (11) The lifting up of his hands[3] will then be pleasing to god.

[1] The text is published IV R., 32f. This section applies to the 7, 14, 19, 21, and 28 days. It has been repeatedly translated. See, for example, Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd edition, p. 593; Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 380, 381; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 99, 100. The text is that for the seventh day, with variants for the other days.

[2] "Cooked upon the coals" means "boiled upon the fire"; the second clause means "baked in an oven."

[3] That is, prayer.

(1) ûmu limnu (2) re'û nišê ra-ba-a-ti (3) šîru ša ina pi-en-ti ba-aš-lu ša tum-ri ul ikkal (4) subât pag-ri-šu ul unakk-ar ub[1]-bu-ti ul *iltabbaš* (5) ni-ḳu-u ul inaḳ-ki šarru narkabta ul irakab (6) šal-tiš ul i-*tam*[2]-me a-šar pu-uz-ri (amêlu) bârû amâta ul išakkan (7) âsû ana marsi ḳat-su ul ub-bal (8) ana epêš ṣibûti la naṭu (9) ina muši[3] (10) šarru nindabû-šu ina pan (ilu) Marduk u ilu Ištar,[4] ú kan ni-ḳi-e inaḳ-ḳi (11) niš ḳati-šu itti ili ma-gir.[5]

[1] Variant *ib*.

[2] Variant ta.

[3] Variant of the 21st day has *ina sêrim*, in the morning.

[4] The 14th day has here ana (ilu) Ninlil (ilu) Nergal; the 21st day has ana (ilu) Šamši (ilu) Bêlit mâtâti ana Sin (ilu) Maḫ, the 28th day has ana (ilu) Ea (ilu) Maḫ.

[5] The 14th day has the variant innammar, and the 21st ma-ḫi-ir.

2. THE PANTHEON

In early times the number of gods in the Pantheon increased rapidly, so that before the period of Ham-

murapi (about 2000 B. C.) more than sixty gods find mention.[1] Many of these deities are the importations of other peoples who came into Babylonia and founded homes, bringing their gods with them, while others go back to the remotest period of Sumerian life. Many are mere duplications. Every city would have a moon god and a sun god, and the names given to them would often vary in different places. For a long time these divine names increased rather than diminished in number, even though from time to time one god was absorbed by another when one city conquered another. There was also a marked tendency to increase the divine names by adding various attendants to the god, who waited upon him as servants upon earthly masters; thus, for example, we find that in the temple of Esagila Marduk had two attendants who bore the descriptive names (ilu) Minâ-ikul-bêli, which means "(god) What will my lord eat?" and Minâ-ishti-bêli, "(god) What will my lord drink?"[2] By such accretions as these the number of the gods increased enormously, and the priests were forced to make lists of them in order to be sure of their rightful place and due honor. In the making of these lists a sort of classification was adopted, by which the names of minor deities, who are mere reflections of a great god, are identified as expressing certain aspects of his nature. An interesting specimen of this sort of classification is given below in the list of identifications of the god Bad (see A). It is to be specially noted that all these are minor deities except the great Ellil, of whom Bad was a mere reflection. Such iden-

[1] Morris Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, pp. 51, 52. Compare Rogers, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 78, 79.

[2] These names occur on K. 4332, which is published by King, *Cuneiform Texts*, xxiv, Plates 12–17. Compare also on these divine names, *ib.*, p. 5.

tifications of goddesses are less frequent, except in the case of Ishtar, of which an interesting specimen is reproduced below (see B). These identifications, while interesting as showing a tendency to diminish the overpowering number of the gods, are relatively unimportant because the identifications are all made with minor deities. There is, however, one late Babylonian tablet in which the greatest of the gods are identified with Marduk (see C). This tablet has been the subject of a great controversy,[1] in which it has been freely argued that it is monotheism, or an approach to monotheism, or latent monotheism. It seems an unnecessary confusion in critical terminology to use the word "monotheism" at all in connection with the passage. It is quite plainly nothing but pantheism, and not even henotheism. We may quite properly speculate upon the probabilities of the appearance of henotheism among the later Babylonian philosophizing priests, but there is no evidence for even this in the present passage.

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[1] The tablet was first published by Pinches, *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1896, p. 8, who argued that it was "at least an approach to monotheism" (*ib.*, p. 11). It was then taken up by Delitzsch (*Babel u. Bibel*, p. 49), who supported him. This led to the famous Babel-Bibel controversy, the chief papers in which are the following:

Eduard König, *Bibel und Babel, Eine kulturgeschichtliche Skizze*, 6te Auf. Berlin, 1902.

Karl Budde, *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen.* Giessen, 1903.

Karl Budde, *Was soll die Gemeinde aus dem Streit um Babel und Bibel lernen.* Leipzig, 1903.

Fritz Hommel, *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament.* Berlin, 1902.

Alfred Jeremias, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*, 3te Auf. Leipzig, 1903.

Samuel Oettli, *Der Kampf um Bibel und Babel.*

Heinrich Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel.* Berlin, 1903.

On this particular tablet compare also Zimmern in Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 609, who finds in it "einen an monotheistische oder wenigstens henotheistische Anschauung streifenden Grundton," but continues that "von einem Durchbruch zu wirklichem Monotheismus in Bereiche der babylonischen Weltanschauung nicht eigentlich die Rede sein kann." But Jeremias (*The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, p. 85) finds a "latent monotheism" in it and other passages. King also (*Cuneiform Texts*, xxiv, p. 9) speaks of it as "a still further step in an advance toward monotheism."

The priests remained polytheists to the end, as the vast masses of religious literature plainly shows. None the less are these speculations interesting and important as showing efforts after a simplification of the cumbrous Pantheon.

A. Identification of Minor Gods [1]

Ellil is Bad (as god) of the land.
Duranki is Bad (as god) of the decision.
Dibar is Bad (as god) of the decision.
Makhdigal is Bad (as god) of the decision.
Daragal is Bad (as god) of kings.
Diri is Bad (as god) of all.
Gu is Bad (as god) of all.
Nab is Bad (as god) of heaven.
Anzagar is Bad (as god) of

[1] The text is published by King, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, xxiv, p. 39, lines 3–11, and transliterated and translated by him, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

(ilu) En-lil-li (ilu) Bad ša ma-a-[ti]
(ilu) Dur-an-ki ša purus[sî]
(ilu) Di-bar ša purus[sî]
(ilu) Maḫ-di-gal ša puruss[î]
(ilu) Dara-gal ša šarrâni(ni)
(ilu) Diri ša nap-ḫa-ri
(ilu) Gu ša nap-ḫa-ri
(ilu) Nab ša šamê(e)
(ilu) An-za-gar ša an-na-ti

B. Identification of Goddesses [1]

Zanaru is Ishtar (as goddess) of the lands.
Kara-dun is Ishtar (as goddess) of the strong.
Ulsiga is Ishtar (as goddess) of heaven and earth.
Tiruru is Ishtar (as goddess) of . . .
Shun-nu-sibi is Ishtar (as goddess) of images.

[1] The text is published by King, *Cuneiform Texts*, xxiv, Plate 41, with transliteration and translation on p. 8.

(ilu) Za-na-ru (ilu) Iš-tar ša mâtâte(te)
(ilu) Kara-dun do ša kar-ra-a-di
(ilu) Ul-si-ga do ša šamê(e) u irṣiti(ti)
(ilu) Ṭi-ru-ru do ša kaš-šul-ṭi (?)
(ilu) Šun-nu-sibi (?) do ša bu-na-ni-e

Tibanumma is Ishtar (as goddess) of fetters.
Me-nu-an-nim is Ishtar (as goddess) of lamentation.
Me-nu-nim is Ishtar (as goddess) of lamentation.
Labatu is Ishtar (as goddess) of wailing.
Alakalki is Ishtar (as goddess) of burning.
Kashaia is Ishtar (as goddess) of howling.

(ilu) Ti-ba-num-ma do ša iš-ḳa-a-ti
(ilu) Me-nu-an-nim do ša ta-ni-ḫi
(ilu) Me-nu-nim do ša ta-ni-ḫi
(ilu) La-ba-tu do ša lal-la-ra-te
(ilu) A-la-kal-ki do ša ia-a-ru-ra-te
(ilu) Ka-ša-ia do ša ta-nu-ḳa-a-te

C. Identification of the Great Gods [1]

Urash is Marduk (as god) of planting.
Lugal-a-ki [. . .] is Marduk (as god) of the deep.
Nin-Urta is Marduk (as god) of strength.
Nergal is Marduk (as god) of war.
Zamama is Marduk (as god) of battle.
Ellil is Marduk (as god) of rule and government.
Nabu is Marduk (as god) of riches.
Sin is Marduk as illuminator of the night.
Shamash is Marduk (as god) of justice.
Adad is Marduk (as god) of rain.
Tishkhu is Marduk (as god) of troops (or armies, hosts)

[1] The text was first published, transliterated, translated, and discussed by Pinches, *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, 1896, pp. 8ff. It is newly published, with transliteration and translation by King, *Cuneiform Texts*, xxiv, Plate 50 and p. 9.

(ilu) Tu (?) (ilu) Marduk ša e-ri-šu
(ilu) Lugal-a-ki [. . .] (ilu) Marduk ša naḳ-bi
(ilu) Nin-ib (ilu) Marduk ša al-li
(ilu) Nergal (ilu) Marduk ša ḳab-lu
(ilu) Za-ma-ma (ilu) Marduk ša ta-ḫa-zi
(ilu) En-lil (ilu) Marduk ša be-lu-tu u mit-lu-uk-tu
(ilu) Nabû (ilu) Marduk ša nikasi
(ilu) Sin (ilu) Marduk mu-nam-mir mu-ši
(ilu) Šamaš (ilu) Marduk ša ki-na-a-ti
(ilu) Adad (ilu) Marduk ša zu-un-nu
(ilu) Tišḫu (ilu) Marduk ša um-ma-nu

Gal (?) is Marduk (as god) of . . .
Shukamunu is Marduk (as god) of the clay vessel.
[. . . . is Marduk (as god) of the conduit.

(ilu) Gal — (ilu) Marduk ša kir-zi-zi
(ilu) Šu-ka-mu-nu — (ilu) Marduk ša pi-sa-an-nu
[(ilu) . . . . . — (ilu) Marduk ša ku]l-la-ti

3. THE GODS OF THE MONTHS[1]

Nîsânu[2] : of Anu and Ellil.
Âru : of Ea, lord of men.
Simânu[3] : of Sin, first son of Ellil.
Du'ûzu[4] : of the hero Ninib.
Âbu : of Ningishzida, lord of justice (?).
Ulûlu : of Ishtar, queen [of battle(?)].
Tashritu[5] : of the hero Shamash.
Arakhsamnu[6] : of the wise one of the gods, Marduk.
Kislimmu : of the great hero Nergal.
Ṭebêtu : of Papsukal, vizier of Anu and Ishtar.

[1] Published in IV R., 33, repeated with some additions in the second edition.

[2] *Nisânu* means "beginning." The Babylonian New Year began with the time of the vernal equinox; the Jewish year, on the other hand, began about the time of the autumnal equinox, but during the Babylonian captivity the Jews adopted the Babylonian calendar and continued its use until the first century B. C., when the old Jewish year was readopted and is still maintained.

[3] Pronounced Sivânu. See *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii, p. 265.

[4] Du'ûzu for Dumuzu or Tumuzu, i. e., Tammuz. See *ib.*, p. 270.

[5] *Tashritu* means "beginning" (the same as *Nisânu*), and points, therefore, to an old calendar in which the year began with the autumnal equinox.

[6] *Arakhshamnu* means "eighth month"; Heb., *Marchesvan*, for *Merachshâven*, a change due to transposition of vowels. See *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii, p. 266. On the names see further Haupt, *Purim, Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vi, 32.

(arḫu) nîsânu — ša (ilu) A-num u (ilu) En-lil
(arḫu) âru — ša (ilu) Ea bêl te-ni-še-e-ti
(arḫu) simânu — ša (ilu) Sin mâri riš-ti-i ša (ilu) En-lil
(arḫu) du'ûzu — ša ku-ra-du (ilu) Nin-ib
(arḫu) âbu — ša (ilu) Nin-giš-zi-da bêl m[i-ša-ri]
(arḫu) ulûlu — ša (ilu) Iš-tar be-lit . . .
(arḫu) tašritu — ša (ilu) Šamaš ku-ra-du
(arḫu) araḫšamnu — ša abkall ilâni (ilu) Marduk
(arḫu) kislimmu — ša ur-sag-gal (uršânu ḳarrâdu rabû) (ilu) Nergal
(arḫu) ṭebêtu — ša (ilu) Pap-sukkal sukkal (ilu) A-num u (ilu) Ištar

Shabaṭu : of Adad, governor (?) of heaven and earth.
Addâru[1] : of the seven gods, of the great gods.
Second Addâru: of Ashur, father of the gods.

[1] *Addaru* means "dark," "gloomy."

(arḫu) šabatu ša (ilu) Adad ašâridu šame(e) u irṣitim
(arḫu) addâru ša (ilu) si-bi ilâni rabuti
(arḫu) magrû (ša) addâri ša Ašur a-bi ilâni

4. THE DOCTRINE OF SUBSTITUTION

A[1]

To the wise man he spoke:[2]
A lamb is (?) a substitute for a man,
A lamb he gives for his life,
The head of the lamb he gives for the head of the man,
The neck of the lamb he gives for the neck of the man,
The breast of the lamb he gives for the breast of the man.[3]

[1] A fragment in Sumerian and Assyrian published IV R., 26, No. 6, and again in the 2d edition, 26, No. 6, with some duplicates in the Additions and Corrections, p. 5. A more complete edition in *Cuneiform Texts*, xvii, p. 37. Translated by Zimmern in Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 597, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 101.

[2] The preceding part is unintelligible, but the god Ea is mentioned, as he is also at the end (see line 15 of the text below).

[3] From the fragmentary ends of the lines shown below it is plain that it enumerated some other part of the body in the next line, perhaps the feet, which are mentioned in a ritual text in *Cuneiform Texts*, iv, p. 4.

1 abgal-e dúg nam-mi-in-de
2 ana ab-ḳal-li is-si-ma
3 máš nig-sag-il-la nam-lù-ǧál-lu-ge
4 ú-ri-ṣu nigsagillû ša a-me-lu-ti
5 máš zi-a-ni-šú ba-an-sig
6 u-ri-ṣa ana na-piš-ti-šù it-ta-din
7 sag-maš sag-galu-šú ba-an-sig
8 ḳaḳ-ḳad u-ri-ṣi ana ḳaḳ-ḳad ameli it-ta-din
9 tig-maš tig-galu-šú ba-an-sig
10 ki-šad ú-ri-ṣi ana ki-šad ameli it-ta-din
11 gab-máš gab-galu-šú ba-an-sig
12 ir-ti ú-ri-ṣi ana ir-ti ameli it-ta-din
13 [. . . . . .] ba-an-sig
14 [. . . . . .] it-ta-din
15 [. . . . . .]e a-mat (ilu) E-a
16 [. . . . .]-mu-un-da-an-búr-ra
17 [. . . . . .] li-ip-pa-ši-ir

B [1]

A somewhat similar set of ideas appears in the treaty made between Mati-el, of Arpad, and Ashur-nirari, king of Assyria (754–745 B. C.). The following are the significant lines. After the treaty had been arranged a ram is sacrificed, which represents Mati-el, the different parts of its body standing severally for the corresponding parts of his.

[1] Text not published, transliteration and translation by Peiser, *Studien zur orientalischen Altertumskunde, Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1898, No. 6, pp. 228ff. Compare Zimmern in Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 597.

This head is not the head of the ram . . .
It is the head of Mati-el . . .
The head of his children, his nobles, the people of his land.
If Mati-el *break* this covenant
As the head of this ram is cut off . . .
. . . his teeth laid in his mouth
The head of Mati-el shall be cut off . . .

ḳaḳḳadu an-ni-u la ḳaḳḳadu ša LU-NIM . . .
ḳaḳḳadu ša Ma-ti-'-ilu . . .
ḳaḳḳadu ša marê-šu rabûti-šu nišê mâti-[šu . . .]
šum-mu Mati-'ilu ina a-di-e an-nu-ti
ki-i ša ḳaḳḳadi ša LU-NIM an-ni-u ḳa-[ti . . .]
. . . šin-nu-šu ina pî-šu šak-na-tu
ḳaḳḳadu ša Mati'ilu ḳa-ti ip-ṭur (?)

5. THE SCAPEGOAT [1]

A partial parallel to the scapegoat which was sent away to Azazel in the wilderness (Lev. 16. 8, 10, 20–22, 26) is found in the sheep slain for purification of the temple and then the body cast into the river. The parallel is by no means perfect, but it has certain of the same features.

[1] Published, transliterated, and translated by Dhorme, *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, viii, pp. 41ff.

Reverse:

The *Irrishu* shall give the order and cut off the head of the sheep.
With the body of the sheep the *Mashmashu* shall purify the temple.
He shall recite the incantations to exorcise the temple.
He shall purify all the naos in its circumference, then shall he take away the platter.
The *Mashmashu* shall carry away the body of the sheep,
And shall place it in the river Na-la, at evening.
And cast into the river the body of the sheep.
He shall depart into the country. The *Irrishu*, the head of the sheep . . .
The *Mashmashu* and the *Irrishu* shall depart into the country. All that
Which belongs to Nabu, lord of Babylon, they shall not introduce into Babylon.
From the fifth to the twelfth day, they shall remain in the country.

(amêlu) irrišu iḳabbi-ma ḳaḳkad immeri i-bat-taḳ-ma
ina paḫ-ri immeri (amêlu) maš-maš bîta ú-kap-par
šipâti ša túm-mu bîti i-man-nu
paḫ-paḫ gab-bi adi siḫir-ti-šu i-ḫap-ma niknakku ipaṭṭar
paḫ-ri immeri šu-a-tim (amêlu) maš-maš i-na-aš-ši-ma
ana (nâru) Na-la pâni-šu ana erêb Šamši išakkan-ma
paḫ-ri immeri šu-a-tú ana nâri inad-di
ana ṣêri uṣṣi (amêlu) irrišu ḳaḳkad immeri KIMIN
(amêlu) maš-maš u (amêlu) irrišu ana ṣêri uṣṣû ma-la
ša (ilu) Nabû bêl Bâbili (ki) ana Bâbili (ki) lâ ušêrabû
ištu ûmi V adi ûmi XII (kam) ina ṣeri uššabû

CHRONOLOGICAL MATERIALS

I. BABYLONIAN

1. THE BABYLONIAN KING LIST A.[1]

COLUMN I:

[Eleven names broken off, to be supplied from King List B. See below.]

. . . 11 kings, Dynasty of Babylon.

60 Iluma-ilu.
55 Itti-ili-nibi.
36 Damki-ilishu.
15 Ishkibal.
27 Shushshi, his brother (?)
55 Gulkishar.
50 Peshgal-daramash.
28 A-a-dara-kalama.
26 Akur-ul-anna.
7 Melam-kurkura.
9 Ea-gamil.

368 11 kings, Dynasty of Uru-azag.

16 Gandash.
22 Agum, the former, his son.
22 Kashtiliashi.
8 Ushshi, his son.
. . . A-bi-vat-tash.
. . . Taz-zi-gur-mash.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

COLUMN II:

[About 13 names broken off.]

22 . . . . . .
26 Nazi-maruttash.
17 Kadashman-tur gu.
+2 Kadashman-Buriash.
6 Kudur-En-lil.
13 Shagarakti-suriash.
8 Kashtiliash, his son.
1½ En-lil-nadin-shum.
1½ Kadashman-Kharbe.
6 Ramman-shum-iddin.
30 Ramman-shum-naṣir.
15 Me-li-shi-pak.
17 Marduk-aplu-iddin., his son.
1 Zamamu-shum-iddin.
3 En-lil-nadin-akhi.

576 *years* 9 *mo.* 36 kings. Dyn. . . .

17 Marduk . . .
6 . . . . . .

COLUMN IV:

. . . . . .
. . . Nabu-shum-ishkun.
. . . Nabu-nasir.
. . 2 Nabu-nadin-zer, his son.
1 mo. 12 days. Nabu-shum-ukin, his son?

22 Dynasty e.

3 Ukin-zer. Dynasty of Shi-i.

COLUMN III:

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
22 . . . . . .
1 *year* 6 mo. Marduk-shum . . .
13 Marduk-zer . . .
9 Nabu-shum-libur (?).

132; 2 mo. (?.) 11 Kings. Dynasty Pashe.

[1] First published by Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vi, p. 193, and repeatedly republished and discussed. See especially the following: Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, 286f.; Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur orientalische Geschichte*, p. 146f.; Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, Tafel 60; Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie*, pp. 13ff.; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2te Auf., i, 2te Hälfte, pp. 333ff.

2 Pulu.
5 Ululai. Dynasty Ti-nu.
12 Marduk-aplu-iddin. Dynasty Sea-lands.
5 Sharru-ukin.
2 Sin-akhi-erba. Dyn. Khabi-gal.
1 mo. Marduk-zakir-shum, son of Arad.
9 mo. Marduk-aplu-iddin Ṣab Khabi.
3 Bel-ibni. Dynasty e.
6 Asshur-nadin-shum. Dyn. Kha-bi-gal.
1 Nergal-ushezib.
4 Mushezib-Marduk.
8 Sin-akhi-erba.
. . . Asshur-akh-iddin.
. . . Shamash-shum-ukin.
. . . Kandalanu.
[The remainder broken off.]

---

18 Sim-mash-shikhu.
5 mo. Ea-mukin-shumi
3 Kasshu-nadin-akhi.

---

21 *years* 5 months. 3 kings. Dynasty of Sea Lands.

---

17 Eulmash-shakin-shum.
3 Ninib-kudur-uçur.
3 mo. Shiriktu-shuqamuna.

---

20 *years* 3 months. 3 kings. Dyn. of bit-Bazi.

---

6 . . . ilu (?) . . .

---

16 . . . . . .
8 months 12 days . . .
[About 14 lines broken off.]

2. THE BABYLONIAN KING LIST B.[1]

OBVERSE:

Sumu-abu, years 15.
Sumu-la-ilu, years 35.
Zabu-u, son of the former, years 14.
Abil-Sin, son of the former, years 18.
Sin-muballit, son of the former, years 30.
Ḫammurapi, son of the former, years 55.
Samsu-iluna, son of the former, years 35.
Ebišhum, son of the former, years 25.
Ammiditana, son of the former, years 25.
Ammi-sadugga, son of the former, years 21.[2]
Samsu-ditana, son of the former, years 31.

---

11 kings, Dynasty of Babylon.

REVERSE:

Uru-azag (ki) Iluma-ilu.
Itti-ili-nibi.
Damki-ilishu.
Ishkibal.
Shushshi.
Gulkishar.
Peshgal-daramash, son of the former.
A-dara-kalama.
Akur-ul-anna.
Melam-kurkura.
Ea-gamil.

---

10 kings, Dynasty of Uru-azag (ki).

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[1] Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1880, p. 20f.; Schrader, *Berichte, Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1887, p. 585f., with photograph; Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalische Geschichte*, p. 145; Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, pp. 288, 289.

[2] The numeral has usually been read 22; so Winckler, Delitzsch, Hommel, but King has reëxamined the text and says, "There is no doubt that '21' is the correct figure."—King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, i, p. 84, footnote 2.

3. A CHRONICLE CONCERNING SARGON AND OTHER EARLY BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN RULERS[1]

Sargon, king of Agade, by Ishtar's royal insignia was exalted,
And he had no rival or enemy. His glory he poured out over the world.
The sea of the East[2] he crossed,
And in the eleventh year his hand subdued the Country of the West in its full extent.
He united them under one control; he set up his images in the west;
Their booty he brought over at his word.
He settled the sons of his palace for five biru around,
And over the hosts of the world he reigned supreme.
Against Kaçalla he marched, and turned Kaçalla into mounds and ruins;
He destroyed within it, *leaving not* a bird's resting place.
Afterward in his old age all the lands revolted against him,

[1] First published, with transliteration and translation, by L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, ii, pp. 3–24.

[2] The Sargon Omen tablet reads here "sea of the *west*," which is probably wrong. The sea of the east, which is the Persian Gulf, seems much more probable than the sea of the west, which is the Mediterranean. See further King, *op. cit.*, i, p. 37f.

Šarru-ukin šar A-ga-de (ki) ina palî (ilu) Iš-tar i-lam-ma
ša-ni-na u ma-ḫi-ri ul i-ši ša-lum-mat-su eli matâti (pl)
it-bu-uk tâmta ina ṣît Šamši i-bi-ir-ma
šattu XI (kan) mât erêb Šamši a-di ki-ti-šu ḳât-ṣu ikšud(ud)
pi-i-šu a-na iš-tin u-kin ṣalmani (pl)-šu ina erêb Šamši uš-zi-iz
šal-lat-su-nu ina a-ma-a-ti u-še-bi-ra
mârê ekalli-šu a-na V biru (ta-a-an) u-še-šib-ma
um-mat mâtâti (pl) mit-ḫa-riš i-be-el
a-na (mâtu) Ka-ṣal-la il-lik-ma (mâtu) Ka-ṣal-la ana tili u kar-me u-tir
ina lib-bi-šu man-za-az iṣ-ṣur u-ḫal-liḳ
ar-ka-niš ina ši-bu-ti-šu mâtâti ka-li-ši-na ib-ba-al-ki-ta-ši-ma

And they besieged him in Agade; and Sargon went forth to battle and accomplished their defeat;
Their overthrow he brought about, and their wide spreading host he destroyed.
Afterward he attacked the land of Subartu in his might, and before his arms they bowed down,
And Sargon quelled that revolt, and accomplished their defeat;
Their overthrow he brought about, and their wide spreading host he destroyed.
Their possessions he caused to be brought into Agade.
The soil he removed from the trenches of Babylon,
And the boundaries of Agade he made like those of Babylon.
But because of the evil which he had committed the great lord Marduk was angry,
And he destroyed his people by famine.
From the rising of the sun unto the setting of the sun
They rebelled against him and gave him no rest.

REVERSE:

Narâm-Sin, the son of Sargon, *marched* against the city of Apirak,

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ina A-ga-de (ki) il-mu-šu-ma (m)Šarru-ukîn a-na kakki ûṣi-ma abikta-šu-nu im-ḫaṣ
ka-mar-šu-nu iš-kun um-man-šu-nu rapaštim(tim) u-šam-ki-it
arki ana (mâtu) Subartu (ki) ina gi-ib-ši-šu itbi-ma ana kakki ik-mi-is-su-ma
Šarru-ukîn dalâḫu šu-a-tu u-še-šib-ma abikta-šu-nu im-ḫaṣ
ka-mar-šu-nu iš-kun um-man-šu-nu rapaštim(tim) u-šam-kit
makkur-šu-nu a-na A-ga-de (ki) u-še-ri-ba
e-pi-ir e-si-e ša Bâbili (ki) is-suḫ-ma
i-te-e A-ga-de (ki) gab-ri Bâbili (ki) i-pu-uš
a-na marušta i-pu-šu bêlu rabû(u) (ilu) Marduk i-gu-ug-ma
ina ḫu-šaḫ-ḫu nišê-šu ig-mu-ur
ul-tu ṣi-it (ilu) Šamši(ši) a-di e-rib (ilu) Šamši(ši)
ik-ki-ru-šu-ma la ṣa-la-la i-mi-id-[*su*]

REVERSE:

(m)Na-ra-am-(ilu) Sin mâr (m)Šarru-ukîn a-na (alu) A-pi-rak [(ki) il-lik-ma]

And he built trenches, and his hand subdued
Rish-Adad, king of Apirak, and the governor of Apirak.
He marched against Magan, and Mannu-dannu, king of Magan, *his hand subdued*,
Dungi, son of Ur-Engur, richly adorned the city of Eridu, which was on the shore of the sea
But he sought after evil, and the treasure of E-sagila and of Babylon,
He brought out as spoil. And Bel was . . . and body and . . . he made an end of him.
Ura-imitti, the king, set Bêl-ibni, the gardener,
Upon his throne, that the dynasty might not come to an end;
And the crown of his kingship he placed upon his head,
Ura-imitti in his palace . . . . . died (?)
Bel-ibni, who sat upon the throne, did not arise *therefrom*
But was established as king.
Ilu-shûma, king of Assyria, against Su-abu.

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pi-il-šu ip-lu-uš-ma (m)Ri-iš-(ilu) Ad[ad]
šar (alu) A-pi-rak (ki) u (amêlu) sukkal A-pi-rak (ki) ḳât-su ik-[šud(ud)]
ana Ma-gan-na (ki) il-lik-ma (m)Man-nu-da-an-nu šar Ma-gan [kât-su ikšud(ud)]
(m, ilu) Dun-gi mâr (m)Ur-(ilu) Engur Eridu (ki) ša kišad tam-tim ra-biš iz-nun
limutta iš-te-'e-e-ma makkur E-sag-ila u Bâbili (ki)
ina šil-lat ušêṣi (ilu) Bêl šı [. . .]-ma (amêlu) šalamta-šu u ša-kil KAK (tu) uḳattu-šu
(m, ilu) Ura (ra)-imitti šarru (m, ilu) Bêl-ibni amêl urḳi
a-na la šakân SAG-GIL(e) ina kussî-šu u-šê-šib
agâ šarru-ti-šu ina ḳaḳḳadi-šu iš-ta-kan
(m, ilu) Ura(ra)-i-mit-ti ina ekalli-šu pap-pa-su im-me-ḫiṣ ina sa-r-[a-pi-šu im-tu-ut]
Bel-ibni ša ina kussî u-ši-bi ul it-bi
a-na šarru-u-ti it-taš-kan
Ilu-šu [m]-ma šar (mâtu) Aššur a-na tar-ṣi (m)Su-a-bu.

Continuation of the Chronicle Concerning Early Babylonian Rulers

Ura-imitti, the king, set Bêl-ibni, the gardener,
Upon his throne, [that (the dynasty) might not come to an end]
And the crown of his kingship he placed upon his head.
Ura-imitti in his palace . . .
. . . . . died.
Bel-ibni sat upon the throne, and did not arise (therefrom);
And as king he was established.
Hammurapi, king of Babylon, set his troops in motion,
And marched against Rim-Sin, king of Ur.
The cities of Ur and of Larsa his hand conquered
And he took their possessions unto Babylon.
. . . . he overthrew . . . he carried away.
Samsu-il]una, king of Babylon, the son of Hammurapi, the king
. . . . . and
. . . . . Rim-Sin unto . . .
. . . . . his hand conquered.
. . . . . him alive in the palace . . .

[Ura-imitti, šarru] (m, ilu) Bel-ibni amêl urḳi
[a-na la šakân [SAG-GIL](e) ina ḳussî-šu u-še-šib]
[a]gâ šarru-u-ti-šu ina ḳaḳkadi-šu iš-ta-kan
Ura(ra)-i-mit-ti ina ekalli-šu pap-pa-si im-me-hiṣ
ina sa-ra-pi-šu im-tu-ut
(m, ilu) Bel-ibni ina kussî u-ši-bi ul it-bi
a-na šarru-u-ti it-taš-kan
(m)Ha-am-mu-ra-pi šar Bâbili (ki) ummâni-šu id-ki-e-ma
a-na eli (m) Rîm-(ilu)Sim šar Uru (ki) il-lik
Uru (ki) u Larsam (ki) ḳa-at-su ik-šu-ud
b[u]-š[a]-š[u]-na a-na Bâbili (ki) il-ḳa-a
[. . .] ki is-ḫup [. . . ki u-bil-l[a]
(m) [Sa-am-su-i-l]u-na šar Bâbili (ki) mâr(m) Ḫa-[am-mu-ra-pi ša]rri
. . . . . -b]u-tu [. . .]-e-ma
. . . . . .]-zu-na(m) Rîm-(ilu) Sin ana [. . .] illik [ik]
. . . . . ḳat-su ikšud [(ud)]
. . . . . bal-ṭu-ut-su ina ekalli

. . . . . he marched and besieged . . .
. . . . . his peoples . . .
. . . . . .

REVERSE:

[Iluma]-ilu . . .
. . . . . he made . . .
He waged war against him and . . .
Their dead bodies the sea . . .
Samsu-iluna again marched [against . . .]
Iluma-ilu advanced and the defeat [. . . . . he accomplished.]
Abishi, son of Samsu-iluna, to conquer Ilu-ma-ilu
And his heart moved him to dam the Tigris.
And he dammed the Tigris, but he caught not Iluma-ilu.
Against Shamash-ditana the men of the land of Khatti marched against the land of Akkad.

Ea-gamil, king of the Country of the Sea, *marched* against the land of Elam,
And in pursuit of him Ulam-Bur(i)ash, the brother of Kashtiliash the Kassite,

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[. . . . .] illik-ma il-mi [. . .]
[. . . . .] nišê šu [. . .]
[. . . . . .]

REVERSE:

[(m) Iluma]-ilu ma-[. . .]
[. . . -m]e-e ib-na [. . .]
ṣal-tu a-na libbi-šu epuš-m[a . . .]
(amelu) pagrê šu-nu tam-tim [. . .]
iš-ni-ma(m)Sa-am-su-i-lu-na ana [. . .]
Ilu-ma-ilu itba-am-ma abikti ummâni (pl) [. . .]
(m) A-bi-ši mâr (m)Sa-am-su-i-lu-na ka-šad(m) Ilu-ma-ilu i[š- . . . -ma]a
(nâru) Idiglat a-na si-ki-ri lib-ba-šu ub-lam-ma
(nâru) Idiglat is-ḳir-ma (m)Ilu-ma-ilu ul [iṣ-ba]t
ana tar-[ṣi] (m) Šamaš-di-ta-na (mâtu) Ḫat-tu-u ana Akkadû (ki) [illik]
(m, ilu) E-a-ga-mil šar mât tam-tim a-na (mât) Elamtu(ki) [il-li-ku-ma]
arki-šu(m) U-lam-Bur-aš aḫ Kaš-til-ia-aš (mâtu) Kaš-šu-u

Set his troops in motion, and conquered the Country of the Sea, and exercised dominion over the country.

Agum, the son of Kashtiliash, moved his troops. and marched against the Country of the Sea,

He conquered the city of Dûr-Ea,

And E . . . -uruna, the temple of the god Ea in *the city of* Dûr-Ea, he razed to the ground.

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ummâni-šu id-ki-e-ma mât tam-tim ikšud(ud) bêlu-ut mâti i-pu-uš
A-gum mâr Kaš-til-ia-aš ummâni-šu id-ki-e-ma
a-na mât tam-tim il-lik
(alu) Dûr-(ilu)Ea ikšud(ud)
Ea . . . -uru-na bît (ilu) Ea ša Dûr-Ea u-šal-pit

4. THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE[1]

COLUMN I:

(1) *In the third year of Nabonassar*, King of Babylon, (2) Tiglathpileser took his seat on the throne in Assyria. (3) In the same year he marched against Akkad (4) and plundered the cities of Rapiku and Khamranu. (5) The gods of the city of Shapazza he carried away.

(6) During the reign of Nabonassar Borsippa separated itself (7) from Babylon. The battle of Nabonassar (8) against Borsippa is not recorded.[2]

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[1] Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vi, pp. 193ff.; Winckler, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 148ff.; Pinches, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xix, pp. 655ff.; Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 47, 48; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 4te Auf., pp. 137–142; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 58ff.

[2] This means that the scribe who copied this tablet did not find this event recorded in the exemplar which was before him. One of the duplicates even omits lines 6 to 8 altogether.

COLUMN I:

(1) [šattu III (ilu) Nabû-nâṣir] šar Babili (2) Tukulti-apal-ešarra ina (mâtu) Aššur ina kussî ittašab (3) šattu šuatu ana mâtu Akkadi (ki) ur-dam-ma (4) (alu) Rab-bi-ku u (alu) Ha-am-ra-nu iḫ-ta-bat (5) u ilâni ša (alu) Ša-pa-az-za i-ta-bak (6) a-na tar-ṣi (ilu) Nabû-nâṣir Bar-sip (ki) (7) itti Babili it-te-si ṣal-tum ša (ilu) Nabû-naṣir (8) a-na libbi Bar-sip (ki) i-pu-šu

(9) In the fifth year of Nabonassar, Ummanigash (10) took his seat on the throne in Elam.

(11) In the fourteenth year Nabonassar fell ill and died in his palace. (12) Nabonassar ruled fourteen years over Babylon. (13) Nadinu, his son, took his seat on the throne in Babylon. (14) In the second year Nadinu was killed in a revolt. (15) Nadinu reigned two years in Babylon. (16) Shumukin, a governor of a province, a rebel, took his seat on the throne. (17) Two months, . . . days reigned Shumukin in Babylon. (18) Ukinzer . . . the throne . . . seized the throne.

(19) In the third year of Ukinzer, Tiglathpileser (20) marched against Akkad. (21) He laid Bet-Amukani waste and took Ukinzer prisoner. (22) Ukinzer reigned three years in Babylon. (23) Tiglathpileser took his seat on the throne in Babylon. (24) In the second year, in the month of Tebet, Tiglathpileser died. (25) Tiglathpileser reigned . . . years in Akkad and in (26) Assyria; two years he reigned in Akkad. (27) On the twenty-fifth day of Tebet Shalma-

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ul ša-ṭir (9) šattu V (ilu) Nabû-naṣir Um-ma-ni-ga-aš (10) ina (mâtu) Elamti ina kussî ittaša-ab (11) šattu XIV (ilu) Nabû-nâṣir mariṣ-ma ina ekalli-šu šîmâti (12) XIV šanâti (ilu) Nabû-nâṣir šarru-ut Babili epu-uš (13) (m) Na-di-nu mâru-šu ina Babili ina kussî ittaša-ab (14) šattu II Na-di-nu ina si-ḫi dîk (15) II šanâti Na-din šarru-ut Babili epu-uš (16) (m) Šumu-ukîn piḫatu bêl si-ḫi ina kussî ittaša-ab (17) arḫu II ûmu . . . Šumu-ukîn šarru-ut Babilu epu-uš (18) (m) Ukîn-zer . . . ina kussî [. . .]-ma kussû iṣ-bat (19) šattu III Ukîn-zêr Tukul-ti-apal-e-šarra (20) ana (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) ki-i u-ri-dam (21) Bit-a-mu-ka-nu iḫ-ta-pi u Ukîn-zêr ik-ta-šad (22) III šanâti Ukîn-zêr šarru-ut Babili epu-uš (23) (m) Tukul-ti-apal-e-šar-ra ina Babili ina kussî ittaša-ab (24) šattu II Tukul-ti-apal-e-šar-ra ina (arḫu) Tebetu šimâti (25) . . . šanâti Tukul-ti-apal-e-šar-ra šarru-ut (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) (26) u (mâtu) Aššur epu-uš II šanâti ina libbi ina (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) epu-uš (27) (arḫu) Ṭebetu ûmu XXV Šul-man-a-ša-rid ina (mâtu) Aššur

neser (28) took his seat on the throne in Assyria, and the city of Shabarain was destroyed.

(29) In the fifth year, in the month of Tebet, Shalmaneser died. (30) Shalmaneser reigned five years in Akkad and in Assyria. (31) On the twelfth day of Tebet, Sargon took his seat on the throne in Assyria. (32) In Nisan Merodach-baladan took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

(33) In the second year of Merodach-baladan, Ummanigash, King of Babylon, fought a battle with Sargon, King of Assyria, (34) in the district of Durilu. (35) He accomplished the defeat of Assyria and slew many. (36) Merodachbaladan, who had come to the help of the (37) King of Elam, did not come in time for the battle, but marched after him (?)

(38) In the fifth year of Merodach-baladan, Ummanigash, King of Elam, died. (39) Ummanigash reigned . . . years in Elam. (40) Ishtar-kundu, son of his sister, took his seat on the throne in Elam. (41) From the beginning of the reign of Merodach-baladan to the tenth year (42) [Sargon] was at enmity with Merodach-baladan.

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(28) (ki) ina kussî ittaša-ab (alu) Ša-ba (ma?)-ra-'-in iḫ-te-pi (29) šattu V Šul-man-a-ša-rid ina (arḫu) Ṭebetu šimâti (30) V šanâti Šul-man-a-ša-rid šarru-ut (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) u (mâtu) Aššur epu-uš (31) (arḫu) Ṭebetu umû XII (kan) Šarru-ukin ina (mâtu) Aššur ina kussî ittaša-ab (32) ina Nisanu (m, ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin ina Babili ina kussî ittaša-ab (33) šattu II (ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin Um-ma-ni-ga-aš šar Elamti (34) ina piḫat Dûr-ilu (ki) ṣal-tum ana libbi Šarru-ukin šar (mâtu) Aššur epuš-ma (35) nabalkatu (mâtu) Aššur ittaška-an abikta-šu-nu ma-'-diš ittaška-an (36) (m, ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin u um-ma-ni-šu ša a-na ri-ṣu-tum (37) šar Elamti illi-ku ṣal-tum ul ik-šu-ud ana arkî-šu urakki-sa (?) (38) šattu V (ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin Um-ma-ni-ga-aš šar Elamti šimâti (39) . . . šanâti Um-ma-ni-ga-aš šarru-ut Elamti epu-uš (40) [Iš-tar-ḫu-un-]du mâr a-ḫa-ti-šu ina (mâtu) Elamti ina kussî ittaša-ab (41) [ul-tu rêš šarrû-ti] (ilu) Marduk-[apal-iddi]-nam a-di šattu X (kan) (42) [Šarru-ukîn]

(43) In the tenth year of Merodach-baladan Bet Dakuri (44) was laid waste and its goods taken away.

Column II:

(1) In the twelfth year of Merodach-baladan Sargon marched against Akkad, (2) and gave battle to Merodach-baladan. (3) Merodach-baladan fled to Elam, at the head of his nobles! (4) Merodach-baladan reigned twelve years in Babylon. (5) Sargon took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

(6) In the thirteenth year Sargon took the hand of Bel *and* captured Dur-Yakin.

(7) In the fourteenth year the king remained in the country.

(8) In the fifteenth year, on the twenty-second day of Teshrit, the gods of the Sea Land came back to their place. There were epidemics in Assyria.

(9) In the sixteenth year Sargon marched against Tabal.

[Lines 10–18 are wanting both upon the chief tablet and upon the duplicate. The lines immediately following are badly broken.]

(19) The Babylonians were not scattered. The territory . . . (20) he . . . Merodach-baladan . . .

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it-ti (ilu) Marduk-[apal-iddi-na]m na-kir (43) [šattu X (kan) (ilu) Marduk-apal]-iddin Bît-Da-ku-r]i (44) [iḫ-te-pi ḫu-bu-ut]-su iḫ-[ta]-bat.

Column II:

(1) šattu XII (ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin Šarru-ukîn ana (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) ur-dam-ma (2) ṣal-tum ana lib (ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin epu-uṣ-ma (3) (ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin ina pân (amelu) rabûti-šu ana (mâtu) Elamti iḫ-liḳ (4) XII šanâti (ilu) Marduk-apal-iddin šarru-ut Babili epu-uš (5) šarru-ukîn ina Babili ina kussî ittaša-ab (6) šattu XIII Šarru-ukîn kât (ilu) Bel iṣ-ṣa[-bat] Dur-ia-a-ki-nu ik-ta-[šad] (7) šattu XIV šarru ina [mâti] (8) šattu XV araḫ Tašrîtu ûmu XXII (kan) ilâni ša mât tam-tim ina ašri-šu-nu itûrû mutânî ina (mâtu) Aššur šak-[nu]

(9) [šattu XVI Šarru-u]kîn ana (mâtu) Ta-ba-lu [illik]

[Lines 10–18 wanting.]

(19) (amêlu) Babilai ul [sapiḫ] mi-iṣ-ri [. . .] (20) ir-tib-ma (ilu)

(21) his land was plundered. . . . After he had fortified (22) Larak and Sharraba . . . (23) he placed Bel-ibni on the throne in Babylon.

(24) In the first year of Bel-ibni, Sennacherib destroyed the cities of (25) Khirimma and Khararatu.

(26) In the third year of Bel-ibni Sennacherib marched against Akkad (27) and plundered Akkad. (28) Bel-ibni and his nobles were taken away to Assyria. (29) Bel-ibni reigned three years in Babylon. (30) Sennacherib set Asshur-nadin-shum, his son, (31) on the throne in Babylon.

(32) In the first year of Asshur-nadin-shum Ishtar-khundu, King of Elam, was seized by his brother (33) Khallushu and cast into prison. (34) Ishtar-khundu reigned eighteen years in Elam. (35) Khallushu, his brother, took his seat on the throne in Elam.

(36) In the sixth year of Asshur-nadin-shum, Sennacherib marched down (37) against Elam, destroyed the cities of Nagitu, Khilmu, (38) Pillatu, Khupapanu (39) and plundered them. Afterward Khullushu, King of Elam, marched (40) against Akkad, *and* at the end of Teshrit

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Marduk-apal-iddin u[. . .] (21) ḫu-bu-ut mâti-šu iḫ-ta-bat u[. . .]-šu (22) (alu) La-rak u (alu) Šar-ra-ba [. . .]-šu (23) ki-i urakki-su (m, ilu) Bel-ib-ni ina Babili ina kussî ul-te-šib (24) šattu I (kan) (ilu) Bel-ib-ni (ilu) Sin-aḫê-erba (25) (alu) Ḫi-ri-im-ma u (alu) Ḫa-ra-ra-tum iḫ-te-pi (26) šattu III (kan) (m, ilu) Bel-ib-ni (ilu) Sin-aḫê-erba ana (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) (27) ur-dam-ma ḫu-bu-ut (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) iḫ-ta-bat (28) (m, ilu) Bel-ib-ni u (amêlu) ra-bûti-šu ana (mâtu) Aššur ul-te-ik-lu (29) III šanâti (ilu) Bel-ib-ni šarru-ut Babili epu-uš (30) (ilu) Sin-aḫê-erba (ilu) Ašur-nâdin-šumu mâri-šu (31) ina Babili ina kussî ul-te-šib (32) šattu I (kan) (ilu) Ašur-nâdin-šumu Iš-tar-ḫu-un-du šar Elamti (33) Ḫal-lu-šu aḫi-šu iṣ-bat-su-ma bâbu ina pâni-šu ip-ḫi (34) XVIII šanâti Iš-tar-ḫu-un-du šarru-ut (mâtu) Elamti epu-uš (35) Ḫal-lu-šu aḫi-šu ina (mâtu) Elamti ina kussî ittaša-ab (36) šattu VI (kan) (ilu) Ašur-nâdin-šumu (ilu) Sin-aḫe-erbâ (37) ana (mâtu) Elamti u-rid-ma (alu) Na-gi-tum (alu) Ḫi-il-mi (38) (alu) Pi-il-la-tum u (alu) Ḫu-pa-pa-nu iḫ-te-pi (39) ḫu-bu-us-su-nu iḫ-ta-bat arkânu Ḫal-lu-šu šar Elamti (40) ana (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) illi-kam-ma ina ḳît Tašrîtu

entered Sippar and (41) put the inhabitants to death. Shamash did not leave E-barra. (42) Asshur-nadin-shum was taken prisoner and led away into Elam. Asshur-nadin-shum (43) reigned six years in Babylon. (44) The King of Elam set Nergal-ushezib (45) on the throne in Babylon, and accomplished the defeat of Assyria.

(46) In the first year of Nergal-ushezib, on the sixteenth day of Tammuz, (47) Nergal-ushezib took Nippur. . . . (48) On the first day of Teshrit, the Assyrians entered Uruk.

Column III:

(1) The gods of Uruk and its inhabitants were plundered. (2) Nergal-ushezib went after the Elamites, (3) and its inhabitants were taken away (?) On the seventh day of Teshrit (4) he fought against the Assyrians in the district of Nippur, was taken prisoner in battle and carried away to (5) Assyria. Nergal-ushezib (6) reigned one year and six months in Babylon. On the twenty-sixth day of Teshrit the people rebelled against (7) Khallushu, King of Elam, (8) imprisoned him and killed him. Khallushu reigned six years in

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ana Sippara erub (41) nišê idûk (ilu) Šamaš ištu E-bar-ra ul aṣî (42) (m, ilu) Ašur-nâdin-šumu ṣabit-ma ana (mâtu) Elamti a-bi-ik (43) VI šanati (ilu) Ašur-nâdin-šumu šarru-ut Babili epu-uš (44) šar Elamti (ilu) Nergal-u-še-zib ina Babili (45) ina kussî ul-te-šib [nabalkatu] (mâtu) Aššur ittaška-an (46) šattu I (kan) (m, ilu) Nergal-u-še-zib (araḫ) Duzu ûmu XVI (kan) (47) (m, ilu) Nergal-u-še-zib Nippuru iṣ-bat SAR.SAR.IR.NI.LAL (48) (araḫ) Tašritu ûmu I (kan) ṣâb (mâtu) Aššur ana Uruk erubû

Column III:

(1) ilâni ša šu-pur Uruk u nišê-šu iḫ-tab-tu (2) (ilu) Nergal-u-še-zib arki (amêlu) Elamû illik-ma ilâni šu-pur Uruk (3) u nišê-šu i-te-ik-mu (araḫ) Tašrîtu ûmu VII (kan) ina pi-ḫat Nippuri (4) ṣal-tum ana libbi ṣab (mâtu) Aššur epu-uš-ma ina taḫaz ṣêri ṣa-bit-ma (5) ana (mâtu) Aššur a-bi-ik šattu I. VI arḫi (ilu) Nergal-u-še-zib (6) šarru-ut Babili epu-uš (araḫ) Tašrîtu ûmu XXVI (kan) (7) Ḫal-lu-šu šar Elamti nišê-šu is-ḫu-šu-mu bâbu ina pa-ni-šu (8) ip-ḫu-u idûkû-šu VI šanâti Ḫal-lu-šu šarru-ut (mâtu) Elamti epu-uš

Elam. (9) Kudur took his seat on the throne in Elam. Afterward Sennacherib marched down (10) against Elam, laid it waste from Rashi (11) to Bet-Burnaki and carried away booty. (12) Mushezib-Marduk took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

(13) In the first year of Mushezib-Marduk, on the eighth day of Ab, (14) Kudur, King of Elam, was taken captive in a revolt and killed. (15) Kudur reigned ten months in Elam. Menanu (16) took his seat on the throne in Elam. In an unknown year (17) he collected the forces of Elam and the Babylonians, offered battle to the Assyrians in Khalule (18) and conquered the Assyrians.

(19) In the fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk, on the fifteenth day of Nisan, (20) Menanu, King of Elam, suffered with a stroke (?), (21) his mouth was closed and he could not speak. (22) On the first day of Kishlev the city (i. e., Babylon) was captured. Mushezib-Marduk (23) was taken prisoner and carried away to Assyria. Mushezib-Marduk reigned (24) four years in Babylon. (25) On the seventh day of Adar, Menanu, King of Elam, died. Menanu (26) reigned four years in

(9) Kudur ina (mâtu) Elamti ina kussî ittaša-ab arkânu (ilu) Sin-aḫe-erbâ (10) ana (mâtu) Elamti u-rid-ma ištu (mâtu) Ra-a-ši a-di (11) Bit-bur-na-ki iḫ-te-pi ḫu-bu-ut-su iḫ-ta-bat (12) Mu-še-zib-(ilu)Marduk ina Babili ina kussî ittaša-ab (13) šattu I (kan) Mu-še-zib-(ilu)Marduk (araḫ) abu ûmu XVIII (var. XVII) (kan) (14) Kudur šar (mâtu) Elamti ina si-ḫi ṣa-bit-ma dîk X arḫê (15) Kudur šarru-ut (mâtu) Elamti epu-uš Me-na-nu ina (mâtu) Elamti (16) ina kussî ittaša-ab šattu ul idî Me-na-nu ṣab (mâtu) Elamti (mâtu) Akkadi (ki) (17) id-ki-e-ma ina (alu) Ḫa-lu-li-e ṣal-tum ana lib (mâtu) Aššur (18) epu-uš-ma nabalka-tum (mâtu) Aššur ittaška-an (19) šattu IV Mu-še-zib-(ilu)Marduk (araḫ) Nisanu ûmu XV (kan) (20) Me-na-nu šar (mâtu) Elamti mi-šit-tum i-mi-ši(d)-su-ma (21) pû-šu ṣa-bit-ma at-ma-a la li-' (22) ina (araḫ) Kisilimu ûmu I (kan) alu ṣa-bit. Mu-še-zib-(ilu)Marduk (23) ṣa-bit-ma ana (mâtu) Aššur-a-bi-ik (24) IV šanâti Mu-še-zib-(ilu)Marduk šarru-ut Babili epu-uš (25) ina (araḫ) Adaru ûmu VII (kan) Me-na-nu šar (mâtu) Elamti šimâti (26) IV šanâti Me-na-nu

Elam. (27) Khummakhaldas took his seat on the throne in Elam.

(28) In the eighth year (i. e., during eight years) there was no king in Babylon. On the third day of Tammuz (29) the gods of Uruk (Erech) returned from Eridu to Uruk. (30) On the twenty-third day of Teshrit Khummakhaldash, King of Elam, (31) was smitten with fever, and died in the attack (?) of fever. (32) Khummakhaldas reigned eight years in Elam. (33) Khummakhaldas the second took his seat on the throne in Elam. (34) On the twentieth day of Tebet Sennacherib, King of Assyria, was killed (35) by his son in a revolt. Sennacherib (36) reigned *twenty-three* years in Assyria. From the twentieth day of Tebet until (37) the second day of Adar the revolt continued in Assyria. (38) On the eighteenth day of Adar Esarhaddon, his son, took his seat on the throne in Assyria.

(39) In the first year of Esarhaddon Zeru-kinish-lishir of the Sea Land, (40) after he . . . against Ur . . . city and . . . fled (41) before the nobles of Assyria and *went* (?) to Elam. (42) In Elam the King of Elam took him prisoner and

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šarru-ut (mâtu) Elamti epu-uš (27) Ḫum-ma-ḫal-da-šu ina (mâtu) Elamti ina kussî ittaša-ab (28) šattu VIII (kan) šarru ina Babili [. . .] (araḫ) Dûzu ûmu III (kan) (29) ilâni šu-pur Uruk ištu Eridu ana Uruk eribû (30) ina (araḫ) Tašrîtu ûmu XXIII (kan) Ḫum-ma-ḫal-da-šu šar Elamti ina išâti (31) ma-ḫi-iṣ-ma ina miḳit i[šâti] imu-ut VIII šanâti Ḫum-ma-ḫal-da-šu (32) šarru-ut (mâtu) Elamti epu-uš (33) Hum-ma-ḫal-da-šu šanu(u) ina (mâtu) Elamti ina kussî ittaša-ab (34) (araḫ) Tebitu ûmu XX (kan) (ilu) Sin-aḫê-erba šar (mâtu) Aššur (35) mâru-šu ina si-ḫi idûk-[šu XXIII] šanâti (ilu) Sin-aḫê-erbâ (36) šarru-(ut) (mâtu) Aššur epu-uš ûmu XX (kan) ša (araḫ) Ṭebitu a-di (37) ûmu II (kan) ša (araḫ) Adar si-ḫi ina (mâtu) Aššur sa-dir (38) (araḫ) Adar û[mu] XVIII (kan) (ilu) Aššur-aḫ-iddi-na mâru-šu ina (mâtu) Aššur ina kussî ittaša-ab (39) šattu I (kan) (ilu) Ašur-aḫ-iddina(m) Zeru-kîniš-lišir ša mât tam-tim (40) ki-i iš-ḳa-a ina eli Uru it-ta-di alu u[. . .] (41) ina pân (amelu) rabûti ša (mâtu) Aššur iḫliḳ-ma ana (mâtu) Elamti i-[. . .] (42) ina (mâtu) Elamti šar (mâtu)

killed him with a weapon. (43) In an unknown month in Nippur the *guenna* . . .

(44) In the month of Elul the god Ka-di and the *other* gods of Dur-ilu returned (45) to Dur-ilu. *The chief god and the other gods of Dur-Sharrukin* (46) returned to Dur-Sharrukin. . . . (47) In the month of Adar the head of . . . (48) In the second year the major-domo (lit., chief man of the house or palace) . . .

Column IV:

(1) . . . akhe-shullim, the *guenna*, and . . . (2) were brought to Assyria and killed in Assyria.

(3) In the third (? fourth) year Sidon was captured and its booty carried away . . . (4) the major-domo made an assembly (? census) in Akkad.

(5) In the fifth year, on the second day of Teshrit the Assyrian army made an expedition (6) against Baṣṣa. In the month of Teshrit the head of the King of Sidon (7) was cut off and brought to Assyria. In the month of Adar the heads of the Kings (8) of Kundu and Sisu were cut off and brought to Assyria.

(9) In the sixth day the King of Elam entered Sippar and made a massacre. Shamash did not leave

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Elamti iṣ-bat-su-ma ina kakki [iduk] (43) araḫ ul idî ina Nippuri (amêlu) gu[-en-na . . .] (44) ina (araḫ) Ululu (ilu) Ka-di u ilâni [šu-pur] Dûr-ilu (45) ana Dûr-ilu [illikû . . . u ilâni šu-pur Dûr-šarru-ukîn] (46) ana Dûr-šarru-ukîn illikû [. . .] (47) (araḫ) Adar ri-ši ša [. . .] (48) šattu II (kan) (amelu) rab-bîti [. . .]
[Broken, two lines missing.]

Column IV:

(1) [. . .]-ahê-šullim (amêlu) gu-en-na (2) [. . .]-ri ana (mâtu) Aššur ab-ku-ma ina (mâtu) Aššur dîkû (3) [šattu . . .] (alu) Ṣi-du-nu ṣa-bit šal-lat-su šal-lat (4) [. . .] (amelu) rab-bîti ina (mâtu) Akkadî bi-ḫir-tum ip-te-ḫir. (5) šattu V (kan) (araḫ) Tašritu ûmu II (kan) ṣab (mâtu) Aššur Ba-aṣ-ṣa (6) iṣ-ṣab-tu ina araḫ Tašrîti ḳaḳḳadu ša šarri ša (alu) Ṣi-du-nu (7) naki-is-ma ana (mâtu) Aššur na-ši ina araḫ Adar ḳaḳḳadu ša šarrê (8) ša (mâtu) Kun-du u (mâtu) Si-su-u naki-is-ma ana (mâtu) Aššur na-ši (9) šattu VI (kan) šar Elamti ana Sippara erub dîktu idûk (ilu) Šamaš

(10) E-barra. The Assyrian army *marched* against Egypt . . . (11) Khummakhaldash, King of Elam, died in his palace without being sick. (12) Five years ruled Khummakhaldash in Elam. (13) Urtagu, his brother, took his seat on the throne in Elam. (14) In an unknown month Shum-iddin, the *guenna*, (15) and Kudur, of Bet-Dakuri were brought to Assyria.

(16) In the seventh year, on the fifth day of Adar the Assyrian army entered Egypt. (17) In the month of Adar Ishtar of Akkad and the *other* gods of Akkad came (18) from Elam and on the tenth day of Adar entered Agade.

(19) In the eighth year of Esarhaddon on the . . . day of Tebet the (20) land of Shupri was conquered and its booty carried away. (21) In the month of Kislev its booty reached Uruk. (22) On the fifth day of Adar the king's wife died.

(23) In the tenth year, in the month of Nisan the army of Assyria marched (24) against Egypt. On the third, sixteenth, *and* eighteenth days of Tammuz —(25) three times—a slaughter took place in Egypt. (26) On the twenty-second day Memphis, its royal city, was captured, (27) its king escaped,

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ul-tu (10) E-bar-ra ul aṣî [ṣab] (mâtu) Aššur ana (mâtu) Mi-ṣir [illiku (?)] (11) Ḫum-ma-ḫal-da-šu šar (mâtu) Elamti ul mariṣ ina ekalli-šu imût (12) V šanâti Ḫum-ma-ḫal-da-šu šarru-ut (mâtu) Elamti epu-uš (13) Ur-ta-gu aḫi-šu ina (mâtu) Elamti ina kussî ittaša-ab (14) araḫ ul idî (m)Šum-iddin (amelu) gu-en-na (15) u Kudur mâr (m)Da-ku-ri ana Aššur ab-ku (16) šattu VII (araḫ) Adar ûmu V (kan) ṣab (mâtu) Aššur ina (mâtu) Mi-ṣir illikû (?) (17) ina (araḫ) Adar Ištar A-ga-de (ki) u ilâni ša A-ga-de (ki) (18) ultu (mâtu) Elamti illiku-nim-ma ina (araḫ) Adar ûmu X (kan) ana Agade (ki) erubû (19) šattu VIII (kan) (ilu) Ašur-aḫ-iddin (araḫ) Tebit ûmu ḫi-bi (20) (mâtu) Šup-ri-ṣa-ai ṣa-bit šal-lat-su šal-lat (21) ina (araḫ) Kisilimu šal-lat-su ana Uruk i-tir-bi (22) (araḫ) Adar ûmu V (kan) aššat šarri mîta-at. (23) šattu X (kan) araḫ Nisanu ṣab (mâtu) Aššur ana Mi-ṣir (24) illikû (araḫ) Dûzu ûmu III (kan) ûmu XVI (kan) ûmu XVIII (kan) (25) III-šu di-ik-tum ina (mâtu) Mi-ṣir di-kat (26) ûmu XXII (kan) Me-im-bi alu šarrû-ti-šu ṣa-bit (27) šarri-šu ul-te-zib mâri-šu aḫi-šu ina ḳâtâ ṣa-ab-tu

his sons and his brother were taken prisoners. (28) Its booty was carried away, the inhabitants were plundered, its goods were despoiled.

(29) In the eleventh year the King remained in Assyria. He put many nobles to death with weapons.

(30) In the twelfth year the King of Assyria marched against Egypt and (31) fell ill on the way and died on the tenth day of Marcheshwan. (32) Esarhaddon reigned twelve years in Assyria. (33) Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylon and Ashurbanapal in Assyria, his two sons, took their seats on the throne.

(34) In the year of the beginning of the reign of Shamash-shum-ukin, in the month of Iyyar (35) Bel and the gods of Akkad departed (36) from Asshur and on the twelfth day of Iyyar entered Babylon. (37) In the same year the King of Kirbitu was captured. (38) On the twentieth day of Tebet Bel-etir was captured [in] Babylon and killed.

(39) First Part. Read and prepared according to the Archetype. (40) Tablet of Ana-Bel-eresh, son of Liblutu, (41) son of Amel-Nannari for Ea-iddin the son of (42) Ana-Bel-eresh, son of Kalab-

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(28) šal-lat-su šal-lat nišê-šu ḫab-ta bušâ-šu ul-tal-lu-ni (29) šattu XI (kan) šarru ina (mâtu) Aššur (amelu) rabûti-šu ma-du-tu ina kakki id-du-uk (30) šattu XII (kan) šar (mâtu) Aššur ana (mâtu) Mi-ṣir illi-ku (31) ina ḫarran maris-ma ina Araḫ-šamna ûmu X (kan) šimâti (32) XII šanâti (ilu) Ašur-aḫ-iddin šarru-ut (mâtu) Aššur epu-uš (33) Šamaš-šum-ukîn ina Babili (m, ilu) Ašur-bânî-apal ina (mâtu) Aššur II mârî-šu ina kussî ittašbû (34) šattu reštu (m, ilu) Šamaš-šum-ukîn ina (araḫ) Airu (35) (ilu) Bêl u ilâni ša (mâtu) Akkadî (ki) ul-tu (alu) Aššur (36) u-ṣu-nim-ma ina araḫ Airu ûmu XII ana Babili erubû-ni (37) šattu šâti (alu) Kir-bi-tum šarri-šu ka-šid (38) (araḫ) Ṭebit ûmu XX (kan) (m, ilu) Bêl-eṭe-ir [. . .] Babili ṣa-bit-ma dîk. (39) par-su res-tu-u ki-ma labiri-šu ba-ru u up-pu-uš (40) dup-pi(m) A-na (ilu)Bêl-ereš mâri-šu ša (m)Li-ib-lu-ṭu (41) mâri Amel-(ilu) Nannari ka-at (m, ilu)E-a-iddin mâri-šu ša (42) (m)A-na-(ilu)Bêl-ereš mâr (m)Kalab-(ilu)Nannari

Nannari. Babylon, (43) the sixth day of the month . . . in the twenty-second year of Darius, King of Babylon and of the countries.

Babili (43) araḫ [. . .] ûmu VI (kan) šattu XXII (kan) (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šar Babili u mâtâti.

II. ASSYRIAN

1. THE ASSYRIAN EPONYM LIST[1]

911–894 wanting.
893 . . . šhar . . .
892 Nin-Urta . . . zar-me
891 Tab-etir.
890 Ashur-ladu-khal.

889 Tukulti-Nin-Urta, the king.
888 Taklak-ana-bil-ia.
887 Abu-Malik.
886 Ilu-milki.
885 Iari.
884 Asshur-shezibani.

883 Asshur-nasir-apli, the king.
882 Asshur-iddin.
881 Shimuttiaku.
880 Sha-(ilu)ma-dam-ka.
879 Dakan-bel-nasir.
878 Nin-Urta-pia-usar.
877 Nin-Urta-bel-usur.
876 Shangu-Ashur-lilbur.
875 Shamash-upahir.
[var. ub-la.]
874 Nergal-bel-kumua.
873 Kurdi-Ashur.

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[1] The original texts are published in II R., 68, 69; III R., 1; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2te Auf., 87–91. Compare also Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 71–73. On the Eponym Canon in general compare Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 299–356.

872 Ashur-li?
871 Ashur-natkil.
870 Bel-mudammik.
869 Dain-Ninurta.
868 Ishtar- . . .
867 Shamash-nuri.
866 Mannu-dan-ana-ili (?)
865 Shamash-bel-usur.
864 Ninurta-ilia.
863 Nin-Urta-etiranni.
862 Asshur-ilia.
861 Nergal-is-ka-u-danni-in.
860 Tab-Bel.
859 Shar-kalab-nishe.
858 Shulman-asharidu (Shalmaneser), the king.
857 Asshur-bel-ukinni.
856 Asshur-bania-usur.
855 Abu-ina-ekal-lilbur.
854 Dain-Asshur.
853 Shamash-abua.
852 Shamash-bel-usur.
851 Bel-bania.
850 Hadil-ebushu.
849 Nergal-alik-pani.
848 Bur (ilu)Ramana.
[var. Bur-raman and Bir-*Raman*.]
847 Nin-Urta-mukir-nishe.
846 Nin-Urta-nadin-shum.
845 Asshur-bania.
844 Tabu-Nin-Urta.
843 Tal-lak-ana-sharri.
842 Adad-rimani.
841 Bel-abua.
840 Shulmu-bel-lamur.
839 Nin-Urta-kibsi-usur.
838 Nin-Urta-malik.
837 Kurdi-Asshur.

836 Shepa-shar.
835 Nergal-mudamik.
834 Yakhalu.
833 Ululai.
832 Sharpati-Bel.
831 Nergal-malik.
830 Khu-bak-ba-ai.
829 Ilu-mukin-aki.

828 Shulmanu-asharidu (Shalmaneser), the king.
827 Dain-Asshur.
826 Asshur-bania-usur.
825 Yakhalu.
824 Bel-bania.

823 Shamshi-Adad, the king.
822 Yakhalu.
821 Bel-dan.
820 Nin-Urta-upakhkhir.
819 Shamash-malik.
818 Nergal-malik.
817 Asshur-bania-usur.
816 Sharpati-Bel.
815 Bel-balat.
814 Mu-shik-nish.
813 Nin-Urta-asharidu.
812 Shamash-kumua.
811 Bel-kat-sabat.

810 Adad-nirari, the king.
809 Nergal-malik.
808 Bel-dan.
807 Sil-bel.
806 Asshur-taklak.
805 Ilu-ittia.
804 Nergal-eresh.
803 Asshur-kalab-nishe.
802 Nin-Urta-malik.

801 Shepa-shar.
800 Marduk-*shem-anim*.
799 Mutakkil . . .
798 Bel-tarsi-(ilu)ma.
797 Asshur-bel-usur.
796 Marduk-shadua.
795 Kin-abua.
794 Mannuki (mat) Asshur.
793 Mushallim-Ninib.
792 Bel-ikishani.
791 Shepa-Shamash.
790 Nin-Urta-mukin-akhe.
789 Adad-mushammir.
788 Sil-Ishtar.
787 Balatu.
786 Adad-uballit.
785 Marduk-shar-usur.
784 Nabu-shar-usur.
783 Nin-Urta-nasir.
782 (ilu) Ma-li?

781 Shulmanu-asharidu (Shalmaneser), the king.
780 Shamshi-ilu.
779 Marduk-rimani.
778 Bel-lishir.
777 Nabu-ishid-ukin.
776 Pan-Asshur-lamur.
[var. amaru.]
775 Nergal-eresh.
774 Ishtar-duri.
773 Mannuki-Adad.
772 Asshur-bel-usur.

771 Asshur-dan, the king.
770 Shamshi-ilu.
769 Bel-malik.
768 Apliya.
767 Kurdi-Asshur.

766 Mushallim-Ninib.
765 Nin-Urta-mukin-nishe.
764 Sidki-ilu.
763 Pur-(ilu)-sagale.
762 Sab-Bel.
761 Nabu-mukin-akhe.
760 Lakibu.
759 Pan-Asshur-lamur.
758 Bel-taklak.
757 Nin-Urta-iddin
756 Bel-shadua.
755 Kisu.
754 Nin-Urta-shezibani.

753 Asshur-nirari, the king.
752 Shamshi-ilu.
751 Marduk-shallimani.
750 Bel-dan.
749 Shamas-DU-DU-SUN.
748 Adad-bel-ukin.
747 Sin-shallim-ani.
746 Nergal-nasir.

745 Nabu-bel-usur.
[Dividing line in one copy.]
744 Bel-dan.
[Dividing line in Can. II and III.]
743 Tukulti-apàl-esharra, the king.
[The word king found only in one copy.]
742 Nabu-daninanni.
741 Bel-kharran-bel-usur.
740 Nabu-etiranni.
739 Sin-taklak.
738 Adad-bel-ukin.
737 Bel-limuranni.
736 Nin-Urta-ilia.
735 Asshur-shallimanni.
734 Bel-dan.

733 Asshur-daninanni.
732 Nabu-bel-usur.
731 Nergal-uballit.
730 Bel-ludari.
729 Napkhar-ilu.
728 Dur-Asshur.

727 Bel-kharran-bel-usur
726 Marduk-bel-usur.
725 Makhde.
724 Asshur-shemi .
723 Shulman-asharidu, the king.

722 Nin-Urta-malik.
721 Nabu-taris.
720 Asshur-is-ka-udannir.
[Dividing line in one copy.]
719 Sharru-ukin (Sargon).
718 Zeru-ibni.
717 Tab-shar-Asshur.
716 Tab-sil-esharra.
715 Tak-lak-ana-bel.
714 Ishtar-duri.
713 Asshur-bani.
712 Sharru-limuranni.
711 Nin-Urta-alik-pani.
710 Shamash-bel-usur.
709 Mannuki-Asshur-li'.
708 Shamash-upakhkhir.
707 Sha-Asshur-du-(ub)bu.
706 Mutakkil-Asshur.

705 Upakhkhir(ra)-Bel.
[One copy reads Sin-akhe-irba (Sennacherib) the king, Upakhkhira-Bel.]
704 Nabu-dini-ebush.
703 Kan-nun-ai.
702 Nabu-li'.

701 Khananu.
700 Metunu.
699 Bel-sharanni.
698 Shulmu (var. Shulum)-shar.
697 Nabu-dur-usur.
696 Tab-Bel.
695 Asshur-bel-usur.
694 Ilu-ittia.
693 Nadin-akhi.
692 Za(sa)-Za-(sa)-ai.
[var. a-ku (?)]
691 Bel-limuranni.
690 Nabu-mukin-akh.
689 Gikhilu.
688 Nadin-akhi.

687 Sin-akhe-erba (Sennacherib)

686 Bel-limuranni.
685 Asshur-daninanni.
684 Mannu-zir (var. Zar)-ni.
683 Mannuki-Adad.
682 Nabu-shar-usur.

681 Nabu-ake-eresh.
*Esar*haddon took his seat on the throne.
680 Dana(a)-nu.
679 Ishtu-Adad-aninu.
678 Nergal-shar-usur.
677 Abu-rama (or ramu).
676 Bam (var. Ban)-ba.
675 Nabu-akhe-iddin.
674 Sharru-nuri.
673 Atar-ilu.
672 Nabu-bel-usur.
671 Tebit-ai.
670 Shulmu-bel-lashme (? shib).
669 Shamash-kashid-abi.

668 Mar-larmi (or Mar-larim).
667 Gabbaru.
666 . . . ai.

[Some lines wanting.]

? Bel-na'id.
? Tabu.
? Arba-*ila*.
? Girsa *puna* (?)
? Shīlim-*Asshur*.

2. THE ASSYRIAN EPONYM LIST WITH NOTES[1]

860 . . . when Shulman-asharidu (Shalmaneser), son of Asshurnazirpal, *took his seat on the throne.*
859 *In the eponym year of* Sharru-kalab-nishe . . . against . . .
858 *In the eponym year of* Shulman-asharidu, King of Assyria . . .
857 *In the eponym year of* Asshur-bel-ukin, the commander-in-chief . . .
856 *In the eponym year of* Asshur-bana-usur, the chief BI-LUB . . .
855 *In the eponym year of* Asshur-ina-ekalli-lilbur, the major-domo . . .
854 *In the eponym year of Dain*-Asshur, the commander-in-chief . . .

[1] The chief edition is in II R., 52, but the obverse and reverse have there exchanged places. It is republished, with corrections, in Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2te Auf. See further Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, ii, pp. 188–197 (German edition, pp. 480ff.); Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, pp. 208ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 73ff.

860 . . . | ša Šul-ma-nu-ašaridu | mâr Ašur-nâṣi-ir-aplu | ina kussî ittašab (?)
859 [ina li-me] | Šarru-kalab-nisê | . . . | a[na . . .]
858 [ina li-me] | Šul-ma-nu-ašaridu | šar (mâtu) Aššur | . . .
857 [ina li-me] Ašur-bêlu-ukî-in | (amêlu) Tur-ta-nu | . . .
856 [ina li-me] Ašur-bâ-na-ai-uṣur | (amêlu) rab-BI-LUB | . . .
855 [ina li-me] Abu-ina-ekalli-lil-bur (amêlu) nâgir (?) ekalli . . .
854 [ina li-me] Dâin-Ašur (amêlu) Tur-ta-nu | . . .

853 *In the eponym year of* Shamash-abua, the governor of the city of Nasibina (Nisibis).
852 *In the eponym year of* Shamash-bel-usur of the city of Kal-kha (Kalah) . . .
851 *In the eponym year of* Bel-bana, the major-domo . . .
850 *In the eponym year of* Khadil-ebushu of the city of . . .
849 *In the eponym year of* Nergal-alik-makhri . . .
848 In the eponym year of Bir (ilu) Ramana . . .

[A break in the tablet begins here.]

842 . . . . . sil.
841 . . . . . of the city of Akhi (naru) sukhina. Against . . .
840 . . . . . of the land of Rasappa (Razeph). Against the land of . . .
839 . . . . . of the city of Akhi-(naru)sukhina. Against the land of Danabi.
838 . . . . . of the land of Sal-lat (?). Against the land of Tabali.
837 . . . . . of the land of *Kirr*uri. Against the land of Melidi (Melitene).
836 . . . . . of the city of Ninua (Nineveh). Against the land of Namri (Namar).

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853 [ina li-me] Šamaš-abu-u-a | (amêlu) šaknu (alu) Na-sib-na | . . .
852 [ina li-me] Šamaš-bêlu-uṣur | ša (alu) Kal-ḫa | . . .
851 [ina li-me] Bêl-bani-ai (amêlu) nâgir (?) ekalli | . . .
850 [ina li-me] Ḫa-di-i-li-bu-šu | ša (alu) . . . | . . .
849 [ina li-me] Nergal-âlik-maḫri | . . . | . . .
848 [ina li-me] Bir-(ilu) ra-ma-na | . . . | . . .

[There is a break here in the tablet.]

842 . . . . . ṣil (nun)
841 . . . | . . . | šu (alu) a-ḫi-(nâru)su-ḫi-na | a-[na (mâtu)
840 . . . | . . . | ša (mâtu) Ra-ṣap-pa | a-na (mâtu) ma- . . . ḫi
839 . . . | . . . | ša (alu) Aḫi-(nâru)su-ḫi-na | a-na (mâtu) Da-na-bi
838 . . . | . . . | ša (mâtu) Sal-lat | a-na (mâtu) Ta-ba-li
837 . . . | . . . | ša (mâtu) Kir-]ru-ri | a-na (mâtu) Me-li-di
836 . . . | ša (alu)Ni-]nu-a | a-na (mâtu) Nam-ri

835 . . . . . the man Itu (?). Against the land of Que.

834 . . . . . of the city of Kak-zi. Against the land of Que. Against the land of Que. The great god went out from Der.

833 . . . . . na. Against the land of Urartu (Armenia).

832 . . . . . against the land of Unki.

831 . . . . . against the land of Ullaba.

830 . . . . . against the land of Manna.

829 . . . . . a revolt.

828 . . . . . a revolt.

827 . . . . . a revolt.

826 . . . . . a revolt.

825 . . . . . a revolt.

824 . . . . . a revolt.

[A break in the tablet, with only the scanty remains of portions of words, which are unintelligible. With the next portion of the table the words "in the eponym year of" (ina li-me) are omitted.]

817 *Asshur-bania-usur* . . . Against the land of Tillie (?)

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835 . . .	(amêlu) *itu* | a-na (mâtu) Ḳu-e
834 . . .	ša (alu) *kak*-zi a-na (mâtu) Ḳu-e
	a-na (mâtu) Ḳu-e | ilu rabû ištu (alu) Di-rit it-tal-ka
833 . . . . . -na	a-na (mâtu)Ur-ar-ṭi
832 . . . . . -ḫi	a-na (mâtu) Un-ḳi
831 . . . . . -š	a-na (mâtu) Ul-lu-ba
830	a-na (mâtu) Man-na-ai
829	si-ḫu
828	si-ḫu
827	si-ḫu
826	si-ḫu
825	si-ḫu
824	si-ḫu

[A break in the tablet.]

817 [Ašur-bâni-ai-uṣur] . . . \| a-na (mâtu) Til-li-[e]

816 *Sharpati-Bel of the city of* Nasibina (Nisibis). Against the land of Zarati.

815 *Bel-balat of* . . . Against the city of Der. The great god went to Der.

814 Mushiknish of the land of Kirruri. Against the land of Akhsana.

813 Nergal-malik, the commander-in-chief. Against the land of Kaldu.

812 Shamash-kumua of the land of Arbakha. Against Babylon.

811 Bel-kata-sabit of the city of Mazamua. In the land.

810 *Adad-nirari, King of* Assyria. Against Media.

809 *Nergal-malik, the commander-in-*chief. Against the city of Guzana.

808 *Bel-dan,* the major-domo (?). Against the land of Manna.

807 Çil-Bel, the RAB-BI-LUB. Against the land of Manna.

806 *Asshur-takkil,* the man *Itu* (?). Against the land of Arpad.

805 *Ilu-ittia* (?), a governor of the country. Against the city of Khazazu.

804 *Nergal-eresh of the land of* Raçappa. Against the city of Balu.

803 Asshur-kalab-*nishe of the land of* Arbakha. Against the sea coast. A plague.

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816 [Šar-pa-ti-i-bel ša (alu) Na]-si-bi-na | a-na (mâtu) Za-ra-a-ti
815 [Bel-ba-laṭ ša . . .]-nu | a-na (alu) Di-ri ilu rabû a-na (alu) Di-ri it-tal-lak
814 [Mu-šik-niš ša (mâtu) Kir-ru-ri | a-na (mâtu) Aḫ-ša-na
813 [Nergal-malik (amêlu) Tur-ta-nu | a-na (mâtu) Kal-di
812 [Šamaš-ku-mu-u-a ša (mâtu) Arba-ḫa | a-na Bâbilu
811 [Bêl-ḳata-ṣa-bit ša] (alu) Ma-za-mu-a | ina mâti
810 [Adad-nirâri šar (mâtu) Aššur | a-na Mad-ai
809 [Nergal-malik (amêlu) Tur]-ta-nu | a-na (alu) Gu-za-na
808 [Bêl-dan-an (amêlu) nâgir ekalli | a-na (mâtu) Man-na-ai
807 [Sil-bêl (amêlu) rab-BI]-LUB a-na (mâtu) Man-na-ai
806 [Ašur-tak-lak (amêlu) itu | a-na (mâtu) Ar-pad-da
805 [Ilu-itti-ia] (amêlu) šakin mâti | a-na (alu) Ḫa-za-zi
804 [Nergal-ere-eš ša (mâtu) Ra]-ṣap-pa | a-na (alu) Ba-'-li
803 Ašur-kalab-[nišê ša (mâtu)] Arba-ḫa | a-na eli tam-dim mu-ta-nu

802 Nin-Urta-malik of the city of Akhi (naru) Zukhina. Against the city of Khubushkia.

801 Shepa-Ishtar of the city of Naçibina. Against Media.

800 Marduk-Shemani of the city of Amedi. Against Media.

799 Mutakkil-Marduk, the man of the Rabshakehs. Against the land of Lusia.

798 Bel-tarçi-iluma of the city of Kalkhi (Kalah). Against the land of Namri.

797 Asshur-bel-usur of the land of Kirruri. Against the city of Mançuate.

796 Marduk-shadua of the city of Shallat. Against the city of Der.

795 Ukin-abua of the land of Tushkhan. Against the city of Der.

794 Manuki-Asshur of the city of Guzana. Against Media.

793 Mushallim-Ninib of the land of Tillie. Against Media.

792 Bel-ikishani of the city of Mekhinish. Against the city of Khubushkia.

791 Shepa-Shamash of the land of Isana. Against the land of Itua.

790 Nin-Urta-ukin-akhi of the city of Ninua (Nineveh). Against Media.

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802 Ninib-malik ša (alu) Aḫi-(nâru)Zu-ḫi-na | a-na (alu) Ḫu-bu-uš-ki-a
801 Šêpâ-Ištar ša (alu) Na-ṣib-i-na | a-na Mad-ai
800 Marduk-šem-a-ni ša (alu) A-me-di | a-na Mad-ai
799 Mu-tak-kil-Marduk (amêlu) Rab-sakî | a-na (mâtu) Lu-u-si-a
798 Bêl-tar-ṣi-ilu-ma ša (alu) Kal-ḫi | a-na (mâtu) Nam-ri
797 Ašur-bêl-uṣur ša (mâtu) Kir-ru-ri | a-na (alu) Man-ṣu-a-te
796 Marduk-ša-du-u-a ša (alu) Šal-lat | a-na (alu) Di-e-ri
795 Ukîn-abu-u-a ša (alu) Tuš-ḫa-an | a-na (alu) Di-e-ri
794 Ma-nu-kî-(mâtu) Aššur ša (alu) Gu-za-na | a-na Mad-ai
793 Mu-šal-lim-Ninib ša (mâtu) Til-li-e | a-na Mad-ai
792 Bêl-ikî-ša-(a)-ni ša (alu) Šib-ḫi-niš | a-na (mâtu) Ḫu-bu-uš-ki-a
791 Šepâ-Šamaš ša (mâtu) I-sa-na | a-na (mâtu) I-tu-'-a
790 Ninib-ukîn-aḫi ša (aiu) Ni-nu-a | a-na Mad-ai

789 Adad-mushammir of the city of Kakzi (?) Against Media. The foundation of the temple of Nabu in Nineveh was laid.

788 Çil-Ishtar of the city . . . Against the land of Kiski (?) Nabu entered the new Temple.

787 Nabu-shar-usur of the city of . . . [the Eponym list for this year reads Balatu. See p. 222.]

786 Adad-uballit of the city of Rimusi. Against . . . The great god returned to the city of Der.

[The year 785 with Marduk-shar-usur is omitted.]

784 Nabu-shar-usur of the city of Kur (?) ban. Against the land of Khubushkia.

783 Ninib-naçir of the city of Mazamua. Against the land of Itu.

782 *Mali' of the city of Nasib*ina (Nisibis). Against the land of Itu.

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781 Shulmanu-asharidu (Shalmaneser), King of Assyria. Against the land of Urartu (Armenia).

780 Shamshi-ilu, the commander-in-chief. Against the land of Urartu.

779 Marduk-rimani, the RAB-BI-LUB. Against the land of Urartu.

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789 A-dad-mu-šam-mir ša (alu) *Kak*-zi | a-na Mad-ai išid ša bît (ilu) Nabû ša Ninua (ki) kar-ru

788 Ṣil-Ištar ša (alu) ? ? | a-na (mâtu) Ki-i[s]-ki (ilu) Nabû bîtu eššu e-ta-rab

787 Nabû-šar-uṣur[1] ša (alu)

786 Adad-u-bal-liṭ ša (alu) Ri[-mu-si | a-na . . . ilu rabû a-na (alu) Di-ri it-tal-lak

[The year 785 is omitted.]

784 Marduk-šar-uṣur ša (alu) Kur(?)-ba-an | a-na (mâtu) Ḫu-bu-uš-ki-a

783 Ninib-nasi-ir ša (alu) Ma-za-mu-a | a-na (mâtu) I-tu-'

782 (ilu) Ma-li' ša (alu) Na-ṣib-]i-na | a-na (mâtu) I-tu-'

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781 Šul-ma-nu-ašaridu šar (mâtu) Aššur | a-na (mâtu) Ur-ar-ṭi

780 Šam-ši-ilu (amêlu) Tur-ta-nu | a-na (mâtu) Ur-ar-ṭi

779 Marduk-rim-a-ni (amêlu) rab-BI-LUB | a-na (mâtu) Ur-ar-ṭi

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[1] The eponym canon for this year gives Balatu as the eponym for the year. See p. 222.

778 Bel-lîshir, the major-domo. Against the land of Urartu.

777 Nabu-ishid-ukin, the minister (?). Against the land of Itu.

776 Pan-Asshur-lamur, the governor (?) of the land. Against the land of Urartu.

775 Nergal-eresh of the land of Raçappa. Against the land of cedars. (Amanus.)

774 Ishtar-duri of the city of Naçibina. Against the land of Urartu and the land of Namri.

773 Mannuki-Adad of the land of Shal-lat. Against the city of Damascus.

772 Asshur-bel-uçur of the city of Kal-khi. Against the land of Khatarika.

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771 Asshur-dan, King of Assyria. Against the city of Gananati.

770 Shamshi-ilu, the commander-in-chief. Against the city of Marad.

769 Bel-malik of the city of Arbakha. Against the land of Itu.

768 Apliya of the city of Mazamua. In the country.

767 Qurdi-Asshur of the city of Akhi (naru)Zukhina. Against the land of Gananati.

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778 Bel-lîšir (amêlu) nâgir ekalli | a-na (mâtu) Ur-ar-ṭi
777 Nabû-išid-uki-in (amêlu) itu | a-na (mâtu) I-tu-'
776 Pan-ašur-la-mur (amêlu) šakin mâti | a-na (mâtu) Ur-ar-ṭi
775 Nergal-ere-eš ša (mâtu) Ra-ṣap-pa | a-na mât erini
774 Ištar-dûri ša (alu) Na-ṣi-bi-na | a-na (mâtu) Ur-ar-ṭi (mâtu) Nam-ri
773 Man-nu-ki-Adad ša (*mâtu*) Šal-lat | a-na (alu) Di-maš-ḳa
772 Ašur-bel-uṣur ša (alu) Kal-ḫi | a-na mâtu Ḫa-ta-ri-ka

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771 Aṣur-dan-an šar (mâtu) Aššur | a-na (alu) Ga-na-na-a-ti
770 Šam-ši-ilu (amêlu) Tur-ta-nu | a-na (alu) Ma-ra-ad
769 Bêl-malik ša (alu) Arba-ḫa | a-na (mâtu) I-tu-'-a
768 Apli-ia ša (alu) Ma-za-mu-a | i-na mâti
767 Ḳur-di-Aṣur ša (alu) A-ḫi-(nâru)Su-ḫi-na | a-na (mâtu) Ga-na-na-(a)-ti

766 Mushallim-Nin-Urta of the city of Tile. Against Media.

765 Nin-Urta-mukin-nishe of the land of Kirruri. Against the land of Khatarika. A plague.

764 Çidki-ilu of the land of Tushkhan. In the country.

763 Bur (ilu)-sagale of the city of Guzana. A revolt in the city of Asshur. In the month of Sivan an eclipse of the sun took place.

762 Tab-bel of the city of Amedi. A revolt in the city of Asshur.

761 Nin-Urta-mukin-akhe of the city of Ninua (Nineveh). A revolt in the city of Arbakha.

760 Laqibu of the city of Kak-zi. A revolt in the city of Arbakha.

759 Pan-Asshur-lamur of the city of Arba-ilu (Arbela). A revolt in the city of Guzana. A plague.

758 Bel-taklak of the city of Isana. Against the city of Guzana. Peace in the land.

757 Nin-Urta-iddin of the city of Kur(mat?)-ban. In the country.

756 Bel-shadua of the city of Parnunna. In the country.

755 Qisu of the city of Mekhinish. Against the land (var. city) of Khatarika.

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766 Mu-šallim-Ninib ša (alu) Til-li-e | a-na Mad-ai

765 Ninib-mukîn-nišê ša (mâtu) Kir-ru-ri | a-na (mâtu) Ḫa-ta-ri-ka mu-ta-nu

764 Ṣi-id-ki-ilû ša (mâtu) Tuš-ḫa-an | i-na mâti

763 Bur-(ilu)-sa-gal-e ša (alu) Gu-za-na si-ḫu ina (alu) Aššur | ina (ar-ḫu) Simânu šamšu atalâ ittaška-an

762 Tab-bêl ša (alu) A-me-di | si-ḫu ina (alu) Aššur

761 Nabû-mukîn-aḫi ša (alu) Ni-nu-a | si-ḫu ina (alu) Arba-ḫa

760 La-ḳi-bu ša (alu) *Kak*-zi | si-ḫu ina (alu) Arba-ḫa

759 Pân-ašur-la-mur ša (alu) Arba-ilu | si-ḫu ina (alu) Gu-za-na mu-ta-nu

758 Bêl-tak-lak ša (alu) I-sa-na | a-na (alu) Gu-za-na šulmu ina mâti

757 Ninib-iddin ša (alu) *Kur*(?)-ba-an | ina mâti

756 Bêl-šadu-u-a ša (alu) *Par*-nun-na | ina mâti

755 Ḳi-i-su ša (alu) Šib-ḫi-ni-is | a-na (mâtu[1]) Ḫa-ta-ri-ka

[1] Var. (alu).

754 Nin-Urta-shezibani of the city of Rimusi. Against the land (var. city) of Arpadda. Return from the city of Asshur.

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753 Asshur-nirari, King of Assyria. In the country.
752 Shamshi-ilu, the commander-in-chief. In the country.
751 Marduk-shallimani, the major-domo. In the country.
750 Bel-dan, the RAB-BI-LUB. In the country.
749 Shamash-ittalak-SUN (?), the minister (?). Against the land of Namri.
748 Adad-bel-ukin, governor of the land. Against the land of Namri.
747 Sin-shallimani of the land of Raçappa. In the country.
746 Nergal-naçir of the city of Naçibina. A revolt in the city of Kalkhi (Kalah).

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745 Nabu-bel-uçur of the city of Arbakha. On the thirteenth day of the month of Iyyar Tukulti-apal-esharra (Tiglathpileser) took his seat on the throne. In the month of Tishrit he marched to the territory between the rivers.
744 *Bel-dan of* the city Kal-khi (Kalah). Against the land of Namri.

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754 Ninib-še-zib-a-ni ša (alu) Ri-mu-si | a-na (mâtu[1]) Ar-pad-da ištu (alu) Aššur ta-ai-ar-tam

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753 [Ašur-nirâri šar (mâtu)] Aššur | ina mâti
752 [Šam-ši-ilu (amêlu) Tur-]ta-nu | ina mâti
751 [Marduk-šal-lim-a(n)-ni amêlu nâgir] ekalli | ina mâti
750 [Bêl-dan rab-BI]-LUB | ina mâti
749 [Šamaš-DU-DU-SUN] itu | a-na (mâtu) Nam-ri
748 [Adad-bêl-ukîn] (amêlu) šakin mâti | a-na (mâtu) Nam-ri
747 [Sin-šal-lim-a(n)-ni ša (mâtu)] Ra-ṣap-pa | i-na mâti
746 [Nergal-naṣi-ir ša] (alu) Na-ṣi-bi-na | si-ḫu ina (alu) Kal-ḫi

---

745 [Nabû-bêl-uṣur ša] (alu) Arba-ḫa | ina arḫu airu ûmu XIII Tukulti-apal-ešarra ina kussî it-tu-šib | ina (arḫu) Tašrîtu a-na bi-rit nâri it-ta-lak
744 [Bel-dan ša] (alu) Kal-ḫi | a-na (mâtu) Nam-ri

[1] Var. (alu).

743 *Tukulti-apal-esharra* (Tiglathpileser) *King* of Assyria. In the city of Arpadda. A massacre took place in the land of Urartu (Armenia).

742 *Nabu-daninani*, the commander-in-chief. Against the city of Arpadda.

741 *Bel-kharran-bel-uçur*, the major-domo. Against the city of (ditto mark) (i. e., to Arpadda). After three years it was conquered.

740 *Nabu-etiranni*, the RAB-BI-LUB. Against the city of Arpadda.

739 *Sin-tak-lak*, the minister. Against the land of Ulluba. A fortress established.

738 *Adad-bel-ukin*, the governor of the land. The city of Gullani captured.

737 *Bel-limuranni* of the land of Raçappa. Against Media.

736 *Nin-Urta-malik* of Naçibina. To the foot of the Nal mountains.

735 *Asshur-shallimani* of the land of Arbakha. Against the land of Urartu.

734 *Bel-dan* of the city of Kal-kha. Against the land of Pilista.

733 *Asshur-daninani* of the city of Mazamua. Against the land of Damascus.

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743 [Tukulti-apal-ešarra š]ar (mâtu) Aššur | ina (alu) Ar-pad-da | di-ik-tu ša (mâtu) Ur-ar-ti | dikat

742 [Nabû-da(n)-in-a(n)-ni] (amêlu) Tur-ta-nu | a-na (alu) Ar-pad-da

741 [Bêl-ḫarran-Bêl-uṣur] (amêlu) nâgir ekalli | a-na (alu) ditto a-na III šanâte ka-šid

740 [Nabû-eṭi-ir-a(n)-ni] (amêlu) rab-BI-LUB | a-na (alu) Ar-pad-da

739 [Sin-tak-lak] (amêlu) itu a-na (mâtu) Ul-lu-ba | (alu) Bir-tu ṣab-ta-at

738 [Adad-bêl-ukîn] (amêlu) šakin mâti | (alu) Gul-la-ni-i ka-šid

737 [Bêl-limur-a(n)-ni] ša (mâtu) Ra-ṣap-pa | a-na Mad-ai

736 [Ninib-malik] ša Na-ṣi-bi-na | a-na šepâ (šadû) Na-al

735 [Ašur-šal-lim-an-ni] ša (mâtu) Arba-ḫa | a-na (mâtu) Ur-ar-ṭi

734 [Bêl-da(n)-an] ša (alu) Kal-ḫa | a-na (mâtu) Pi-lis-ta

733 [Ašur-da(n)-in-a(n)-ni] ša (alu) Ma-za-mu-a | a-na (mâtu) Di-maš-ḳa

732 *Nabu-bel-uçur* of the city of Sime. Against the land of Damascus.
731 *Nergal-uballit* of the city of Akhi (naru)Zukhina. Against the city of Sapiya.
730 *Bel-ludari* of the city of Tile. In the country.
729 *Napkhar-ilu* of the land of Kirruri. The King took the hands of Bel.
728 *Dur-Asshur* of the city of Tushkhan. The King took the hands of Bel. The city . . .

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727 *Bel-kharran-bel-uçur* of the city of Guzanu. Against the city of . . . Shulmanu-asharidu (Shalmaneser) took his seat on the throne.
726 *Marduk-bel-uçur of the city of Amedi.* In the country.
725 *Makhdie of the city* of Ninua (Nineveh). Against . . .
724 Asshur-khal of the city of Kak-zi. Against . . .
723 Shulmanu-asharidu, King of Assyria. Against . . .

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732 [Nabû-bêl-uṣur] ša (alu) Si-'-me-e | a-na (mâtu) Di-maš-ḳa
731 [Nergal-u-bal-liṭ] ša (alu) a-ḫi-(nâru)Zu-ḫi-na | a-na (alu) Sa-pi-ia
730 [Bêl-lu-da-ri] ša (alu) Til-e | i-na mâti
729 [Nap-ḫar-ilu] ša (mâtu) Ḳir-ru-ri | šarru Kâtâ (ilu) Bêl iṣṣa-bat
728 [Dur-Ašur] ša (alu) Tuš-ḫa-an šarru ḳât (!) (ilu) Bêl iṣṣa-bat (alu) . . .

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727 [Bêl-ḫarran-bêl-uṣur] ša [(alu) Gu-]za-na | a-na (alu) . . . | [Šul-ma-nu-]ašaridu | ina kus[sî it-tu-šib]
726 [Marduk-bêl-uṣur ša (alu) A-me-]di | i-[na mâti]
725 [Maḫ-di-e ša (alu)] Ni-nu-a | a-na . . .
724 [Ašur-ḫal-[. . .] ša (alu) Kak-zi | a-na . . .
723 [Šul-ma-nu-ašaridu šar (mâtu) Aššur]a-[na . . .]

3. THE EPONYM CHRONICLE FOR 720–705 B. C.

720 . . . . . .
719 . . . . . entered.
718 . . . . . against the land of Tabal.

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720 . . . . . ru
719 . . . . . e]-ta-rab
718 . . . . . (mâtu) Ta-]ba-la

717 . . . . . was set up.
716 . . . . . Iranzu of Man.
715 . . . . governors were established.
714 . . . . the city of Muçaçir of the god Khaldia.
713 . . . . the nobles in the land of Ellip.
712 . . . . . entered.
711 . . . . . the city of Muçaçir.
710 . . . . . in the country. . . . Against the city of Marqasa.
709 . . . . . Against the city of Bit-zer-naid. The King was taken prisoner at Kish. Sharru-ukin (Sargon) took the hands of Bel.
708 . . . . . the city of Kummukh captured. A governor appointed.
707 The eponym year of Sha-Asshur-duppu, governor of the city of Tushkhan. The King returned from Babylon.
. . . . . from the city of Dur-Yakin brought out.
706 (?). . . . the city of Dur-Yakin destroyed . . . . . the gods of Dur-Yakin entered their temples.
705 (?). . . . in the land of Karalla.

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717 . . . . . du kar-ru
716 . . . . . alu (?) Man-na-ai
715 . . . . . (amêlu) peḫûti šak-nu
714 . . . . . -di (alu) Mu-ṣa-ṣir (ilu) Ḫal-di-a
713 . . . . . rabûti ina (mâtu) El-li-ba
712 . . . . . bil e-ta-rab
711 . . . . . (alu) Mu-ṣa-ṣir
710 . . . . . i-na mâti
. . . . . a-na (alu) Mar-ka-sa
709 . . . a-na (alu) Bît-zêr-na'id šarru ina Kiš (ki) bi-e-di . . . a šarru-ukin ḳâtâ (ilu) Bêl iṣ-ṣa-bat
708 . . . ri (alu) Ku-mu-ḫa ka-šid (amêlu) pe-ḫat ša-kin
707 [limme Ša-Ašur-duppu šakin (alu) Tuš-ḫa-]an | šarru ištu Babili is-su-uḫ-ra
. . . . . tu | ša (alu) Dûr-ia-kin na-ṣa
706 (?) . . . . . ur (alu) Dur-ia-kin na-bil
. . . . . a-na bîtâti-šu-nu e-tar-bu
705 (?). . . . . ina (mâtu) Kar-al-li
. . . . . maḫ-ra

4. FRAGMENT OF A SIMILAR LIST

708 Eponym year of Shamash-upakhkhir . . .
. . . the nobles. Aga nst Kummukh.

707 Eponym year of Sha-Asshur-dubbu, governor of the city of Tushkhan. The King returned from Babylon. The palaces and . . . On the twenty-second day of the month of Teshrit the gods of Dur-Sharru-ukin *entered into their temple.*

706 Eponym year of Mutakkil-Asshur, governor of the city of Guzana (Gozan). The King . . .
On the sixth day of the month Iyyar, the city of Dur-Sharru-ukin . . .

705 Eponym year of Upakhkhir-Bel, governor of Amedi . . .
Because of the oracle, the Kulummaites . . .
Guerillas the camp of the King of Assyria . . .
On the twelfth day of the month of Ab, Sin-akhe-erba (Sennacherib) took his seat on the throne.

704 Eponym year of Nabu-dini-ebush, the governor of the city of Ninua (Nineveh). . . . The city of Larak, the city of Sarabunu . . . the palace of the city of Kakzi (?) was built. Great (?), because of . . .

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708 lim-me [Šamaš-upaḫḫir] . . .
rabûti a-na (alu) Kum-muḫ-ḫi

707 lim-me ša Ašur-du-ub-bu (amêlu) šakin (alu) Tuš-ha-an
šarru ištu (ana?) Babili is-su-uḫ-ra ekallâte u . . .
(araḫ) Tašrîtu ûma XXII (kan) ilâni ša (alu) Dur-šarru-ukîn . . .

706 lim-me Mu-tak-kil-Ašur (amêlu) šakin (alu) Gu-za-nu šarru mu . . .
(araḫ) Airu ûmu VI (kan) (alu) Dur-šarru-ukîn . . .

705 lim-me Naphar-Bel (amêlu) šakin (alu) A-me-di . . .
ina eli purussi-i (amêlu) Ku-lum-ma-ai . . .
amêlu ḫabbatu ma-dak-tu ša šar (mâtu) Aššur . . .
(araḫ) Abu ûmu XII Sin-aḫê-erbâ [ina kussî it-tu-šib]

704 lim-me Nabû-di-ni-epu-uš (amêlu) šakin (alu) Ninua
(alu) La-rak (alu) Sa-rab-a-nu . . .
ekallu ša (alu) *Kak*-zi epi-eš ka . . .
rabû ina *eli* . . .

THE BABYLONIAN CANON OF RULES IN CLAUDIUS PTOLEMÆUS[1]

Length of Reign.	Greek Forms of Names	Babylonian Forms of Names	Years B. C.
14	Ναβονασσάρου	Nabu-nasir	747
2	Ναδίου	(Nabu)-nadin-(zir)	733
5	Χίνζηρος και Πώρου	Ukinzir. Pulu	731
5	Ἰλουλαίου	Ululai	726
12	Μαρδοκεμπάδου	Marduk-apal-iddin	721
5	Ἀρκεάνου	Sharrukin	709
2	ἀβασιλεύτου πρώτου	.....	704
3	Βηλίβου	Bel-ibni	702
6	Ἀπαραναδίου	Ashur-nadin-shum	699
1	Ῥηγεβήλου	Nergal-ushezib	693
4	Μεσησιμορδάκου	Mushezib-Marduk	692
8	Ἀβασιλεύτου δευτέρου	.....	688
13	Ἀσαριδίνου	Ashur-akh-iddin	680
20	Σαοσδουχίνου	Shamash-shum-ukin	667
22	Κινιλαναδάνου	Kandalanu	647
21	Ναβοπολασσάρου	Nabu-apal-usur	625
43	Ναβοκολασσάρου	Nabu-kudurri-usur	604
2	Ἰλλοαρου-δάμου	Amel-Marduk	561
4	Νηρικασολασσάρου	Nergal-shar-usur	559
17	Ναβοναδίου	Nabu-na'id	555

A table of chronology covering the reigns of the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian kings of the period comprised in this work is placed at the end of the book, as a convenient summary of the present state of knowledge on the subject. Students should make attempts at the construction of chronological systems from the data given in these chronological materials, without consulting the tables printed at the end of the book, seeking to reconcile these data with the chronological materials in the Old Testament. The literature of the subject is extensive, and only the most important books are here cited.

[1] For this list see primarily *Table Chronologique des Regnes . . . des C. Ptolémée*, etc., par M. l'Abbé Halma, *Ouvres de Ptolemée*, tom. iii, Paris, 1819, p. 3, and compare Georgius Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1829, vol. i, pp. 390ff., and *Keil. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 290, 291; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 70.

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HISTORICAL TEXTS

I. HAMMURAPI

The city of Babylon was one of the early cities of Babylonia, and the allusions to it in the days of Sargon I seem to imply that it achieved a position of influence even in the earliest period. It was, however, displaced by its rivals, and for many centuries we either hear nothing of it at all, or discern it as the center of a district in a kingdom ruled from another city. For centuries Ur was the chief city in Babylonia, to be followed in its turn by Isin and then by Larsa. Babylon had produced no man able to conquer these kingdoms and lift his city into hegemony over them.

About two thousand years before Christ there began to rule in Babylon a dynasty one of whose kings was able to bring his city to a position of such power that it was able to conquer both the south and the north. From that time the influence of the city extends almost without a break to the period of the Seleucides. No capital in the world has ever been the center of so much power, wealth, and culture for a period so vast. It was Hammurapi who made Babylon so great, and Hammurapi must ever be counted among the greatest kings who have ever ruled among men, whether he be considered as a conqueror in battle, as a statesman welding diverse city kingdoms into one, as a builder of great public works, or as a ruler codifying custom into law and enforcing public justice over all his domain.

The preparations for Hammurapi, as so often in human history, seem inadequate. The Babylonian King Lists give some names of rulers, of whom in some cases we know nothing, and are able, perhaps justly, to

infer that there was very little to know. The first name in the dynasty is Sumu-abu, of whom we know nothing. The next is Sumu-la-ilu, who is not called the son of the predecessor, and from whom also no historical inscriptions have come down to us. He was succeeded by Zabu, his son, who erected a temple in Sippar. It is curious to observe that in the various business documents which have come down to us from this period, none of these rulers is called king. Apil-Sin, who follows, is also without this title, and Sin-muballit is only so called in a passing allusion in one tablet. It seems a fair inference, from all the facts that are accessible to us, that these rulers were not kings at all, but princes in Babylon, raised by later ages to the dignity of kingship in order to provide a dignified background for the great king Hammurapi. Not until he arose did the dynasty of Babylon really begin. His predecessors are shadowy names; he is a living personality. No king like unto him had arisen before him, and none quite his equal in all sides of his nature was ever to arise in Babylonia after him. Other kings had indeed made empires, as Sargon, but they were of short duration, and posterity had no great influences to ascribe to them.

Hammurapi did not reach his dignity and influence without a long struggle, and however strongly we feel his force as a statesman, we must remember that he was first of all a soldier. When he came to rule in Babylon his city acknowledged the overlordship of the Elamites, who had long been ruling in Babylonia. They had built great buildings, and so evidenced their hold and indicated their determination to continue in the land; but in spite of all their power and the superiority of their actual position, Hammurapi was able to break in pieces the Elamite rule and at the same time deprive

the ancient centers of southern Babylonia, not only of their hegemony, but even of their autonomy.

It is not easy to form a perfectly clear picture of the relations of Elam and Babylonia and be at the same time certain that all its details correspond exactly to the facts as they really occurred. Perhaps the following outline may be regarded as sufficiently supported by the fragmentary remains which have come down to us.

In the very earliest times Elam was independent of Babylonia, but was successively overrun and plundered by Babylonian kings. In different years we find Urumush, Sargon I, and his son Naram-Sin and Gudea all as plunderers of Elam. Dungi married one of his daughters to a Patesi of Anshan, a district of Elam. At this time it seems clear that the rulers of Elam were named Patesi, and acknowledged the kings of southern Babylonia as their suzerains; they wrote their inscriptions in Babylonian and seems to have adopted the civilization of the great valley. About 2280 an Elamite ruler, Kutur-nakunte, made a raid into Babylonia and carried away the goddess Nana out of Uruk. After this event we lose the thread of the history and find the Elamites about 2000 B. C. in actual possession of Babylonian cities. At this time the ruler of Elam is Simtisilhak, who is the suzerain over Kudur-Mabuk, who bears the title of adda of Amurru, claiming thereby the rule over the west as far as the Mediterranean, and also adda of Emutbal, a province of western Elam. A son of Kudur-Mabuk, called Arad-Sin in the Semitic inscriptions, but whose name in Sumerian may be read Eri-Aku, had established himself as king of Larsa, and in his inscriptions claims authority over Ur, Eridu, Nippur, Shirpurla, and Uruk. He is the king who is referred to in Gen. 14 as king of Ellasar, associated with Chedor-

laomer. The name "Chedorlaomer" corresponds to the name "Kudur-lagamaru," and the situation presupposed in Gen. 14. 1 is that this Chedorlaomer, whose name has not yet been found on any early Babylonian historical text, was now the overlord of all Babylonia, and that Amraphel, in whom we must see Hammurapi, and Eri-Aku, and Tidal, king of the Goyyim, who is probably intended for Tudhkhula, king of Gutium, were his tributaries or allies. To this situation no contemporaneous documentary proof has yet been produced, but it conflicts with no known facts, and suits the general situation. To say more than this would be unscientific and probably also unwise.

Whatever the relations of the various rulers in Babylonia may have been to each other and to Elam, the issue of the struggle for supremacy is clear. Under Hammurapi the Babylonians threw off the Elamite yoke and drove those who had so long held it in the southern cities back into Elam, whence they were able to make no further attack upon Babylonia for centuries.

The victory over Arad-Sin (Eri-Aku) is the climax of the struggle with the Elamites, and the way was now open for the conquest of all the rest of Babylonia and its reduction beneath Hammurapi's sway. Northern Babylonia was also reduced, and the city of Babylon, which had long filled a position subordinate to others, now began the career which fills all ancient history and literature with its glory. It was now to begin the history which should make it later known as the "mother of the Chaldeans" (Jer. 50. 12), the "Chaldaicarun gentium caput" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, 6, 30), and the "beauty of the Chaldees' pride" (Isa. 13. 19).

As soon as his kingdom was conquered Hammurapi began a series of public works of the highest importance.

He made great canals, which supplied southern Babylonia with abundant water for agriculture; he united Sippar with the Euphrates by a canal which brought the river-borne commerce to its doors; he organized the system of canal conservancy so that the waterways were not choked with the rank growth of a semi-tropical climate; he erected in Babylon a great granary for the storing of wheat against times of famine—a work of mercy as well as of necessity; he rebuilt the walls of defense about Sippar, making them like a great mountain; he prepared for himself a royal residence near Baghdad, and restored and enlarged the temples of Esagila in Babylon and of Ezida in Borsippa. But above all these material works is he to be remembered as the king who gathered the scattered laws of his people, enlarged their scope, and uttered the great code of laws with which his name is now certain to be connected while time lasts. Great as a lawgiver, he was equally great as an administrator, for his numerous letters and dispatches show how carefully he established justice and maintained the right in even the smallest affairs of everyday life. The ancient Orient knows no king of his commanding stature and importance; he is without a rival when all the sides of his abounding activity are compared with the achievements of any other monarch.

1[1]

To the god Nannar, his lord, has Kudur-Mabuk, gov-

[1] Published I R 2, No. III, and by King, *Cuneiform Texts*, xxi, plate 33; translated by George Smith, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, i, p. 43; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, 1, p. 92; Price, *Literary Remains of Rim Sin*, p. 6; F. Thureau Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 211, No. 6.

1

(1) dingir Nannar (2) lugal-a-ni-ir (3) Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk (4) adda

ernor of Martu, (5) son of Simtishilkhak, when the god Nannar heard his prayer, built the temple E-nun-makh, to the god (10) Nannar, for his life and the life of Arad-Sin (Eri-Aku), his son, the king of Larsa.

2[1]

Arad-Sin (Eri-Aku), the valiant hero, the faithful shepherd, a bestowal of the god Ellil, the preserver of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Shumer and Akkad, the son of Kudur-Mabuk, governor of Emutbal am I. Ur, its enlargement I took in hand, its accomplishment I commanded, and the ruins rebuilt, to the god Nannar, my lord, I dedicated. A great wall like a mountain restored, for his adoration magnificent I built. His city may he occupy it. Its wall Nannar-giri-ma-da-gi-en-gi-en was its name.

3[2]

(1) Unto Sin-idinnam (2) say:—
(3) Thus saith Hammurapi. (4) Behold I am now

[1] Published I R 5, No. XVI; translated by George Smith, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, i, pp. 43, 286; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, 1, p. 94; Price, *Literary Remains of Rim Sin*, p. 8; F. Thureau Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 213, b.

[2] Published and translated by King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* (1898, 1900), i, Plate 80, No. 46, vol. iii, p. 82.

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kur-mar-tu (5) dumu Si-im-ti-ši-il-ḫa-ak (6) ud dingir Nannar (7) a-ra-zu-ni (8) mu-ši-gin-na-a (9) É-nun-makh (10) dingir Nannar-kam (11) nam-ti-la-ni-šú (12) u nam-ti (13) Eri-dingir Aku dumu-ni (14) lugal arar (ki)-ma-šu (15) mu-na-ni-in-dû

2

(1) Eri dingir Aku (2) nitaḫ-kal-ga (3) sib-nig-gi (4) dingir En-lil-li gar-ra (5) u-a uri-(-ki)-ma (6) lugal arar-(-ki)-ma (7) lugal ki-en-gi (ki) ki-uri-ge (8) tumu Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk (9) adda E-mu-ut-ba-la me-en (10) uri-(-ki) dagal-e-de (11) mu-maḫ tug-tug-de [Column II] (1) BUR-na-bi (2) ù gul im-ma-an-gà-gà (3) dingir Nannar lugal-mu (4) mu-ši-in-še (5) bád-gal ḫar-sag-il-la-dim šu-nu-tu(r)-tu(r) (6) né-bi-šú e-a (7) mu-na-dû (8) uru-ni ḫe-im-mi-URUDU (9) bad-da (10) dingir Nannar suḫuš ma-da gí-en-gí-en (11) mu-bi-im

3

(1) a-na (ilu) Sin-i-din-nam (2) ki-bi-ma (3) um-ma Ḫa-am-mu-

dispatching unto thee three hundred and sixty laborers. (5) See (6) that one hundred and eighty of these laborers serve (7) with the workmen of the city of Larsa, (8) and one hundred and eighty of them (9) with the workmen of the town of Rakhabu. . . . (11) let them go.

4[1]

(1) Unto Sin-idinnam say:—

(2) Thus saith (3) Hammurapi. (4) Since the year (i. e., the calendar) has a deficiency, (5) let the month which is beginning (6) be registered as the second Elul. (7, 8, 9) And instead of the tribute arriving in Babylon on the twenty-fifth day of the month *Tishri*, . . . (10–12) let it arrive in Babylon on the twenty-fifth day of the second Elul.

5[2]

(1) Hammurapi, (2) the powerful king, (3) the king of Babylon, (4, 5) the king of the four quarters of the world, (6) the founder of the land, (7) the king whose deeds are well pleasing (8) unto the heart of Shamash (9) and Marduk (10) am I.

[1] Published and translated by King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, ii, Plate 24, No. 14, vol. iii, p. 12.

[2] Published by King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, i, Plates 97ff., and translated; iii, pp. 177ff. The text is in Sumerian and in Semitic Babylonian, the latter of which only is here given in transcription.

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ra-pi-ma (4) a-nu-um-ma VI šu-ši zâbilûti (5) at-tar-da-aḳ-ku (6) III šu-ši zâbilûti it-ti e-bi-zu-tim (7) ša Larsam (ki) (8) u III šu-ši zâbilûti it-ti e-bi-zu-tim (9) ša (alu) Ra-ḫa-bi (ki) (10) li-pu-šu (11) [. . .]-bu-tu li-il-li-ku (?)

4

(1) [a-na (ilu) Sin-i-din-nam] (2) ki-bi-ma (3) [um-m]a Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi-ma (4) [š]a-at-tum ki ri-ga-am i-šu (5) wa-ar-ḫu-um ša i-ir-ru-ba-am (6) (arḫu) Ulûlu-II kan-m[a l]i-iš-ša-te-ir (7) u a-šar igisî i-na (arḫu) [Tišrîtu] ûmu XXV kan (8) a-na Bâbîli [(ki)] (9) za-na-ku ik-[. . .]-u (10) i-na (arḫu) Ulûlu-II kan-ma ûmu XXV kan (11) a-na Bâbili (ki) (12) li-is-ni-[ga-am]

5

(1) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (2) šarru da-num (3) šar Bâbili (ki) (4) šar ki-ib-ra-tim (5) ar-ba-im (6) ba-ni ma-tim (7) šarru ša ip-ša-tu-šu (8) a-na ši-ir (ilu) Šamaš (9) u (ilu) Marduk ṭa-ba (10) a-na-ku

(11) The summit of the wall (12) of Sippar (13) I have raised with earth (14, 15, 16) like unto a great mountain. (17, 18) I have compassed it about with a swamp. (19) I have digged out the (20) Euphrates (21) unto Sippar (22, 23) [Column II] (1) and I have set up a wall of safety for it.

(2) Hammurapi (3) the founder of the land, (4) the king whose deeds are well pleasing (5) unto the heart of Shamash (6) and Marduk (7) am I. (8) I have caused Sippar (9) and Babylon (10, 11, 12) to dwell continuously in a peaceful habitation. (13) Hammurapi, (14) the darling of Shamash, (15) the beloved of Marduk, (16) am I. (17) That which from days (18) of old (19, 20) no king had built for the king of the city, (21) for Shamash my lord (22, 23) I have accomplished in might.

6 [1]

(1) Hammurapi, (2) the powerful king, (3) the king of Babylon, (4) the king who has brought into subjection (5) the four quarters of the world, (6) who has brought about the triumph of (7) Marduk, (8) the shepherd, who (9) delights his heart, am I.

(10) When Anu and Bel gave me (11) the land of Shu-

[1] Published and translated by King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, ii, Plate 185, No. 95; iii, pp. 188ff.

(11) dûru (12) ša Sippar (ki) (13) ina e-pi-ri (14) ki-ma sa-tu-im (15) ra-bi-im (16) ri-ši-šu (17) lu-u-ul-li (18) ap-pa-ra-am (19) lu-uš-ta-aš-ḫi-ir-šu (20) (nâru) UD-KIB-NUN (21) a-na Sippar (ki) (22) lu-uḫ-ri-am-ma (23) kâr šu-ul-mi-im. [Column II] (1) lu-u-um-mi-su (2) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (3) ba-ni ma-tim (4) šarru ša ip-ša-tu-šu (5) a-na ši-ir (ilu) Šamaš (6) u (ilu) Marduk ṭa-ba (7) a-na-ku (8) Sippar (ki) (9) u Bâbilu (ki) (10) šu-ba-at ne-iḫ-tim (11) a-na da-ra-a-tim (12) lu-u-še-ši-ib (13) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (14) mi-gi-ir (ilu) Šamaš (15) na-ra-am (ilu) Marduk (16) a-na-ku (17) ša iš-tu u-um (18) si-a-tim (19) šarru in šarri ali (20) la ib-ni-u (21) a-na (ilu) Šamaš be-li-ia (22) ra-bi-iš (23) lu e-pu-uš-su-um.

6

(1) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (2) šarru da-num (3) šar Bâbili (ki) (4) šarru mu-uš-te-eš-mi (5) ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im (6) ka-ši-id ir-ni-ti (7) (ilu) Marduk (8) rê'-û mu-ti-ib (9) li-ib-bi-šu a-na-ku (10) ni-nu Anu u

mer and (12) Akkad (13) to rule and entrusted (14) their sceptre (15) to my hands, (16) I dug out (17) the Hammurapi canal, (18) *named* Nukhush-nishe which (19) brings abundance of water (20) unto the land of Shumer (21) and Akkad. (22) Both the (23) banks thereof (24) I changed to fields for cultivation, and I garnered (25, 26) piles of grain and I procured (27) unfailing water (28) for the land of Shumer (29) and Akkad.

(30) As for the land of (31) Shumer (32) and Akkad, I collected its scattered (33) people, (34) and procured (35, 36) food and drink for them. (37) In abundance and plenty I pastured them, (38, 39) and caused them to dwell (40) in a peaceful habitation.

(41) At that time I, (42) Hammurapi, (43) the mighty king, (44) the beloved of the great gods, (45, 46) through the great power (47) which Marduk had bestowed upon me, (48) built a lofty fortress, (49) with much earth (50) whose top, (51, 52, 53, 54) at the head of the Hammurapi canal *named* Nukhush-nishe, reaches heaven like a mountain. (55) This fortress I named (56, 57, 58) Dur-Sin-muballit-abim-walidia, and *so* did I cause (59) the name of Sin-muballit, (60) the father who begat me, (61, 62) to dwell in the four quarters of the world.

(ilu) Bêl (11) mât Šu-me-er-im (12) u Ak-ka-di-im (13) a-na be-li-im id-di-nu-nim (14) ṣi-ir-ra-zi-na (15) a-na ga-ti-i-ia (16) u-ma-al-lu-u (17) nâr Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (18) Nu-ḫu-uš-ni-ši (19) ba-bi-la-at me-e ḫegalli (20) a-na mât Šu-me-er-im (21) u Ak-ka-di-im (22) lu aḫ-ri (23) ki-ša-di-ša ki-la-li-en (24) a-na me-ri-šim lu-u-te-ir (25) ka-ri-e aš-na-an (26) lu aš-tap-pa-ak (27) me-e da-ru-tim (28) a-na mât Šu-me-er-im (29) u Ak-ka-di-im (30) lu aš-ku-un (31) mât Šu-me-er-im (32) u Ak-ka-di-im (33) ni-ši-šu-nu sa-ap-ḫa-tim (34) lu-u-pa-aḫ-ḫi-ir (35) mi-ri-tu u ma-aš-ki-tu (36) lu aš-ku-un-ši-na-ši-im (37) in nu-uḫ-šim u ḫegalli (38) lu e-ri-ši-na-ti (39) šu-ba-at ne-iḫ-tim (40) lu-u-še-ši-ib-ši-na-ti

(41) i-nu-mi-šu (42) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (43) šarru da-num (44) mi-gir ilâni rabûti a-na-ku (45) in e-mu-ki-in (46) ga-aš-ra-tim (47) ša (ilu) Marduk id-di-nam (48) dûra ṣi-ra-am (49) in e-bi-ri ra-bu-tim (50) ša r[i]-ša-šu-nu (51) ki-ma sa-tu-im e-li-a (52) in reš nâr Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (53) Nu-ḫu-uš-ni-ši (54) lu e-pu-uš (55) dûra šu-a-ti (56) Dûr-(ilu) Sin-mu-bal-li-iṭ (ki) (57) a-bi-im wa-li-di-ia (58) a-na šu-mi-im lu ab-bi (59) zi-kir (ilu) Sin-mu-ba-li-iṭ (60) a-bi-im wa-li-di-ia (61) in-ki-ib-ra-tim (62) lu-u-š[e]-š[ib]

7 [1]

(1) Unto Sin-idinnam say:—

(2) Thus saith (3) Hammurapi. (4, 5, 6) Thou shalt call out the men who hold lands along the banks of the Damanum-canal that they may dig out (7) the Damanum canal. (8) Within the present month (9, 10, 11) they shall complete the work of clearing out the Damanum canal.

[1] Published and translated by King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, ii, Plate 137, No. 71; iii, p. 14.

7

(1) a-na (ilu) Sin-i-din-nam (2) ki-bi-ma (3) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi-ma (4) amêlê ša i-na a-aḫ (palgu) Da-ma-nu-um (5) eḳlê ṣa-ab-tu (6) di-ki-e-ma (7) (palgu) Da-ma-nu-um li-iḫ-ru (8) i-na li-ib-bu wa-ar-ḫi-im an-ni-i-im (9) (palgu) Da-ma-nu-um (10) i-na ḫi-ri-e-im (11) li-ig-mi-lu.

II. THE TELL-EL-AMARNA PERIOD (1400 B. C.)

I. The Discovery of the Letters

In 1888 there was made in Egypt a most surprising discovery of letters and dispatches written almost wholly in the Babylonian script and language. A peasant woman living in the wretched little mud village of Tell-el-Amarna, on the eastern bank of the Nile, about one hundred and sixty miles south of Cairo, was searching for antiquities among the sand and rubbish of a great Tell some distance back from the river. She did not know that beneath this sand lay all that remained of the temple and palace of the great heretic king of Egypt, Amenophis IV, or, as he called himself, Ikh-en-Aton.[1] Her object was only to find stone or brick for repairs to her squalid house, or *anteeka*, which

[1] The pronunciation of the name is most uncertain, because of our ignorance of its vocalization among the Egyptians. Knudtzon writes it Ikh-en-Aton or Ekh-en-Aton; Flinders Petrie, Akhenaten; Breasted, Ikhnaton; it is also written by others Akh-en-Aten, Khu-en-Aten.

might be sold to the strange people from Europe or America, who buy things simply because they are old. In the mound she found the dried and worm-eaten remains of ancient wooden record boxes, and from these she extracted more than three hundred inscribed clay tablets and fragments of tablets, some of them only $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches, while others are $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches and even larger. Fearing that they would be confiscated by the Egyptian government, she concealed them, with the aid of some relatives, and then proceeded with surreptitious negotiations for their sale. They sent some to Dr. Jules Oppert, in Paris, doubtless hoping that he might induce their purchase by the Louvre. By some strange excess of caution he pronounced them forgeries; while M. Grebaut, then head of the Department of Antiquities, paid no attention to some which were drawn to his attention. Discouraged by all efforts to effect an advantageous sale, and fearing that the find would prove almost valueless, they broke some of the larger tablets into three and four pieces, in the hope of selling each piece to tourists at a price as great as the whole tablet would have secured. Some of the tablets were imperfectly baked, and when a great bag full of tablets of all sizes was sent to Luxor to be hawked about among antiquity dealers many were ground to powder and lost to the world.

At last, long after many tablets had disappeared or been destroyed, one hundred and sixty, some very large and in perfect condition, others mere fragments, were bought by Herr Theodore Graf, of Vienna, and sold by him to Herr J. Simon, of Berlin, who presented them to the Royal Museums in the German capital, where they are now safely deposited. Eighty-two were bought for the trustees of the British Museum by Dr.

E. A. Wallis Budge; sixty came into the possession of the Cairo Museum, while still others fell into private collections like the Murch and Rostowicz. These priceless texts are therefore widely scattered, when there can be no doubt that their proper study would be much better prosecuted if they were all in one place, as they would be if they had been discovered by scientific investigators. Furthermore, many, perhaps a large number, have been destroyed by careless and ignorant handling. We must always expect just such an issue so long as the natives of Egypt, Babylonia, Syria, and Asia Minor are permitted to plunder at will the buried remains of ancient civilizations.

When the more than three hundred tablets came into the hands of museum officials in Berlin, London, and Cairo a glance speedily revealed their character. They were letters from monarchs of western Asia, like Kadashman-Kharbe, king of Babylonia; Ashuruballit, king of Assyria; and Tushratta, king of Mittanni, to Amenophis III, or Amenophis IV, kings of Egypt, or they were dispatches from various governors or princes in Syria or Palestine, Philistia, or Phœnicia to these same Egyptian kings, whom they acknowledged as lawful rulers or suzerains over their territories. The importance of these documents was recognized at once, and the minute study to which they have since been subjected has only confirmed the first estimate of their value.

Before we can set them in their proper relations to biblical literature it will be necessary to take a wider view of their historical origin.

II. Egypt at the Tell-el-Amarna Period

The two kings of Egypt, Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, who received or dispatched the Tell-el-Amarna

letters, belonged to the eighteenth dynasty, which had at its beginning given Egypt the promise of a fresh development by driving out her foreign conquerors, the Hyksos (about 1580 B. C.). The sixth king of the dynasty was Thothmes III (1503–1449), who in a series of brilliant campaigns conquered the whole of Syria and Palestine and extended Egyptian dominion as far as the Gulf of Iskanderun. At this time the Syrians stood at a higher stage of civilization than even the wonderfully gifted race of Egypt. The plunder carried back to Egypt of coats of mail, of gold-plated chariots, of chariots inlaid with silver, witnesses to an industrial and artistic development that was able to teach Egypt. With all these precious goods went captives, who fell to working in the Nile valley at the crafts to which they were accustomed at home, and as they worked they taught the Egyptians. But a stream of influence such as this could not be confined within a narrow channel, and soon all Egypt was overflowed with Semitic influences born, not merely in Syria, but even in Babylonia, far distant though it was. The Syrian craftsmen worked so well in Egypt that their wares changed even the taste of the Egyptians, while the language was Semitized, and the method of writing gradually developed into a smooth-flowing and graceful style. Under the great influx of foreign blood even the features of the conquering race were changed into a less bold and more delicate form. Egypt had never known such changes since the beginning of the monarchy. Thotmes III had indeed extended his conquests in other directions, so that all Nubia owned his sway, but no such flood of change came from that quarter.

The reign of Amenophis II (1449–1423), which immediately followed, continued the policy which made

the Semitic influence more powerful in the country. He made early in his reign a raid into Syria, to establish his authority, and then enjoyed twenty years of peace, in which the commerce with his Syrian dominions had free course. His successor, Thotmes IV (1423–1414), had but a brief reign, which appears to have been spent chiefly in maintaining the control in Syria and in Nubia which had been won by his predecessors.

Amenophis III (Amenhotep—1414–1379) succeeded his father immediately, though he was probably still a youth. In his fifth year he made an expedition to Ethiopia, and during the remainder of his life pursued only the paths of international peace. During all these years the Semitic influence in Egypt continued, seeking and finding ever new channels. We learn about the tenth year of his reign that he has already married Tiy, an untitled Egyptian, and a woman of force and character, and in this year he is married to Gilukhepa, sister of King Tushratta, of Mittanni. In his reign the correspondence with Semitic kings and princes begins. The Tell-el-Amarna record cases have preserved for us letters from Babylonia written by Kadashman-Kharbe, from Tushratta, king of Mitanni to Amenophis III, who is always addressed by his prænomen Nimmuria (Egyptian Neb-maat-Ra), and these deal almost entirely with royal marriages or furnish other evidences of constant intercourse between the two kingdoms. The real queen of Egypt was Tiy, who is always associated with the king in his acts of dominion, but his other wives from foreign lands were probably also influential. All these signs of external influence pointed forward to a great historic crisis in the fortunes of Egypt, which came in the ensuing reign.

The reign of Amenophis III is distinguished by the most extensive and beautiful works of building, and every relic of the period which has come down to us bears witness to the prosperity which the entire kingdom enjoyed during this brilliant and peaceful period. During his later years he was negotiating a marriage for his son, born of Queen Tiy, who was to succeed him under the style of Amenophis IV, with the prænomen Napkhurariya (Egyptian, NEFER-KHEPRU-RA). There appears to have been some slight difficulty about the succession, for Queen Tiy apparently reigned alone for a short time.

Soon after his accession Amenophis IV (1383–1365) married the daughter of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, by name Tatukhepa (Nefertiti). In his sixth year came the great event foretold by the long-continued Semitic influence. The king changed his faith and became a worshiper of the Solar Disk, forsaking the great god Amen, to whom his fathers had long paid homage. The paramount influences in producing the change were probably his mother, Tiy, his wife, and the philosophizing priests, of whom the favorite was Eye. The new faith expressed itself in hymns[1] of great beauty, in which the life-giving power of the sun's rays is celebrated, and the king put forth tremendous efforts to establish the faith among his people. A new city, bearing the king's name, was erected, and thither the court transferred its residence from Thebes.

In the new city the king reigned surrounded by his wife and daughters, who are associated with him in all his enterprises. There also went on the correspondence with the kings of Babylonia, and Mittanni, and with the governors, who represented Egypt in Syria. It was

[1]See translations in Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 371ff.

the record chamber of Amenophis IV that was discovered at Tell-el-Amarna, and to it we owe the knowledge of the intercourse between Egypt and the north.

When the king died the court went back at once to Thebes, and the body of Amenophis IV was laid away in his own tomb in the valley near Tell-el-Amarna, in a lonely spot seven miles back from the river. The city which he built was deserted and fell rapidly into decay, and but for the suddenness of its forsaking and the speed of its passing from memory we should hardly be in possession of the king's private correspondence. His conversion had made no permanent change in Egypt. Amen ruled on as he had before.

III. Syria and Palestine at the Tell-el-Amarna Period

The conquest of Syria and Palestine, which began under Thotmes III, made necessary the devising of a plan for the governing of these valuable provinces. The plan which was ultimately adopted may be properly regarded as having grown directly out of the conquest itself. Some of the cities had resisted Egypt to the bitter end, and had to be completely destroyed and then rebuilt; such were Dunip (Heliopolis-Baalbek) and Qatna (in the Antilebanon region), which received a complete Egyptian organization, including the Egyptian religion. Other cities which had not been thus remade received princes, who were probably usually chosen by the Pharaoh from men previously prominent in the city or tribe because of rank or influence. Such a man was Abdikheba, of Jerusalem, who boasts that he had not inherited his position of governor, but had been appointed by the great king.

In yet other portions of the country the native ruler, descended in some local royal line, was simply retained and called prince (*amêlu*). None of these rulers is called king, and none of them was free to exercise rule over his city or province in internal affairs any more than in external. They were all under the direction of an officer (*rabiṣ*), who may have lived in the country, or who, perhaps, only visited it as need might require.

The entire country of Syria and Palestine is roughly divided into two parts; the southern and much larger portion is called Canaan (Kinakhni, or Kinakhkhi) and comprised nearly the whole of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. The remaining portion, comprising the great Lebanon region, is called Amurrû. Four fifths of the Tell-el-Amarna documents deal with these two lands of Canaan and Amurrû, and present a most striking picture of their political situation, more especially during the reign of Amenophis IV. During the long and peaceful reign of Amenophis III Egyptian power had not been felt on the borders of the king's Asiatic dominions, and without the menace of his troops the borders were not likely to be safe from invasion. The Tell-el-Amarna letters prove that the invasions which were destined to break the Syrian provinces of Egypt into pieces had already begun. A large number of the governors were making constant appeals to the king for aid against enemies who threatened the very existence of Egyptian dominion in Asia. The two enemies most dreaded were the Khatti, that is, the Hittites, and the Khabiri. The former are the same people who find frequent mention in the Egyptian inscriptions of a later period under the name of Kheta. Long before the Tell-el-Amarna period they had been pressing southward from Kappadokia into Syria. They were later to engage the Egyptian

army of Rameses II at Kadesh on the Orontes, and win the recognized right to possess the land all the way south to Hermon. The powerful kingdom then founded endured in some of its remnants till the fall of Carchemish under Sargon II in 717 B. C. The name of "Hittites" is used in the Old Testament in a very wide sense, applying not only to the branches of the stem which inhabited the Lebanon at the time of Israel's entrance into Palestine, but also covering a subordinate clan settled in southern Palestine about Hebron. Of the existence of the latter there is no good reason to doubt, for similar clans, detached from the main body, appear elsewhere, one of which, for example, founded the kingdom of Mittanni, which fills so large a space in this same correspondence.

The Khabiri have proved much more difficult to locate. In the very beginning it was noted that the word itself is identical with the word "Hebrew," and a great controversy at once arose as to whether or not the Khabiri were the invading Hebrews under Joshua. The chronological difficulty did not prevent many from adopting this view.[1] But in reality it makes it quite impossible. There is no way in which the notices of the Khabiri can possibly be reconciled with the campaigns either of the book of Joshua or of the first chapter of Judges. A study of all the allusions to the Khabiri in these letters will, however, make clear that the word is applied simply to a stem which had not yet made itself a local habitation, but was still wandering in the land. In this sense Abraham was called a Hebrew, when he first appeared in Palestine. These Khabiri may indeed have been related to the stock which has come

[1]See, for example, Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 264f.

to bear the name "Hebrew" exclusively for us, but there is no positive proof of this.[1]

Apart from the direct historical information of political affairs supplied by these letters, they are of the highest value as revealing the wide extent of Babylonian influence in western Asia. All these documents are written in Babylonian in every one of these Phœnician and Palestinian cities, though they are addressed to the king of Egypt. In other words, though the Egyptians had made a political reorganization of the country, they were not able to supplant the Babylonian tongue by their own.

New confirmation of the dominance of this Babylonian script and language is supplied by discoveries made in Palestine itself. In 1891, while excavating in the mount of Tell-el-Hesy (Lachish), Bliss found a cuneiform tablet, very similar in appearance to those found at Tell-el-Amarna, and written by Zimrida, prince of Lachish, who was already known to us in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets.

In 1902–1903 Professor Sellin,[2] of Vienna, made a very thorough exploration of the mound of Ta'anek, in the plain of Jezreel, and in March, 1903, found two small tablets, one of limestone, the other of black burned clay, both covered with cuneiform characters and obviously letters. Near by lay two more clay tablets, badly broken, but apparently containing lists of family names.

[1] The literature of this subject is extensive. See especially Winckler, *Forschungen*, iii, p. 90f.; *Geschichte Israels*, i (1895), pp. 14–21; *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 64f.; Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, pp. 111, 113f.; Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten*, pp. 32–34, 50; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, i, p. 335f and ii, p. 200. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 46–52; compare further Otto Weber in this same book, pp. 1146–1148, where all the Khabiri passages are conveniently assembled in references; and see further Weber's note on Text No. 286, line 19, *op. cit.* The Khabiri are also discussed in many commentaries, of which Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 218, and especially Driver, *Exodus* (1911), p. xxxiii, may be mentioned.

[2] Anzeiger der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Phil.-hist.* Klasse, 1903, Nr. xi u. xvi.

1. LETTER OF BURRABURIASH TO AMENOPHIS IV [1]

(1) To Napkhu'ruria, (2) king of Egypt, my brother, [speaks] (3) thus Burraburiash, king of Karaduniash, (4) thy brother. With me is it well. (5) With thee, with thy land, thy house, thy wives, thy children, (6) thy nobles, thy horses, thy chariots, (7) may it be exceeding well. (8) I and my brother have spoken (9) friendly with one another, (10) and have said this: (11) "As our fathers were, (12) so also will we be good friends." (13) But now my merchants, (14) who came up with Akhutabu, (15) remained behind in Canaan for business reasons. (16) After Akhutabu had gone on to my brother [i. e. to Amenophis]; (17) in the city of Khinnatuni of Canaan, (18) Shumadda, son of Balummê (19) [and] Shutatua, son of Sharatum, of Acco, (20) sent their men and slew my merchants, (21) and took away their money. (22) I have sent Azzu (?) to thee; (23) question him, (24) and let him inform thee. (25) Canaan is thy land, and its kings are thy servants. (26) In thy land violence has been done me. Punish them, and (27) the money, which they have taken away, restore, (28, 29) and slay the men who have

[1] Published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 8. Translated by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 85ff., and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 129ff.

(1) a-na Na-ap-khu-'-ru-ri-ia (2) šar (mâtu) Mi-iṣ-ri-i aḫi-ia ki-bí-ma (3) um-ma Bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš šar (mâtu) Ka-ra-du-ni-ia-aš (4) aḫu-ka-ma a-na ia-a-ši šu-ul-mu (5) a-na ka-ša mâti-ka bîti-ka aššati-ka mârê-k[a] (6) (amêlu) rabûti-ka sisê-ka (iṣu) narkabâti-ka (7) da-an-ni-iš lu šu-ul-mu (8) a-na-ku ù aḫi-ia it-ti a-ḫa-mi-iš (9) ta-bu-ta ni-id-da-bu-ub (10) ù an-ni-ta ni-ik-ta-bi (11) um-ma-a ki-i ab-bu-ni it-ti a-ḫa-mi-iš (12) ni-i-nu lu ṭa-ba-nu (13) i-na-an-na damgarū-ú-a (14) ša it-ti A-ḫu-ṭa-a-bu te-bu-ú (15) i-na (mâtu) Ki-na-aḫ-ḫi a-na ši-ma-a-ti it-ta-ak-lu-ú (16) ul-tu Aḫu-ṭa-a-bu a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi aḫi-ia i-ti-ku (17) i-na (alu ki) Ḫi-in-na-tu-ni ša (mâtu) Ki-ni-aḫ-ḫi (18) (m) Šu-um-ad-da mâr (m)Ba-lum-me-e (19) (m) Šu-ta-at-na mâr (m)Ša-ra-a-tum ša (alu) Ak-ka (20) amêluti-šu-nu ki iš-pu-ru (amêlu) damgarê-ia (21) id-du-ku ù kaspa-šu-nu it-tab-lu (22) (m) Az-zu a-na pa-[ni-k]a ki-i (23) al-ta-ap-ra-ak-ku ši-ta-[al-šu-ma] (24) li-ik-ba-ak-[ku] (25) (mâtu) Ki-na-aḫ-ḫi mât-ka ù šarran[i-ša ardâni-ka] (26) i-na mâti-ka ḫu-um-mu-ṣa-ku su-ni-ik-[šu-nu-ma] (27) kaspa ša it-ba-lu šu-ul-li-[im-šu] (28) ù amêluti ša ardâni-ia i-[du-uk-ku] (29) du-uk-šu-nu-ti-ma da-mi-šu-nu te-e-ir

killed my servants, and avenge their blood. (30) If thou dost not slay these men, (31) they, on another occasion, will kill my caravans, (32) or thy messengers and then (33) messengers will cease to pass between us. (34) And if they deny, [be it known to thee] (35, 36) that Shumadda cut the feet off one of my people, (37) and kept him prisoner, and (38, 39) that Shutatua of Acco set another on his head (40) and he stands before his face [as a servant].[1] (41) Cause these men to be brought before thee, (42) and take thought for my welfare. (43) As a present I have sent thee a mina of lapis-lazuli. (44) Send my messenger back quickly. (45) May I learn of the prosperity of my brother. (46) Do not hold my messenger. (47) Let him come quickly.

[1] The meaning of lines 38–40 is quite uncertain.

(30) ù šum-ma amêlûti an-nu-ti ul ta-ad-du-uk (31) i-tu-ur-ru-ma lu-ú girra at-tu-ú-a (32) ù lu amêlûtu mârê si-ip-ri-ka i-du-ku-ú-ma (33) i-na bi-ri-ni mâr ši-ip-ri ip-pa-ar-ra-as (34) ù šum-ma i-na-ak-ki-ru-ka (35)(m)amêla at-tu-ú-a (m)Šu-um-ad-da(36) šêpē-šu ki-i ú-na-ak-ki-su (37) i-tu-šu ik-ta-la-šu (38) ù amêla ša-na-a(m) Šu-ta-at-na Ak-ka-a-a-ú (39) i-na ri-ši ki-i ul-zi-zu-šu (40) a-na pa-ni-šu iz-za-az amêlûti ša-šu-nu (41) li-il-ku-ni-ik-ku-um-ma a-mu-ur-ma (42) ù ia-tu ša-al-ma lu ti-i-di (43) a-na šu-ul-ma-ni 1 manâ abnu uknâ uš-te-bi-la-ak-ku (44) mâr ši-ip-ri-ia ḫa-mu-ut-ta [ku-uš-šid-šu] (45) [ša-al]-ma ša aḫi-ia lu i-d[i-ma] (46) mâr ši-ip-ri-ia la ta-ka-al[-la-šu] (47) ḫa-mu-ut-ta li-it-ta-a[l-la-ak]

2. LETTER OF TUSHRATTA TO AMENOPHIS III[1]

(1) To Nimmuria, king of Egypt, (2) my brother, my son-in-law whom I love, (3) and who loves me, speaks thus (4) Tushratta, king of Mitanni, (5) who loves thee, thy father-in-law. (6) With me it is well, with thee may it be well (7) with thy house, with Tatukhepa, my

[1] Published by Bezold and Budge, *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (1892), No. 10. Transliterated and translated by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 23, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 130, 131.

(1) a-na(m) Ni-im-mu-ri-ia šar (mât) Mi-iṣ-ri-i (2) aḫi-ia ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša a-ra-'a-a-nu (3) ù ša i-ra-'a-a-ma-an-ni ki-be-ma (4) um-ma(m) Tu-uš-rat-'a šàr Mi-i-ta-an-ni (5) ša i-ra-'a-a-mu-ka e-mu-ka-ma (6) a-na ia šı šul-mu a-na ka-a-šu lu-ú šul-mu (7) a-na bîti-

daughter, (8) with thy wife, whom thou lovest, may it be well. (9) With thy wives, thy children, thy nobles, (10) thy chariots, thy horses, (11) thy soldiers, thy land and (12) with everything, that is thine, may it be well in highest, highest, highest measure.

(13) Thus saith Ishtar of Nineveh, queen of countries (14) all of them: "To Egypt (15) the land, that I love, will I go, (16) I will traverse (?) it." Behold now, (17) have I sent (her) and she is gone. (18, 19) Behold, in the time of my father did the goddess go to that land (20) and as, when she formerly (21) dwelt (there) men honored her, (22) so may my brother now, ten-fold (23) more than in the former days, honor her! (24) May my brother honor her, in peace (25) send her away, that she may return. (26) Ishtar, the queen of heaven, may she protect my brother (27) and me. One hundred thousand years (28) and much joy may this goddess (29) give us both. (30) And as is good so will we do. (31) Ishtar is my god for me; (32) for my brother she is not his god.[1]

[1] This letter has painted upon it in black ink a note by the Egyptian court archive keeper in hieroglyphics as follows: "Year 36, 4th month of the winter, when we were in the southern castle Pr-Ḫ'wt . . . Copy . . . brought by the messenger . . . "

ka a-na (amêltu) Ta-a-tum-ḫe-pa mârti-ia (8) a-na aššatil-ka ša ta-ra-'a-a-mu lu-ú šul-mu (9) a-na aššati-ka a-na mâre-ka a-na (amêlûtu) rabû(ti)ka (10) a-na (iṣu) narkabâti-ka a-na sisê-ka (11) a-na ṣâbê-ka a-na mâti-ka ù a-na (12) mimmu(mu) ka dan-neš dan-neš dan-neš lu-ú šul-mu (13) um-ma Ištar ša (alu) Ni-in-na-a bêlit mâtâti (14) gab-bi-i-ši-na-ma a-na (mât) Mi-iṣ-ri-i (15) i-na mâti ša a-ra-'a-a-mu lu-ul-lik-ku-me (16) lu-uz-za-ḫe-ir-me a-nu-um-ma i-na-an-na (17) ul-te-e-bel-ma it-tal-ka (18) a-nu-um-ma i-na tir-ṣi a-bi-ia-ma (19) . . . bêl-tum i-na mâti ša-a-ši it-tal-ka (20) ù ki-i-me-e i-na pa-na-a-nu-um-[m]a (21) it-ta-šab-ma uk-te-ib-bi-du-š[i] (22) [ù] i-na-an-na aḫi-ia a-na x-šu (23) eli ša pa-na-a-ti li-gi-ib-bi-is-si (24) aḫi-ia li-gi-ib-bi-iz-zu i-na ḫa-di-e (25) li-miš-šer-šu-ma li-du-u-ra (26) Ištar bêlit ša-me-e aḫi-ia ù ia-ši (27) li-iṣ-ṣur-an-na-ši 1 me li-im šanâti ù ḫe-du-ta ra-bi-ta bêltum annîtum (29) a-na ki-la-a-al-li-ni li-id-din-na-an-ši-ma (30) ù ki-i ta-a-bi i ni-pu-uš (31) Ištar a-na ia-ši-ma-a i-li (32) ù a-na aḫi-ia la-a il-šu

3. LETTERS OF RIB-ADDA OF BYBLUS

A

(1) Rib-Adda (2) has spoken to his lord (3) the king of the lands, the great king. (4) May Ba'alat of Byblus[2] (5) give power (6) to the king, my lord. (7) At the feet of my lord, my sun (8) have I fallen seven times and (again) seven times. (9) Be it known to the king, my lord, (10) that safe is Byblus, (11) the true servant of the king; (12) but very powerful is the enmity (13) of the Khabiru[3] warriors (14) against me, and may the king my lord (15) not hold back from (16) Sumur[4] (17) lest it quite join (18) the Khabiri soldiers. (19) By the king's representative (20) who was in Sumur, (21) Byblus has been saved. (22) Behold, Pakhamnata (23) the king's representative, who is (24) in Sumur, (he) knows (25) the need (26) which oppresses Byblus. (27) From Jarimutta[5] (28) have we secured means of life. (29) Very powerful is

[1] Published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna* (1889, 1890), No. 80, and translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, v, No. 88; Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 68, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 131.

[2] "Byblus" is "Gubla" in the Babylonian; see below. Modern Jebeil half-way between Tripolis and Beirut.

[3] Written here, as often ideographically, SA-GAZ. There can be no doubt of the correctness of the identification; see Winckler, *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*. Heft 35 (1907), p. 25 Anm.; and compare note by Otto Weber, in Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 1146–1148.

[4] The modern Simyra. It was the seat of Egyptian authority, the residence of the Râbiṣu.

[5] Site unknown. Ungnad suggests that it was perhaps in the Nile delta, but there is no evidence.

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(1) [Ri-]ib-ḫa-ad-[da] (2) [iḳ-]bi a-na bêli-šu (3) [šar] mâtâti šarri rabî (4) [iltu] bêlit ša (alu) Ĝu-ub-la (5) ti-id-di-en du-na (6) a-na šarri be-li-ia (7) a-na sêpê bêli-ia (ilu) šamši-ia (8) VII-šu VII-ta-a-an am-ḳut (9) lu-ú i-di šarru bêli-ia (10) i-nu-ma sal-ma-at (alu) Gub-la (11) amat ki-it-ti ša šarri (12) ù dannat danniš nu-kur-tum (13) ša ṣâbê SA-GAZ (14) [muḫ]ḫi-ia ù la-a a-kul-me (15) šarru bêli-ia iš-tu (16) [al]u Ṣu-mu-ur-(ki) (17) [l]a-a en-ni-pu-uš ga[b-b]u (18) a-na ṣâbê SA-GAZ (19) i-na (amêlu) rabiṣ šarri(ri) (20) ša i-šu-ú i-na (alu) Ṣu-mu-ur (21) ba-al-ta-at (alu) Gub-la (22) a-nu-um-ma (m)Pa-ḫa-am[-n]a-ta (23) (amêlu) rabiṣ šarri ša i[-n]a (24) (alu) Ṣu-mu-ur(ki) i-[d]i-me (25) pu-uš-kàm \ ma-na-aš (26) ša muḫḫi (alu) Gub-la (27) iš-tu (mâtu) Ia-ri-im-mu-ta (28) nu-bal-li-iṭ (29) dannat danniš

the enmity (30) against us. May the king not (31) hold back from (32) his cities.

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nu-[k]u[r-]tum (30) [mu]ḫḫi-nu ù ù-ul (31) [ia-]ḳul-me šarru iš-t[u] (32) [a]lâni-šu

B[1]

(1) Rib-Adda has spoken to (2) his (lord), the king of the lands, the great king. (3) May Ba'alat of Byblus give (4) power to the king, my lord. (5) At the feet of my lord, my sun, (6) have I fallen seven times, (and again) seven times. (7) Why hast thou not sent (8) answer to me, so that (9) I might know the deed, which they have done? (10) I sent my man before (11) my lord, and his two horses were taken away, (12) and concerning another man, he (himself) was taken (13) and the king's tablet was not given (14) into the hand of my man. Hearken to me. (15) Why hast thou so held back, that thy land (16) should be taken? Let it not be said: "In (17) the days of the representatives[2] the Khabiri have taken (18) all lands." Let it not so (19) be said in (coming) days: (20) "And thou art not able to take them again." (21) Further I have written for garrison troops (22) and

[1] Published by Bezold and Budge, *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (1892), No. 14; translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, v, No. 61; by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 83; and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, pp. 131, 132.

[2] These are the representatives of the Egyptian king, who held oversight over the governors of provinces and districts.

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(1) [R]i-ib-[Addi iḳ]-bi a[-na] (2) [bêli-š]u šar mâtâti šarri rabî (3) [(iltu) b]êlit ša (alu) Gub-la ti-di-en (4) d[unn]a a-na šarri(ri) bêli-ia (5) a-na sêpê bêli-ia (ilu) šamši-ia (6) VII-šu VII-ta-an am-ku-ut (7) a-na mi-ni la-a tu-te-ru[-n]a (8) a-wa-tú a-na ia-a-ši ù (9) i-di ip-ša ša i-pu-[šu] (10) amêli-ia ut-ta-ši-ir a-na ma-[ḫa]r (11) bêli-ia ù la-ku II sišu-šu (12) ù amêlu ša-nu la-ki amêlu-šu (13) [ù] tuppi(bi) šarri la-a na-di-en (14) [i]-na ḳa-at amêli-ia ši-m[i i]a-ši (15) a-n[a] mi ḳa-la-ta ù t[u-u]l-[k]u (16) mât[u]-ka ú-ul ju-uḳ-ba i-na (17) ûmê (amêlûtu) rabiṣi la-ku (amêlûtu) rabiṣi la-ku (amêlûtu) GAZ (18) ka-li mâtâti ú-ul ka-a-ma (19) ju-uḳ-bu i-na ûmê (20) ù la-a ti-li-ú la-ka-ši (21) ša-ni-tú aš-ta-par a-na amêlûti ma-ṣa-ar-ti (22) ù a-na sisê ù la-a

horses, and they were (23) not given. Send answer (24) to me, or I shall make (25) an alliance with Abdiashirta[1] (26) like Yapa-Adda and Zimrida (27) and I shall be saved. Further, if (28, 29) Sumura and Bit-Arkha have fallen, (30) thou must give to me by the hands of Jankhamu.[2] Let him give (31) provisions for food for me. (32, 33) I will defend the king's city for him. (34) And let the king give command and send (35) my man. His relatives are embittered against me (36) day and night, (saying): "Thou hast given (37) our son to the king, and he should send him (back). (38) Two men of Inamta[3] are in the (39) house of Jankhamu. Further; say (40) to Jankhamu: "Rib-Addi is (41) in thy hands, and everything (42) which is done to him, rests upon thee." (43) Let not men of destruction (?) fall (44) upon me. And I have written to him: (45) "If thou dost not say so, (46) I shall leave the city and (47) depart." Further, if thou sendest (48) me no answer, (49) then shall I forsake the city, and (50) depart with the men, (51) who love me. And (52) know, indeed that (53) Um-

[1] King of Amurru, father of Asiru.
[2] Jankhamu, the Egyptian king's representative in Jarimutta; see previous letter, line 27.
[3] Name of a city, location unknown.

(23) tu-da-nu-na šu-te-ra a-wa-tú (24) a-na ia-ši ù i-pu-ša a-na-ku (25) ki-ta it-ti (m)Abdi-a-ši-ir-ta (26) ki-ma (m)Ia-pa-addi ù(m) Zi-im-ri-[d]a (27) ù bal-ta-ti ša-ni-tú šum-ma (28) ap-pu-na-ma a-nu-ma pa-aṭ-ra (29) (alu) Ṣ[u]-mu-ra ù (alu) Bît-ar-[ḫ]a (30) [tú]-din-ni i-na ḳa-at (31) (m)Ia-an-ḫa-mi ù ia-ti-na (32) še-im (zun) a-na a-ka-lí ia-ši (33) a-na-ṣa-ra àl šarri a-na ša-a-šu (34) ù ia-aḳ-bi šarru ù ju-wa-ši-ra (35) amêli-ia amêlûtu-šu ti-ša-šu-na muḫḫi-ia (36) ur-ra mu-ša at-ta-mi na-ad-[n]a-ta (37) mâra-nu a-na šarri ù uš-ši-ra-šu šu-tú (38) II amêl (alu) I-nam-ta al-la-mi i-na (39) bît (m)Ia-an-ḫ[a]-mi ša-ni-tu ḳi-ba-mi (40) a-na (m)Ia-ḫa-mi al-lu-mi (m)Rib-Addi (41) i-na ḳa-ti-ka ù mi-im-mu (42) ša ni-ip-šu a-na ša-šu muḫḫi-k[a] ú-ul ji-ma-ku-ta ṣâbe ka-ra-[š]i (44) muḫḫi-ia ù aš-pu-ru a-na ša-šu (45) šum-ma ki-a-ma la-a ti-ik-b[i] (46) ù i-ti-zi-ib al[a] ù (47) pa-at-ra-ti ša-ni-tú šum-ma la-a (48) tu-te-ru-na a-wa-tú a-na ia-ši ù i-ti-zi-ib ala ù (50) pa-aṭ-ra-ti ḳa-du amêlûti (51) ša i-ra-a-mu-ni ù (52) li-ma-ad al-li-mi (53) (amêltu) Um-ma-aḫ-nu ù(m)

makhnu, and Ishkuru (54) her husband, the servant[1] of Ba'alat (55) of Byblus (55, 56) *shall pray for thee*[2] for power, (57) unto Ba'alat.

[1] Priestess.
[2] The words are supplied by Ungnad and are doubtful though attractive.

Iš-ku-ru (54) mu-ut-še amtu ša (iltu) Bêlit (55) [ša] (a[l]u) Gu[b-l]a [ù] d[u]nna (56) . . . ra-b[u] (57) [a]n[a] (iltu) B[êlit]

4. LETTERS OF ABDI-KHIBA OF JERUSALEM

A[1]

(1) To the king, my lord, has spoken (2) Abdi-khiba, thy servant. (3) At the feet of my lord, the king, (4) seven and seven times do I fall. (5) What have I done against the king, my lord? (6) They have slandered me | (7) before the king, my lord, [saying] (8) "Abd-khiba has revolted from the king, his lord." (9) Behold, as for me, neither my father (10) nor my mother appointed me (11) in this place. (12) The strong arm of the king (13) introduced me into my father's house. (14) Why should I commit (15) an offense against the king, my lord? (16) So long as the king, my lord, lives, (17) shall I say to the officer of the king, my lord:—(18) "Why are you favorable to the (19, 20) Khabiri and unfavorable to the [native] princes?" for this reason, (21) they slander me before the king, my lord. (22, 23) Because I say:—"The territory of the king

[1] Published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna* (Berlin, 1889–1890), No. 102. Newly translated by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1907, No. 286, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament*, pp. 132, 133.

(1) [a]-na (m)šarri bêli-ia ki-bi-ma (2) um-ma (m)Abdi-ḫe-ba arduka-ma (3) a-na II šêpê beli-ia šarri(ri) (4) VII-ta-a-an ù VII-ta-a-an am-ḳut-mi (5) ma-an-na ip-ša-ti a-na šarri bêli-ia (6) i-ka-lu ka-arsi-ia ⟍ ú-ša-a-ru (7) i-na pa-ni šarri bêli(ri) (m)Abdi-ḫe-ba (8) paṭa-ar-mi a-na šarri(ri) bêli-šu (9) a-mur a-na-ku la-a (amêlu) a-bi-ia (10) ù la-a (amêltu) ú-mi-ia ⟍ ša-ak-na-ni (11) i-na aš-ri an-ni-e (12) zu-ru-uḫ šarri(ri) dan-nu (13) ú-še-ri-ba-an-ni a-na bît (amêlu) a-bi-ia (14) am-mi-nim-mi a-na e-pu-uš (15) ⟍ ar-na a-na šarri bêli(ri) (16) a-di šarru bêli-ia ibaluṭ (17) a-ḳa-bi a-na (amêlu) rabiṣ šarri bêl[i-*ia*] (18) am-mi-nim-mi ta-ra-ia-m[u] (19) (amêlu) Ḫa-bi-ri ù (amelûtu) ḫa-zi[-a-nu-ti] (20) ta-za-ia-ru ù ki-na-an-na (21) ù-ša-wa-ru i-na pa-ni šarri bêli-ia (22) e-nu-ma *i*-ḳa-bi ḫal-kaat-mi (23) mâtât šarri bêli-ia ki-na-an-na (24) ú-ša-wa-ru a-na

my lord will be ruined," because of this they slander me before the king, my lord. (25) Let the king, my lord, know that the king, my lord, had established (27, 28) a garrison, but . . . Enkhamu has taken it . . . (29) . . . (30) . . . (31) . . . Egypt . . . (32) . . . king, my lord . . . there is no garrison there. (34) Let the king care for his land, (35, 36) and [take heed] to his land; the cities of the king, my lord, have all fallen away. Ilimilku (37) is destroying the entire land of the king. (38) Let the king, my lord, care for his land. (39) I say, "I will go (40) to the king, my lord, and see the (41) eyes of the king my lord, but the enemies (42) are powerful against me, and I am unable (43) to go to the king my lord (44) So may it seem right to the king, my lord, (45) to send troops, (46) then shall I go and see the eyes (47) of the king, my lord. So long as the king, my lord, (48) lives, when an officer goes forth (49) I shall say: the land of the king, my lord, is going to ruin. (50) But you do not listen to me, (51) all the princes are lost, (52) and the king, my lord, will have no more princes. (53) Let the king turn his face to the princes, (54, 55) and let the king, my lord, send troops. The king has no longer any territory. (56) The Khabiri have devastated

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šarri bêli-ia (25) ù li-te-mi (m)šarru bêli-ia (26) e-nu-ma ša-ka-an šarru bêli-ia (27) [am]êlûta ma-ṣar-ta la-ki-mi (28) [gab] b[a]-š[a] (m)E-en-ḫa-mu (29) . . . eš (30) . . . (31) (mâtu)M[i-]iṣ-ri k[i] (32) . . . š[ar]ri[*ri*] bêli(ri) (33) [ia-a-n]u-mi amêlûta ma-ṣar-t[a] (34) [ù l]i-[i]s-ki-en šarru a-na mâti-šu (35) [li-i]s-k[ín] š[ar] ru a-na mâti-šu pa-ṭa-ra-at (36) [mâta]t šarri bêli gab-ša (m)Ili-mil-ku (37) i-ḫal-li-iḳ gab-bi mât šarri(ri) (38) ù li-is-kín ṣarru bêlu a-na mati-šu (39) a-na-ku a-ḳa-bi e-ru-ub-mi (40) it-ti šarri(ri) bêli-ia ù la-mur-mi (41) 2 înâ šarri bêli-ia ù nu-kur-tú (meš) (42) dannu a-na mu-ḫi-ia ù la a-la-aḫ-e (43) e-ra-ba iš-tu šarri bêli-ia (44) ù li-it-ru-uṣ i-na pa-ni šarr[i] (45) lu-ma-še-ra amêlûta ma-ṣar-ta (46) ù li-lu-ub ù la-mu-ur 2 î[nâ] (47) šarri bêli-ia \ e-nu-ma šarru bêl[i-ia] (48) ibaluṭ e-nu-ma it-ta-zu-ú amêlu ra [biṣûtu] (49) a-ḳa-bi ḫal-ḳa-at-mi mâtât šarri (r[i]) (50) la ta-ša-mi-ú a-na ia-a-ši (51) ḫal-ḳu-mi gab-bi amêlûtû ḫa-zi-a-nu-ti (52) ia-a-nu-mi (amêlu) ḫa-zi-a-nu a-na šarri bêli (53) li-din šarru pa-ni-šu a-na (am[êl]ûtu) pi-da-ti (54) ù lu-ṣi-mi (amêlûtu) ṣâbu pi-da-ti (55) šarri bêli-ia ia-a-nu-mi mâtâti a-na šarri (56) (amêlûtu) Ḫa-bi-ru ḫa-bat gab-bi

all the king's territory. (57) If there be troops (58) in this year, the lands will remain (59) the king's, my lord's, but if no troops come (60) the lands of the king, my lord are lost. (61) To the scribe of the king, my lord: Abdi-Khiba, (62–64) thy servant. Bring clearly before the king my lord, [these] words: The whole territory of the king, my lord, is going to ruin.

mâtât šarri (57) šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši (amêlu) sâbê pi-da-ti (58) i-na šatti an-ni-ti i-ba-aš-ši mâtāt (59) šarri bêli ù šum-ma ia-a-nu-mi (amêlu) ṣâbu pi-da-ti (60) [ḫ]al-ka-at mâtāt šarri bêli-ia (61) [a-n]a túp-š[a]r šar[ri] bêli-ia um-ma (m)Abdi-ḫe-ba (62) [ar]du-ka-ma \ še-ri-ib a-wa-tú (63) [b]a-na-ta a-na šarri bêli-ia ḫal-ka-at (64) [ga]b-bi mâtāt šarri bêli-ia

B[1]

To the king, my lord, has spoken Abdi-khiba, thy servant. At the feet of my lord, seven and seven times have I fallen. (4) I have heard all the words, which the king, my lord, (5) has sent . . . (6) [Behold] the deed, which . . . has done . . . (7) what shall I . . . (8) . . . news . . . (9, 10 broken off) (11) brought to the city Kelti. Let the king know (12) that all lands have declared enmity against me; (13) let the king therefore care for his land.

(14) Behold the territory of Gazri, that of Ashkelon, (15) and the city of La[chish] have given them (16) food, oil and all necessaries. (17) Let the king therefore look after the troops, and (18) send troops against the people, (19) who have sinned against the king, my lord.

[1] Published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 103. Translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, v, No. 180, and by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 287. This letter is not included in Ungnad-Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*.

(1) [a-na šarri](ri) bêli-ia [ki-bi-ma] (2) [um-ma (m)Ab]di-he-ba ardu-k[a-ma a-na] (3) [šêpê] bêli-ia VII-t[a-an ù VII-ta-a-an am-kut-mi] (4) [aš-mi g]ab a-wa-tú [ša šarru(ru) bêli-ia] (5) [ú-še-]ru-bu-ni a-na [. . .] (6) [a-mur] ip-ša \ ša e[-pu-šu . . .] (7) erû Kak ú-tag-ga \ . . . (8) a-wa[-tu . . . (9 and 10) . . . (11) a-na[a]l[u Ki-el-ti] ki ú-še-ru-bu li-te [šarr]i(ri) (12) gab-bi mâtâti [š]a-li-mu a-na ia-a-ši nu-kur-tú (13) ù li-is-kín šarri(ri) a-na mâti-šu (14) a-mur mât ([al]u)[G]az-ri(ki) mât (alu) Aš-ḳa-lu-na(ki) (15) ù (alu) L[a-ki-s]i (ki) i-din-nu a-na ša-šu-nu (16) akâlê šamnê ù mi-im-ma \ ma-aḫ-zi-ra-mu (17) ù li-is-kín šarri(ri) a-na sâbê pi-da-ti-ú (18) lu-ma-še-ra ṣâbê pi-da-ti a-na amêlūti (19) ša

(20, 21) If in this year there are troops here, the land (22) and prince[s] will remain to the king, my lord. (23) But if there are no troops, there will then remain no (24) lands and no princes to the king, my lord.

(25) Behold this land of Jerusalem,—(26) neither my father nor my mother (27) gave it to me; the strong arm of the king (28) gave it to me. (29) Behold this deed is the deed of Milki-il (30) and that of Lapaja's sons, (31) who are delivering the land to the Khabiri. (32) Behold, O king, my lord, I am innocent (33, 34) as concerns the Kashi. Let the king ask the officers, if they have done violence, (35) and laden themselves with great guilt. (36) They have taken their implements, and . . . (37) . . . (38) . . . sent to the land . . . (39) . . . march up (?) to . . . (40) . . . servant, let the king take heed, (41) to them, that they support (42) the lands with their hand. (43) Let the king demand for them much food, and much oil and many garments. (45) Until Pauru, the king's officer, goes up (46, 47) to Jerusalem. Adaja is in revolt (withdrawn), together with the garrison, the officer (48) . . . of the king. Let the king know (49) that Adaja said to me: (50) "Let me go out, but do thou not leave it (the city)."

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ip-pu-šu ar-na a-na šarri(ri) bêli-ia (20) šum-ma i-ba-aš-si i-na šatti an-ni-ti (21) ṣâbē pi-da-tum ù i-ba-aš-ši mâtātu (22) [ù] (amêlu) ḫa-zi-a-nu a-na šarri(ri) bêli-ia (23) [ù] šum-ma ia-nu ṣâbe pi-da-tum ia-a-nu-[mi] (24) [mâta]ti ù (amêlūtu) ḫa-zi-a-nu-ti a-na šarri(ri)

(25) [a-]mur mât (alu) U-ru-sa-lim an-n[i-]ta (26) [l]a-a amêlu abu a-ni la-a um-mi-i[a] (27) [n]a-ad-na-an-ni \ kât \ zu-ru-uḫ [šarri(ri) da]nnu (28) [n]a-ad-na-an-ni a-na ia-a-ši (29) a-mur ip-ša an-ni-ú ip-ši(m) mil-ki-ili (30) ù ip-ši mârē La-ab-a-ia (31) ša na-ad-nu mât šarri(ri) (amêlūtu) ḫa-bi-ri (32) a-mur šarru bêli-ia ṣa-du-uk a-na ia-a-ši (33) aš-šum amêlūti ka-ši-wi li-iš-al-mi (34) šarri(ri) (amêlu) rabiṣūti e-nu-ma dannu bîtu danniš (35) ù ú-ba-aḫ-ú ar-na kab-ta rabâ (36) [la]-ḳa-ḫu ú-nu-tú-šu-nu ù baṭ-l[u-ú] (37) [e]-til ú-ri-e \ ga-ag-gi-m[i] (38) ù l[u-ú-ma-še-ru i-na (mâtu) . . . (39)—ti-ta-lu it-t[i . . .] (40)—ardūti li-is-kín-m[i šarri(ri)] (41) a-na ša-šu-nu \ ta-za-ḳa . . . (42) mâtāti i-na ḳa-ti-šu-n[u-ú] (43) li-iš-al-mi šarri(ri) a-na ša-šu-n[u] (44) ma-ad akâlē ma-ad šamnê ma-ad lubšât[i] (45) a-di e-til-li (m)Pa-ú-ru (amêlu) rabiṣ šarri(ri) (46) a-na mât (alu) U-ru-sa-lim(ki) pa-ta-ar (47) (m)Ad-da-ia a-di amêlūti maṣar-ti amêlu ú-e-e (48) [ša i]-din šarri(ri) li-te-mi šarri(ri) (49) [iḳ-]bi a-na ia-a-ši (m)A-da-ia (50) [a-mu]r pa-aṭ-ra-an-ni la ti-zi-ib-ši

(51) Send me a garrison during this year, (52) send the officer of the king, . . . (53) . . . I sent to the king, my lord, (54) 5000 *asiru* . . . (55) 3 hundred 8 bearers, for the caravans of the king (56) were robbed in the fields (57) of Ajalon. Let the king, my lord, know that (58) I am unable to forward the caravans (59) to the king, my lord—[This is] for thy information. (60) Behold the king has put his name (61) upon Jerusalem forever, (62) he can not therefore abandon (63) the land of Jerusalem.

(64) To the scribe of the king, my lord, (65) has spoken Abdi-khiba saying, Thy servant. (66) At thy feet I fall. I am thy servant. (67, 68) Bring clearly before the king, my lord, these words: (69) I am an officer of the king. (70) I am . . .

(71) And an evil deed has been done (72) against me by the people of Kash, (73) I was almost slain (74) by the people of Kash (75, 76) in my house. Let the king ask . . . after (?) them (77) . . . seven times and seven times . . . (78) the king, my lord, to me.

(51) [šatta] an-ni-ta mu-še-ra-an-ni amêla ma-ṣar-ta (52) ù ([amêlu]) rabiṣa šarri(ri) mu-še-ra \ an-ni-ka-nu (53) [-Z]un mu-še-ir-ti a-na šarri(ri) bê[li-ia] (54) [(amê]lūtu) a-si-ru V li-im . . . (55) [III me] [. . .] VIII (amêlūtu) ú-bi-li mi ḫarrânāt šarr[i(ri)] (56) la-ki[-ḫ]u i-n[a] ú[g]a-ri \ ša-te-e [a-na] (57) alu Ia-lu-na(ki) li-te-mi šarri(ri) bêli-ia (58) la-a a-la-aḫ-e \ mu-še-ra ḫarrani (59) a-na šarri(ri) bêli-ia aš-šum la-ma-te-ka (60) a-mur šarri(ri) ša-ka-an šum-šu (61) i-na (mât) Ú-ru-sa-lim(ki) a-na da-ri-iš (62) ù la-a i-li-iḫ-e e-za-bi-ša (63) mâtāt (alu) Ú-ru-sa-lim(ki)

(64) a-na túp-šar šarri(ri) bêli-ia (65) ki-bi-ma um-ma(m) Abdi-ḫe-ba ardu-ka-ma (66) a-na 2 šêpē am-ḳut-mi ardu-ka a-nu-ki (67) še-rı-ib a-wa-tú meš ba-na-ta (68) a-na šarri(ri) bêli-ia (69) (amêlu) ú-e-eḫ š[a]rri(ri) a-nu-ki (70) ma-at-ti a-na ka-wa

(71) ù-ti-ip-pa-ša ip-ša la-am-na (72) a-na muḫ-ḫi(ḫi) amêlūt (mâtu) Ka-si (73) [ú]-ba-na la-a Gaz \ te-[k]a-t[i] (74) i-na ḳât amêlūti (mâtu) Ka-ši[-wi] (75) [i-n]a libbi(bi) bîti-ia \ li[-iš-al] (76)—šarru(ru) a-na ša-š[u-nu] (77) [7-ta-a-an ù 7-ta-a-an [ṣa-du-uḳ] (78) [šarri(r]i) bêli-ia a-na ia[-ṣi]

C[1]

(1) To the king, my lord, my sun, *has spoken* (2) thus

[1] Published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 104. Translated by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 288, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, p. 133.

(1) [a-n]a (m)šarri(ri) bêli-ia (ilu) ša[mš]i[-ia k]i-bi-ma (2) um-

Abdi-khiba, thy servant. (3) At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times (4) and seven times, have I fallen. (5) Behold, the king, my lord, has put (6) his name upon the East (7) and upon the West. It is slander, (8) which they have heaped up against me. (9) Behold I am not a prince, (10) I am an officer[1] of the king, (11) behold I am a shepherd of the king, (12) I am one who brings tribute to the king. (13) Neither my father nor (14) my mother, but the strong arm of the king (15) established me in the house of my father. (16) When . . . the officer of the king (17, 18) came to me, I gave him 10 slaves into his hand. (19) [When] Shuta, the officer of the king, came (20, 21) to me, I gave 21 female slaves . . . 80 *asiru* . . . gave I (22) to Shuta, as a present for the king, my lord. (23) Let the king care for his land. (24, 25) The whole land of the king, which has begun enmity with me, will be lost.

(26) Behold, the territory of Sheri as far as Gintikirmil, (27) it is well (?) with all the princes,[2] (28) but hostility prevails against me. (29) If one could see.[3] (30,

[1] *Uea*, an Egyptian word.

[2] The meaning of line 27 is doubtful. Knudtzon translates *vergehen* sie (die Länder allen Regenten).

[3] The meaning of 29 is very doubtful. Knudtzon translates Ich *habe zu einer Zeit* einen . . . *herbeigeschafft.*

ma (m)Abdi-ḫi-ba ardu-ka-ma (3) a-na II šêpē šarri bêli-ia VII-ta-a-an (4) ù VII-ta-a-an am-ḳut-mi (5) a-mur šarri(ri) bêli-ia ša-ka-an (6) šum-šu a-na mu-ṣi (ilu) šamši(ši) (7) ù ir-bi (ilu) šamši(ši) ḫa-an-pa (8) ša iḫ-nu-pu a-na mu-ḫi-ia (9) a-mur a-na-ku la-a (amêlu) Ḫa-zi-a-nu (10) (amêlu) ú-e-ú a-na šarri(ri) bêli-ia (11) a-mur a-na-ku (amêlu) ru-ḫi šarri(ri) (12) ù ú-bi-il bilat šarri(ri) a-na-ku (13) ia-a-nu-mi (amêlu) abu a-ni ia-a-nu-mi (14) ([am]êltu) um-mi-ia zu-ru-uḫ šarri(ri) dannu (15) [š]a-ak-n[a-an-ni] i-na bît amêlu a[b]i [a-ni] (16)]. . . (17) [k]a-ša-ad a-na mu-ḫi-ia [ḳ]a-a . . . (18) na-ad-na-ti X (amêlu) ardûti [a-na ḳ]a[-ti (19) (m) šu-ú-ta (amêlu) rabiṣ šarri(ri) ka-š[a-ad] (20) a-na mu-ḫi-ia XXI (amêltu mârāti (21) LXXX (amêlūtu) a-si-ri na-ad-na-ti (22) [a-]na ḳa-ti (m)šu-ú-ta ḳîšat šarri bêli-ia (23) li-im-li-ik-mi šarri(ri) a-na mâti-šu (24) ḫal-ḳa-at mât šarri(ri) gab-ba-ša (25) ṣa-ba-ta-ni nu-kur-tú a-na ia-a-ši

(26) a-di (!) mâtāti Še-e-ri(ki) a-di (alu) Gín-ti-ki-ir-mi-il (27) šalmu a-na gab-bi (amêlūtu) ḫa-zi-a-nu-ti ù nu-kur-tú a-na ia-a-ši (29) ip-ša-ti e-nu-ma amêl a-mi-ri (30) ù la-a a-mar 2 (!) înâ šarri

31) But I do not see the eyes of the king, my lord, because hostility (32) is established against me. (33) When there was a ship on the sea,[1] (34) the strong arm of the king (35) occupied Nakhrima[2] (36) and Kapasi, but now, (37, 38) the Khabiri are occupying the king's cities. (39) There remains not one prince (40) to the king, my lord, every one is destroyed. (41) Behold, Turbaṣu has been slain (42) at the gate of Zilû, and the king is inactive. (43) Behold Zimrida of Lachish— (44) his servants have slain . . . for the Khabiri (?) (45) Japti'-Addi has been slain (46) at the gate of Zilû, and the king is inactive (47) . . . .[3] (48) Let the king take care for his land, (49) and turn his attention . . . (50) [let him send] troops to the land of Jerusalem (?). (51) For if no troops come (52, 53) in this year the whole territory of the king, my lord, will be lost. (54) They ought not say before the face of the king, my lord, (55) that the land of the king, my lord, is destroyed, (56) and all the princes are destroyed. (57) If there are no troops (58, 59) in this year, let the king send an

[1] The meaning of line 33 is doubtful. Ungnad translates sodass (ich bin wie) ein Schiff mitten auf dem Meere (?)!

[2] That is, northern Mesopotamia.

[3] The meaning of line 47 is very doubtful. Knudtzon translates [*gegenüber*] . . . (*und*) [*ni*]*cht zog si*[*e*] zur Rechenschaft [*der König*]. Ungnad translates [warum (?)] erkundigt sich der König nicht [ihretwegen]?

(31) bêli-ia ki-i nu-kur-tú (32) a-na muḫḫi(hi)-ia ša-ak-na-ti (33) e-nu-ma (iṣu)elippa i-na libbi(bi) tâmti (34) ḳat zu-ru-uḫ šarri dannatu (35) ti-li-ik-ki (mâtu) Na-aḫ-ri-ma(ki) (36) ù (mâtu) Ka-pa(!)-si(ki) ù i-na-an-na (37) alâni šarri(ri) (38) ti-li-ki-ú (amêlûtu) Ḫa-bi-ru (39) ia-a-nu-mi I en (amêlu) [ḫ]a-zi-a-nu (40) a-na šarri(ri) bêli-ia ḫal-ḳu gab-bu (41) a-mur (m)Tu-ur-ba-zu g[a]z t[e-k]a (42) i-na abul (a[l]u)Zi-lu-ú(ki) ḳa-al (!) šarru(ru) (43) a-mur (m)Zi-im-ri-da (alu) L[a-k]i-si(ki) (44) ig-gi-ú-šu ardûtu ip-šu a-na (a[mêl]ûtu) [Ḫ]a-[b]i[-r]i (45) (m)Ia-ap-ti-iḫ-adda gaz te-k[a] (46) [i-n]a abul (alu) Zi-lu-ú ka-al (!) (47) [a-na-š]ă [l]a-a i-ša-al-šu[-nu šarru(ru)] (48) [ù li]-is-kín šarru[(ru) a-na mâti-šu] (49) [ù l]i-din šarru(ru) pa-ni-šu-m[e] (50) [a-na] ṣâbê pi-da-ti a-na mât b[ilti-m]i (51) [ù] šum-ma ia-a-nu-mi ṣâbê pi-da-tum (52) ina šatti an-ni-ti ḫal-ka-at a-ba-da-at (53) \ gab-bi mâtât šarri(ri) bêli-ia (54) la-a i-ḳa-bi-ú a-na pa-ni šarri bêli-ia (55) e-nu-ma ḫal-ka-at mât šarri bêli-ia (56) ù ḫal-ḳu gab-bi (amêlûtu) ḫa-zi-a-nu-ti (57) šum-ma ia-a-nu-mi ṣâbê pi-da-tum (58) i-na šatti an-ni-ti lu-ma-še-ir

officer to take me (60) to *thee*[1] with my brothers, and we will die (61) with the king, my lord, (62) To the scribe of the king, my lord. (63) [thus] Abdi-khiba [thy] servant. At your feet (64) I fall. Bring these words (65) clearly before the king, my lord: (66) I am thy servant [and] thy son.

[1] The text reads *me*, but it should surely be corrected to *thee*.

(59) šarru(ru) (amêlu) rabiṣa ù li-il-ki-a-ni (60) a-na ia-a-ši a-di aḫê ù Ba-Bad (61) ni-mu-tum (!) it-ti šarru(ru) bêli-nu (!) (62) [a-na (a]mêlu)túp-šar šarri(ri) bêli-ia (!) (63) um-ma (m)Abdi-ḫi-ba arduma a-na II šêp[ē] (64) [am-ḳ]ut-mi še-ri-ib a-wa-tú (65) [. . . b]a-na-ti a-na šarri(r[i]) (66) [*danniš* (amêlu) ardu-[ka ù amêlu] mâru-ka a-na-ku

D[1]

(1) To the king, my lord, *has spoken* (2) thus Abdi-khiba, thy servant. (3) At the feet of the king, my lord, (4) seven and seven times I fall. (5) Behold, has not Milki-lim revolted (6) to Lapaia's sons and to (7) Arzawa's sons, so as to demand (8) the land of the king for them. (9) A prince who has done this deed (10) why does not the king summon him to answer? (11) Behold Milki-lim and Tagi, (12) the deed, which they have done is this: (13) After they have taken the city of Rabuda, (14) they are now seeking to take Jerusalem, (15) if this land belongs (16) to the king, why (*hesitate* till) (17) Khazati be at the king's disposal? (18) Behold the land of Ginti-kirmil (19) belongs to Tagi, and the people of Ginti (20) form a garrison in Bêtsâni, (21) and the same will happen to us,

[1] Published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, Nos. 105 and 199. Translated by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 289.

(1) [a]-na šarri(ri) bêli-ia [ki-bi-ma] (2) um-ma (m)Abdi-ḫi-ba (m) ardu-k[a-ma] (3) a-na II šêpē bêli-ia a[m-ḳut-mi] (4) VII-ta-a-an ù VII-ta-a-an . . . (5) a-mur (m)Mil-ki-lim la-a i-pa-aṭ-[-ṭa-ar] (6) iš-tu mârē La-ab-a-ja ù [iš-tu] (7) mârē Ar-za-ia a-na e-ri-š[i] (8) mât šarri(ri) a-na ša-šu-nu (9) (amêlu) ḫa-zi-a-nu ša e-pa-aš ip-ša an-ni-wa (10) am-mi-nim šarri(ri) la-a ša-al-šu (11) a-mur (m)Milki-lim ù (m)Ta-gi (12) ip-šu ša e-pu-šu an-ni-wa (13) e-nu-ma la-ki-ši (alu)Ru-bu-[d]a(ki) (14) u i-na-an-na (alu) Ú-ru-s[a]-l[i]m(ki) (15) šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši mâtu an-ni-tu (16) a-na šarri(ri) am-mi-nim e-nu-ma (17) (alu) Ḫa-za-ti(ki) a-na šarri(ri) ša-ak-na-at (18) a-mur mât (alu) Gín-ti-ki-ir-mi-il(ki) (19) a-na(m) Ta-gi ù amêlût (alu) G[í]n-ti(ki) (20) ma-ṣar-tú i-na Bît-sa-a-ni i-ba-aš-ši (21) ù lu ni-

after (22) Labaja (23) and the land of Shakmi have given everything (24) to the Khabiri. (25) Milikim has written to Tagi (26) and his sons: As two are our . . . (27) give everything, which they demand, (28) to the people of Kilti. (29) Shall we then let Jerusalem go? (30) The garrison which thou hast sent, (31) by the hands of Khaya, the son of Miarê, (32) Addaya has taken and placed (33) in his house in Khazati, (34) and 20 men he has sent (35) to Egypt. Let the king take heed (36) that there is no garrison with me.

(37) Such is the case, as the king liveth. (38) Puuru his . . . (39) He has departed from me (40) (and) is in Khazati. (41) Let the king keep this before him, (42) and let the king send 50 garrison-men (43) to guard his land. (44) The whole land of the king is lost. (45) Send Yi'enkhamu, and (46) let him take heed for the king's country.

(47) To the scribe of the king, my lord, thus speaks Abdi-khiba, thy servant. Bring these words clearly before the king. I am, in highest degree, thy servant.

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pu-uš-mi e-nu-ma (22) (m)La-ab-a-ja (23) ù (mâtu) Ša-ak-mi i-din-nu (24) a-na (amêlūtu)Ḫa-bi-ri(ki) (25) (m)Mil-ki-lim [š]a-par a-na Ta-g[i] (26) ù mârē lu-ú II mi-la-tu-nu (27) id(!)-nu-mi gab-bi e-ri-iš-ṭi-šu-nu (28) a-na amêlūt Ki-il-ti(ki) (29) ù lu-ú ni-ip-tu-ur (alu) Ú-ru-sa-lim(ki) (30) amêlūta ma-ṣar-tu ša tu-maše-ir (31) i-na ḳât (m)Ḫa-ia mâr Mi-ia-ri-e (32) [l]a-ki-mi (m)Adda-ja ša-ka-an (33) i-na bîti-šu i-na (alu)Ḫa-za-ti(ki) (34) [ù x]i [a]mêlūti a-na (mâtu) Mi-iṣ-ri(ki) (35) ú-ma-še-[i]r [l]u-ú [!]-te-mi šarri(ri) (36) ia-a-nu-mi amêlūtu ma-ṣar-tum šarri(ri) it-ti-ia

(37) ki-na-an-na li-ib-lu-uṭ šarri(ri) (38) lu-ú ir-bi-šu (m)Pu-ú-ru (39) pa-ṭa-ar i-na ma-aḫ-ri-ia (40) i-na (alu) Ḫa-za-ti i-ba-aš-ši (41) ù li-iz-kúr šarri(ri) i-na pa-ni-šu (42) ù lu-ma-še-ir šarru L amêlūta (43) ma-ṣar-ta a-na na-ṣa-ar mâti (44) gab-bi mât šarri(ri) pa-ṭa-r[a-at] (45) mu-še-ra (m)Ji-iḫ-en-ḫa-m[u] (46) ù li-te mât šarri(ri) (47) a-na (amêlu) túp-[š]ar šarri(r[i) bêli-ia] (48) [um]-ma (m)Abdi-ḫi-ba ardu-[*ka*-ma] (49) a-wa-tú ba-n[a-ta] (50) i-din-mi a-na šar[ri](ri) ma-at-ti danniš (51) a-na ka-tú ardu-ka a-na-ku

E[1]

(1) To the king, my lord, has spoken (2) thus Abdi-

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[1] Published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 106. Translated by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 290, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, p. 134.

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(1) [a-na](m) šarri(ri) bêli-ia (2) [ki]-bi-ma um-ma (3) (m)Abdi-ḫi-

khiba, thy servant. At the feet of the king, my lord, seven and seven times, I fall. (5, 6) Behold, the deed which Milki-il and Shuardata have done (7) against the land of the king, my lord. (8) They have won over (?) the soldiers of Gazri, (9) the soldiers of Gimti (10) and of Kilti (11) and have taken the territory of Rubute. (12) The territory of the king is lost (13) to the Khabiri. (14) And now indeed, (15) a city of the territory of Jerusalem, called (16) Bit-Ninib, (17) one of the cities of the king, has been lost (18) to the people of Kelti. (19) Let the king listen to Abdi-khiba, thy servant, (20) and send troops, (21) that I may restore the king's land to the king. (22) For if there are no troops, (23) the land of the king will be lost to the (24) Khabiri. (25) This is the deed (26) of Shuardata and Milki-il, (27, 28) [*broken off*] (29, 30) and let the king take care of his land.

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ba ardu-ka-ma a-na II šêpē (4) [šarri](ri) bê[l]i-ia VII-ta-a-an ù VII-ta-a-an am-ḳut (5) [a-m]ur i[p-š]a ⟍ ša e-pu-šu-ni (6) (m)Mil-ki-lu ù (m)Šu-ar-da-tum (7) a-na mât šarri(ri) bêli-ia (8) mu-ḫi-ru ṣâbē (alu) ga-az-ri(ki) (9) ṣâbē (alu) Gi-im-ti(ki) (10) ù ṣâbē (alu) Ki-il-ti(ki) (11) ṣa-ab-tum mât (alu) Ru-bu-te(ki) (12) pa-ṭa-ra-at mât šarri(ri) (13) a-na (amêlutu) Ḫa-bi-ri (14) ù i-na-an-na ap-pu-na-ma (15) àl mât Ú-ru-sa-lim(ki) šu-mu-ša(!) (16) (alu) Bît-(ilu) Nin-ib (17) àl šarri(ri) pa-ṭa-ra-at (18) [a]-šar amêlūt (alu) Ki-il-ti(ki) (19) li-iš-me šarri(ri) a-na(m) Abdi-ḫi-ba ardi-ka (20) ù lu-ma-šar ṣâbē pi-da-ti (21) ù lu-ti-ra mât šarri(ri) a-na šarri(ri) (22) ù šum-ma ia-a-nu ṣâbē pi-da-tum (23) pa-ṭa-ra-at mât šarri(ri) a-na amêlūtu (24) ⟍ Ḫa-bi-ri (25) ip-šu *mâ*[t]*i* an-ni-ú (26) [*l*]*u* [*n*]*a*-ka mâr (m)Mil-ki[-*li*] (27) [*ù l*]*u*-na[-*k*]*a* mâ[r (m)Šu-ar-d]a-[t]i . . . (28) *al*[u . . .] (29) ù li-is-k-i[n] (30) sar[r]i(ri) a-na mâti[-šu]

F [1]

(1) To the king [my lord, (2) thus has spoken] (3) [Abdi]-khiba, thy servant. [At] the feet [of the (4) king, my lord] seven times and seven times [do I fall]. (5) Behold

[1] Published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 174. Translated by Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna* (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, v), No. 184, and by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 285.

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(1) [a-na šarri](r[i) bêli-ia]ki-bi-ma] (2) [um-ma (m)A]bdi-ḫ[i-ba ardu-ka-ma] (3) a-na II šêpē [šarri(ri) bêli-ia] (4) VII-ta-a-an ù VII-t[a-a-an am-ḳut-mi] (5) a-mur a-na-ku la-a (amêlu) [ḫa-zi-a-nu]

I am not a [prince] (6) but an officer am I to the king, my lord. (7, 8) Why has the king . . . not sent his messenger . . . (9) Under such circumstances Eenkhamu, (10) has sent (11) . . . (12) . . . I (13) . . . let the king hearken (14) to Abdi-khiba, his servant. (15) Behold there are no (16) troops . . . (17) . . . let the king, my lord, send (18) an officer to take (19) the princes with him (20) the lands of the king (21) . . . (22) . . . and people . . . (23) . . . they are . . . (24) and Addaia, the officer of the king, (25) [has] their house . . . (26) Let the king take heed (27) for them, (28) and let him send a messenger (29) quickly! When . . . (30) I die . . .

(6) a[mê]lu ú-i-ú a-na-ku a-n[a šarri(ri) bêli-ia (7) am-mi-nim mâr (amêlu) šipri *k*[*i-ma ar-hi-e*]*š* (8) la-a ú-ma-še-ra š[a]rr[u(ru) bêli-ia] (9) [*k*]*i*-na-a[n-n]a ú-ma-š[e-ra] (10) [(m) E-en-ḫa-]mu e-*m*[*u* . . .] (11) [. . . t]i-ṣi ú [. . . t]ar-šu (12) [. . . *a*]*n*-a a-na-ku (13) [*li-iš-mi*] šarru(ru) (14) [*a-na*(m) Abd]i-ḫi-ba ardi-šu (15) [*a-nu-ma*] i]a-a-nu-mi (16) [*ṣâbê*] pi-da-tu (17) [lu-ma-še r]a šarru(ru) bêli-ia (18) [(amêlu) rabiṣ]a ù li-il-ki (19) [(amêlūtu) ḫa-zi]-a-nu-ti it-ti-šu (20) [. . . *m*]*âti* šarru(ru) (21) . . . ru-ma (22) . . . ni ù amêluti . . . (23) . . . ša i-ba-šu-ú . . . (24 [ù(m) Ad-da-j]a (amêlu) rabiṣ šarri[ri] (25) [a-]ra-šu bîta-šu-nu (26) ù li-is-ki-in ša[r]r[u(ru)] (27) [a]-na ša-šu-nu (28) ù lu-ma-še-ra mâr [amêlu šipri] (29) [ḫ]a-mu(!)-tam e-nu-[ma] (30) *a-mu-t*[*u*]-*m*[*i* . . .]

5. THE LETTER FROM LACHISH [1]

This letter was found in the mound of Tell-el-Hesy (ancient Lachish) May 14, 1892, by F. I. Bliss, and awakened great interest because it obviously belongs to the same series as the Tell-el-Amarna letters and possesses the additional interest of having been actually discovered in the soil of Palestine.

(1) [To the] great,[2] (2) thus speaks Pabi,[3] (3) at thy

[1] Published by Hilprecht, *Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i; *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, part 2, Plate 64, No. 147. Translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, v, No. 219, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 127, 128, and by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 333. See also Sayce, Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1905, pp. 167–169.

[2] The Great, or the Great one, a title of some officer.

[3] The reading of the name is doubtful; it may be Papi or even Ebi.

. . . (1) [a-na am]ê[l]u rabî ki-bi-[ma] (2) um-ma (m)Pa-bi

feet do I fall. (4) Thou must know that (5) Shipti-Ba'al[1] and (6) Zimrida[2] (7) are conspiring (?) and (8, 9) Shipti-Ba'al has said to Zimrida (10) "*My father* of the city Yarami[3] (?) (11) has written to me: (12) give me (13) 6 (?) bows (?), 3 daggers (?) (14) and 3 swords. (15) If I (16) take the field against the land (17) of the king and Thou dost march (18) at my side, (19) I shall surely (?) (20) conquer. (21) He who makes (?) this plan (22) is Pabu. Send him (23) before me." Now (24) have I sent (?) thee (?) Rapi-el. (25) He will bring to the Great (man) (26) intelligence concerning the matter (?).

[1] Letters from a certain Shipti-Ba'al exist in the Tell-el-Amarna collection; see Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Nos. 330–332. There is no reason to doubt that this is the same person. He is there called "Shipti-Ba'al of Lakish."

[2] This Zimrida is quite certainly the Prince of Lachish. See p. 274.

[3] The reading is uncertain.

(3) [a]-na šêpē-ka am-ku-u[t] (4) lu-ú ti-i-di i-nu-ma (5) tu-ša(!)-tu-na (!) (m) Šipṭi-ba-lu (6) ù(m) Zi-im-ri-da (7) pu-uḫ (!)-ri-iš (!) ù (8) iḳ-ta-bi-mi (9) (m) Šipti-*ba'lu* a-na(m) Zi-[i]m-ri-da (10) [*a*]-bi (alu) Ia-ra-mi (11) [š]a-par-mi a-na ia-a-ši (12) [*i*]*d*-na-ni (!)-mi (!) (13) [VI] kašta ù III Gú-*Um* (14) ù III nam-[s]a-ru-ta (15) šum-ma-mi a-na-ku (16) uṣ-zu-na muḫḫi mâti (17) ša šarri ù a-na ia-ši (18) en-ni-ip-ša-ta (19) ù a-di-mi ú-ti-ru[-*ši*] (20) šu-ut mu-ul-ka (21) ša ú-ša (!)-aṭ mil (!)-ka (m)Pa-a-bu ù uš-ši-ir-[š]u [i-n]a pa-ni-ia ù . . . ra-bi-ilu ú-wa-š[i] i[r] (25) [(*amêlu*) *rab*]û iu-bal-šu (26) . . . a-wa-ti a-ni-ti

6. TABLETS FROM GEZER

A[1]

(1) Seal of Marduk-riba, son of [. . .] (2) seal of Abu-riba, son of [. . .] (3) Total, two men, owners of the houses, field [. . .] (4) the house of Lu-akhea together with . . .

[1] The tablet was found at Gezer, but the name does not appear anywhere upon it. It is published, with transcription and translation, by Pinches, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1904, pp. 229ff. See also notes by Sayce, *ib.*, p. 236, and Johns, *ib.*, p. 237. Translated also by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 140. The tablet records a sale of property, with slaves who are enumerated in line 5 and following.

(1) Kunuk (m)Marduk-rîba apal [. . .] (2) kunuk (m)Abu-rîba apal[. . .] (3) gamru šina amêlute bêlê bîtê êḳli [. . .] (4) bît (m)Lu-âḫê a-di gi[. . .]

[Here follow the seals of the persons named.]

(5) The persons Turi-ilaa, his two wives, his son (6) three persons (7) two houses (?) [. . .] (8) [. . .] (9) [. . .] jakar.

[A number of lines are lost here, in which were given the conditions of the contract of sale.]

[Here follow the seals.]

(5) (amêlu) nîšê (m) Ṭu-ri-il-a-a šina sinnišâti-šu mâri-šu (6) šalšet amêlelûti [. . .] (7) šina [. . .]-ga (8) [. . .]-a-a (9) [. . .] ia-ḳar

[Text broken off and several lines lost.]

B [1]

(1) The seal of Natan-jau[2] (2) owner of the field which has been sold. (3) (area) of the field next Sinî. (4) [. . .] Sinî. [Reverse] (1) Before [. . .] (2) before Bu-sik [. . .] (3) before Zer-ukin[3] (4) before Nergal-shar-usur.

(5) Month of Shebat, day fourth. (6) Eponym year of Akhi-ilai[4] (7) governor of Carchemish.

Reverse: (1) [. . .] (2) he shall return [. . .] (3) he shall not receive. Against an attack of *bennu*-sickness (4) for a hundred days, for *other* physical defect (?) for

[1] The tablet was found at Gezer and somewhat later than the other. Its discovery was particularly useful as dispelling some doubt expressed as to whether the former was really discovered there, or had perhaps been deposited by a native to "salt" the ground. It was first published by Johns, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1905, pp. 206ff., and again transliterated and translated by Sayce, *ib.*, p. 272, and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 140.

[2] Heb., *Nethaniah*.

[3] Probably the same person who appears in the former document, reverse, line 11.

[4] Akhi-ilai was eponym in the year 649. So Johns, *ib.*, p. 209.

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(1) Kunuk(m) Na-tan-ia-u (2) bêl eḳli tadani-a-ni

[Three Seal impressions.]

(3) [. . .] BAR eḳli kimmat(m) Si-ni-i (4) [. . .] kimmat (m)Si-ni-i [Here follows a break in the tablet]

[Reverse] (1) pân (m)[. . .] (2) pân (m)Bu-sik-[. . .]is (3) pân (m)Zêr-ukîn (4) pân (m)Nêrgal-šar-uṣur (5) arih Šabaṭi ûmu IV (kan) (6) lim-mu(m) Aḫi-ilai (2) amêlu ša-kin Gar-ga-meš

REVERSE: (1) [. . . . . .] (2) u-ta-ra (?) [. . .] (3) la i-lak-ki ṣi-bit be-e[n-n]u (4) a-na išten meat û-me sa-ar-tu a-na kal

all time *shall be guaranteed*[1] (5) Month Sivan, day 17th, Eponym year after that of (6) Ashur-dur-usur,[2] governor of Barkhalzi.[3]

(7) Before Zaggi; before Tebetaa; (8) before Bel-apluiddin; before Marduk-nasir [. . .] (9) before Khuruasi, mayor [. . .] (10) before Burrapi', agent (11) before Zer-ukin, son of Tebetaa; (12) before Addu-tadin; before Si'-[. . .] (13) before Mannu-ki-Arba-'ilu; before [. .] (14) before Zerutu.

[1] The meaning of these lines seems to be that the seller guaranteed that for a period of one hundred days these slaves should be free from an attack of the bennu disease, and that he would guarantee for all time against any latent physical defect.

[2] Ashur-dur-usur was eponym in the year 651 B. C. See Johns, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1905, p. 210.

[3] Or Mashkhalzi.

û-me (5) araḫ Simani ûmu XVII, lim-mu ša arki (6) (m) Ašur-dûr-uṣur (amêlu) bêl piḫati (alu) Bar-ḫal-zi (7) pân(m) Zag-gi-i pân(m) Ṭebet-a-[a] (8) pân Bel-aplu-iddin pân (m)Marduk-naṣir [. . .] (9) pân(m) Ḫur-u-a-ṣi (amêlu) ḫa-za-nu [. . .] (10) pân (m)Bur-ra-pi-'i (amêlu) dam-kar (?) [. . .] (11) pân (m)Zêr-ukîn mâr(m) Ṭebet-[a-a] (12) pân(m) Addu-ta-din pân (m)Si-'-[. . .] (13) pân Man-nu-ki-Arba-îlu pân(m) [. . .] (14) pân (m)Zêr-û-tu

7. THE LETTERS FROM TA'ANEK

A[1]

(1) To Ashirat-yashur[2] (2) speaks (3) thus Guli-Addu. (4) Live happily. (5) The gods be gracious (6) to thee, (7) thy house and thy sons. (8) Thou hast written me

[1] Published and translated by Hrozny, Keilschrifttexte aus Ta'anek in Tell Ta'anek von Dr. Ernst Sellin. *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. klasse*, Band L, pp. 113ff. (Wien, 1904), and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 128.

[2] Hrozny reads Ishtar-washur.

(1) a-na(m) Aširat-ia-šur
(2) ki-be-ma
(3) [u]m-ma (m)Gu-li-(ilu) Addu
(4) bu-lu-uṭ dam-ki-iš
(5) ilâni li-iš-a-lu
(6) šu-lum-ka šu-lum
(7) bîti-ka mârê-ka
(8) at-ta ta-aš-pu-rum

with reference to the money [. . .] (9, 10) and behold I will give (11) "50 gold pieces, that it be not done.[1] (12) Further: (13) Why hast thou again (?) sent (14) thy greeting hither. (15) Everything (16) thou hast heard, (17, 18) have I [also] learned from there by Bêlram.[2] (19) Further: (20) If the finger (=omen) of Ashirat point, (21) then let one mark (22) and follow! (23) And the sign (24) and the event recount to me. (25) Further: (26) With reference to thy daughter, we know her, (26, 27) Shalmisha, who is in Rubute. (28) When she is grown, (29) give her to sovereignty, (30) she must belong to the lord.

[1] Meaning of the clause very doubtful. Hrozny translates as above.
[2] The meaning of lines 17 and 18 is doubtful. Ungnad translates schreibe (?) von dort, damit ich Bescheid weiss (?).

(9) a-na ia-ši aš-šum kaspi . . .
(10) u a-nu-ma a-na-di[n]
(11) L kaspu(pl) ki la e-[t]e-pu-šu
(12) ša-ni-tam a-na mi-nim
(13) *u-tir* tu-wa-š[a]-ru-n[i]
(14) šu-lum-ka a-na-mu
(15) u a-wa-tam mi-im-ma
(16) ša ti-iš-mi
(17) iš-tu aš-ra-nu-um . . .
(18) ḳat (ilu) Bêl-ra-am id-i
(19) ša-ni-tam u šum-ma
(20) i-ba-ši u-ba-an
(21) (ilu) A-ši-rat liš-ni-nu
(22) u liš-mu-ur-ru
(23) u it-ta-am
(24) u a-wa-tam te-ra-ni
(25) aš-šura (šal) mârti-ka ni-du
(26) ša i-na (alu) ru-bu-te(ki)
(27) (šal) ša-al-mi-ša
(28) u šum-ma i-ra-bi
(29) [t]a-da-an-ši a-na ša-ru-te
(30) ši-i lu-u a-na be-lim

B[1]

To Ashirat-yashur speaks thus Akhi-ia-mi. May the lord of the gods protect thy life, [for] thou art a brother, and love is in the place of thy bowels and in thy heart.

[1] For reference to publication see under the first Ta'anek letter. The meaning of this extremely difficult letter is doubtful in many places. The translation here given rests in the main upon Hrozny, but I am not satisfied with it. Ungnad translates quite differently in places, but he also fails to secure a satisfactory meaning.

When I was in Gurra in durance, a workman gave me two knives, a lance and two baskets (?) for nothing. And as the lance was broken, he will repair it and send it by Buritpi. Further: Is there [yet] wine for thy cities, or hast thou again put thyself in possession of it? Over my head is one, *who is over the cities. Now* behold, whether he will give thee good! Further: If he show anger, they [i. e., the enemies] will come to destruction, and the victory will be great. Further: Let Ilurabî enter Rachab and either send my man to thee or protect him.

Highway, Highway (i. e., for the messenger).

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(1) a-na(m) Ištar-wa-šur [k]i-be
(2) um-ma (m)Aḫi-ia-mi bel ilânu(-nu)
(3) napišti-ka lì-iṣ-ṣur aḫu at-ta
(4) u na-ra-am i-na aš-ri ma-à-at
(5) u i-na lib-bi-ka i-nu-ma
(6) ar-ba-ku i-na Gur-ra(ki)
(7) u id-na-an-ni u-ma-an
(8) II (iṣu) ma-ga-ri-ma u (iṣu) be-lit
(9) u II ku-up-pa ina ia-ni-ma u
(10) šum-ma ga-am-ra-at (iṣu) be-lit
(11) i-bi-ša-am u uš-ši-ra-aš-ši
(12) i-na ḳat (m)Bu-ur-it-pi
(13) ša-ni-tam bi-ki-it a-na alâni-ka
(14) u lu-u ti-bu-šu ib-ša-šu-nu
(15) eli ḳaḳkadi-ia ma-am-ma-an
(16) ša it-tab-*šu* a-na *alâni*
(17) *i-na*-an-na a-mur ni i-nu-ma
(18) i-bu-šu ṭâbta it-ti ka
(19) ša-ni-tam šum-ma zi-ni u-dag-ga-al
(20) i-ba-aš-šu u lu-u-tu id-nu-na
(21) ša-ni-tam li-ru-ba-am (m)Ilu-ra-bi-i
(22) a-na(àlu) Ra-ḫa-bi u lu-u
(23) i-wa-ši-ra amêli-ia a-na maḫ-ri-ka
(24) u lu-u i-bu-šu ḫa-at-nu-tam
maš-ru
maš-ru

III. ASHURNAZIRPAL (885–860 B. C.)

The great advance of Assyria in the twelfth century B. C. under Tiglathpileser I carried its power far beyond the point which had been attained under Shalmaneser I (about 1300 B. C.), when the Assyrians first

began to play a leading role in western Asia. Tiglathpileser dared even to push his campaigns all the way to the Phœnician coast, where he held court in Arvad, received presents even from Egypt, and sailed out upon the great sea. The threat which this campaign made against the west sufficed to disturb all the arrangement which had been made between the Hittites and the Egyptians during the reign of Rameses II, by which the former had secured an undisputed suzerainty and a free hand over the whole of northern Syria. The Hittite power had been waning, as had also the Egyptian, and there seemed to be every likelihood for the transfer of the hegemony from these two to the Assyrians. But the death of the great king put an end to his conquests, and his successors for centuries were unable to emulate his achievements.

During the period of comparative inactivity which followed the reign of Tiglathpileser I great changes in western Asia took place because of the absence of the Assyrian peril. The kingdom of Saul and David in Israel was founded and made considerable progress in internal development and in the achievement of external safety. In Damascus the original Amorite stock gradually gave place to a predominant Aramaic wave of migration, and about 950 B. C. Rezon became the founder of a new dynasty,[1] which came into conflict with Israel and seriously disputed its material advance. During this same period of Assyrian decline Israel entered into important relations with Tyre, and the whole face of the west was changed.

The revival of Assyrian power began in 885 B. C., when a king of extraordinary energy and power came to the throne who named himself Ashurnazirpal. The

[1] 1 Kings 11. 23.

inscriptions which have come down from his reign preserve abundant historical material to display the course and conduct of his campaigns and the development of his policy. His standard inscription upon a monolith of alabaster contains, in three hundred and eighty-nine lines, an account, almost epic in grandeur, of his campaigns of blood and fire by which Assyrian power was carried to new heights.

His first campaigns were directed against the Mesopotamian communities along the Chabor and the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Thereafter he made a victorious invasion of the territories of Naïri, about the head waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates, by the latter of which in a grotto he left an inscription, as Tiglathpileser had done before him. During the next ten years he was chiefly engaged in further conquests in Mesopotamia and along the banks of the Euphrates. It was probably in 868, though the year is uncertain, that he began his invasion of the west. His course was almost due west to Carchemish, where King Sangara unsuccessfully opposed him. The Euphrates crossed, he had little opposition until he met the forces of the powerful little kingdom of Patin on the Orontes, whose capital city was Kunulua, under King Lubarna. From him he received a heavy tribute, and then crossed the Orontes and proceeded toward the west and then southward along the Lebanon into Phœnicia. On this successful march he received tribute from Arvad, Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, and ascending the Amanus (Anti-Lebanon), he cut cedar beams for use in his building operations at home. We do not know how far south along the coast this campaign extended, nor do we know at what point the stela, mentioned at the conclusion of the text following, was set up. It is not probable that he went

further down the coast than the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb (the Dog River), which discharges into the Mediterranean at Beirut. There the ancient road over the Lebanon would invite him inland, and the tribute which he received from Tyre and Sidon may have been sent to him, as, indeed, these two cities frequently, if not usually, did send tribute to other conquerors at a distance, to prevent their near approach. The stela referred to above may have been set up on the banks of the Dog River, where there are no less than five such records by Assyrian kings.

Ashurnazirpal does not mention Israel. Had he gone much farther south he would have come into contact with the outposts of the northern kingdom, of which Omri was now king. He was preparing the way for the attack which was to come in the next reign.

After this important campaign there remains very little of achievement in his reign, which closes after brief campaigns in northern Mesopotamia. At the beginning of his reign Nineveh was his capital city, but after the sixth year his expeditions begin at Calah, which had been made the capital by Shalmaneser I, and which was now rebuilt and restored by Ashurnazirpal. There most of his important inscriptions have been found.

THE ANNALS OF ASHURNAZIRPAL[1]

COLUMN III:

(78) . . . From Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna (79) of the land of Patini I departed. The river

[1] The passage is taken from the *Annals of Ashurnazirpal*, col. iii, lines 78–89. The text is published I R., 17–26, and translated and transliterated by Peiser, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, pp. 50ff. It is republished and translated in Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (1902), pp. 254ff. For the passage here quoted see also Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 108, 109.

(78) . . . ištu (alu) Ku-nu-lu-a al šarru-ti-šu ša (m)Lu-bar-na (79) (mâtu) Pa-ti-na-ai at-tu-muš (nâru) [A-ra-an]-tu e-te-bir ina

Orontes I crossed, and by the river Orontes I encamped. From the river Orontes I departed and between (80) the mountains of Jaraki and Jaturi I marched. The land of . . . ku I traversed and encamped by the river Sangura. From the river Sangura I departed and between (81) the mountains of Saratini and Duppani I marched, and upon . . . ba I encamped. Into Aribua, the royal city of Lubarna of the land of Patini, I entered. (82) The city I took for my own possession, and the grain and straw from the land of Lukhuti I gathered and heaped up therein. I made a feast in his palace, and men from Assyria (83) I settled therein. While I remained in the city of Aribua, I captured the cities of the land of Lukhuti, *and* slew many of their inhabitants. I laid them waste, and destroyed them and burned them with fire. (84) I took men alive *and* impaled them on stakes before their cities.

At that time I marched along the Lebanon and to the great (85) sea[1] of the land of Amurru I went up. In the great sea I washed my weapons, and made offerings to the gods. The tribute of the kings by the side of the sea (86) from the lands of Tyre and Sidon, and Byblus and Makhallat and Maisa, and Kaisa, and Amurru and

[1] The Mediterranean.

eli (nâru)A-ra-an-te asakan(an) mid-dak ištu eli (nâru) A-ra-an-te at-tu-muš ina bi-rit (80) (šadû) Ia-ra-ḳi (šadû) Ia-'-tu-ri a-ṣa-bat (mâtu) [. . .]-ku a-ta-bal-kat ina eli (nâru) Sa-an-gu-ra asakan(an) ištu eli (nâru) Sa-[an]-gu-ra at-tu-muš ina bi-rit (81) (šadû) Sa-ra-ti-ni (šadû) Dup-pa-a-ni a-ṣa-bat ina eli [. . .]-ba asakan(an) a-na (alu) A-ri-bu-a al dan-nu-ti-šu ša (m)Lu-bar-na (mâtu) Pa-ti-na-ai etarba(ba) (82) ala a-na ra-me-ni-ia aṣ-bat še-am u tibnu ša (mâtu) Lu-ḫu-ti e-ṣi-di ina libbi atbuk(uk) ta-ši-il-tu ina ekalli-šu aškun(un) nišê(e) (mâtu) Aš-šu-ra-ai (83) ina lib-bi u-še-šib ki-i ina (alu) A-ri-bu-a us-ba-ku-ni alâni(ni) ša (mâtu) Lu-ḫu-ti aktašad(ad) dîkta-šu-nu ma'atta-šu-nu a-duk ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina išâti (84) aš-ru-up ṣâbê balṭûti ina ḳâti u-ṣab-bi-ta ina (iṣu) zi-ḳi-bi ina pu-ut alâni-šu-nu u-za-ḳip ina u-me-šu-ma ši-di (šadû) Lab-na-na lu aṣ-bat a-na tam-di (85) rabîte(te) ša (mâtu) A-mur-ri lu-u e-li ina tamdi rabîte(te) kakkê-a lu-u-lil (immeru) nikê a-na ilâni(ni) lu aṣ-bat ma-da-tu ša šarrâni(ni) ša ši-di tâmdi (86) ša (mâtu) Ṣur-ra-ai (mâtu) Ṣi-du-na-ai (mâtu) Gu-bal-ai (mâtu) Ma-ḫal-la-ta-ai (mâtu) Ma-i-ṣa-ai (mâtu) Ka-i-ṣa-ai (mâtu) A-mur-ra-ai (alu)

Arvad, (87) which lies in the midst of the sea; silver and gold and lead, and copper, and vessels of copper, and garments of bright colored stuffs, and cloth, and a great *pagutu*[1] and a small *pagutu*, (88) and *ushu*-wood, and *ukarinnu*-wood, and teeth of a dolphin, a creature of the sea, I received as their tribute, and they embraced my feet. To Mount Amanus[2] I climbed up, and beams (89) of cedar, cypress, juniper and pine I cut down. I made offerings to my gods. A stela with my deeds of valor I made and set up therein.

[1] The name of a wild animal unidentified.
[2] The Anti-Lebanon.

Ar-ma-da (87) ša ḳabal tâmdi kaspê ḫurâṣê anakê siparrê dikar siparri (ṣubatu) lu-bul-ti bir-me (ṣubâtu) kitê pa-gu-tu rabîtu(tu) pa-gu-tu siḫirtu(tu) (88) (iṣu) ušû (iṣu) ukarinnu šinnu na-ḫi-ri bi-nu-ut tam-di ma-da-ta-šu-nu am-ḫur šêpê-ia iṣ-bu-tu a-na šadê(e) Ḫa-ma-ni lu-u e-li (iṣu) gušurê (89) (iṣu) e-ri-ni (iṣu) šurmini (iṣu) dap-ra-ni (iṣu) burašu lu-u ak-kis (immeru) nikê a-na ilâni(ni)-ia lu aṣ-bat a-su-me-tu ša ḳur-di epuš(uš) ina lib-bi aš-ḳup

IV. SHALMANESER III (859–825 B. C.)

Shalmaneser III succeeded his father, Ashurnazirpal II, without question, and carried his father's policies far beyond the dreams of their originator. In him we meet the first Assyrian conqueror who made the conquest, and not merely the plundering, of the western states his policy.

The approach to the west was mediated by an attack upon the Aramæan settlements in the Euphrates valley, whose spirit had already been broken by the severe campaigning of his father. In 859, 858, and 857 Shalmaneser invaded this territory, of which the state of Bit-Adini[1] appears to have been most powerful. It was ravaged with displays of savagery after the fashion of Ashurnazirpal. Pyramids of heads were piled up by

[1] Bit-Adini was located on both banks of the Euphrates, where the river turns westward after its break through the Taurus. See, further, Sina Schiffer, *Die Aramaer* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 61–74.

city gates and the torch applied to ruined villages. When all opposition had been beaten down the land was annexed to Assyria, placed under direct Assyrian rule, and repeopled with Assyrian colonists.

Such success must certainly lead to an attack upon the far larger and richer Aramæan settlements along the Mediterranean. The states which must be attacked under this plan were Patin, lying between the Afrin and the Orontes; Hamath, on the Orontes; and, most powerful of all, Damascus. The king of Damascus at this time was Bir-idri (Ben-Hadad). He was ambitious for the hegemony over all the western territory, and it was perhaps this very ambition, or the jealousy which it inspired among the other states, which was adroitly used by the Assyrians to destroy the confederation for defense against Shalmaneser.

The first campaign (854) was doubtless carefully planned, but none the less was it a surprise to the Assyrian monarch. His march from Nineveh across the great valley to Pethor was a continuous triumph, and at Aleppo he was met with a surrender of the city without striking a blow. The first opposition was met within the little kingdom of Hamath, where three cities were taken and left in ruins. Shalmaneser then advanced to Qarqar,[1] where he was met by a most determined body of raw levies, composed for the most part of contributions from Hamath, Damascus, and Israel. To these were added details from Cilicia and Cappadocia, from Phœnicia and from Arabia and Ammon. The Assyrian story is of a great victory, in which the allies, according to the Monolith Inscription,[2]

[1] Probably Kal'at el-Mudîk, the ancient Apamæa; see Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 70, note 4. So also Winckler, KAT³, p. 43.

[2] Col. ii, 97, 98.

lost 14,000, while the Obelisk[1] Inscription makes the loss 20,500, and a third[2] account places it at 25,000, and a fourth[3] increases it to 29,000. But there is no word of plunder, of tribute, or of the extension of Assyrian domination, and there can therefore be no doubt that the confederates, who fought for their homes, had defeated the Assyrian veterans.

Difficulties elsewhere, notably in Babylonia, prevented a renewal of the attack until 849, when again Damascus and Hamath, with their allies, defeated the Assyrians. In 846 Shalmaneser, feeling the seriousness of the situation, and being still determined to overwhelm the allies with the mere weight of numbers, and with an army which he claims numbered 120,000 men, met the same allies. His boast of victory is the same as before, but it is none the less clear that he was again defeated. The next attempt was made in 842 under circumstances much more favorable for the invaders. Bir-idri, who had been the real leader of the allies, was probably now dead, and Ahab and Joram, his successor, who had contributed their share to the defense, were no more. Jehu, a coward by nature, was king of Samaria, while the weak but cruel Hazael reigned in Damascus. The other states were too discordant in themselves and too fearful of the ascendancy of Damascus to join in any further united action. Tyre and Sidon sent Shalmaneser gifts, that their commerce might not be impeded by war, while Jehu by his gifts sought the aid of the conquering Assyrians against the people of Damascus, whom he regarded as enemies. Hazael was left alone to fight the battles in defense of men too ignoble or too foolish to protect themselves.

[1] Lines 65, 66.
[2] Bull Inscription, No. 1, line 18.
[3] Berlin Inscription, line 16.

He fortified himself in Saniru (Hermon), but was defeated with heavy loss and compelled to retire upon Damascus and there stand a siege. Damascus was, however, not taken, and Shalmaneser had to content himself with cutting down the trees about the city, and with a raid into the Hauran. In 839 he made his sixth attack upon the west, but is able only to report that he took four of Hazael's cities. No such series of rebuffs had ever been received by an Assyrian monarch. In all these campaigns there was no conquest of the much-coveted west, there was no extension of Assyrian government, there was no glory for the Assyrian arms. Yet he had prepared the way, and the west, though unconquered, had suffered severe losses in its brave defense. Another Assyrian invader would find the road prepared for his march.

During the entire period of these wars in the west Shalmaneser was almost equally busied with the north and northwest, where the upper Tigris bursts through its mountain barriers. These valleys and hillsides had been devastated by Ashurnazirpal, but their reconquest by Shalmaneser had to begin in 860 at the beginning of his reign. The kingdom of Khaldia, as its inhabitants called it, or Urartu, as the Assyrians knew it, was full of new vigor, and was developing in many ways. It had adopted the Assyrian script, and was disputing Assyrian progress in no uncertain manner. In 857 Shalmaneser attacked this new kingdom again, and plunged through it from west to east. Similar expeditions took place in 850 and 833. Another expedition under the leadership of a Turtan, in 829, is, indeed, followed by great boasts of victory, for which there seem to be few good reasons, for the kingdom of Khaldia continued to prosper and increase.

An even more evident failure to achieve lasting results is found in the territory east and southeast of Assyria, the land of Namri, which was invaded in 859, 844, and 836, but these expeditions secured nothing but plunder.

The greatest achievement of the whole reign of Shalmaneser was in the south. The king of Babylonia, Marduk-nadin-shum, threatened by a rebellion in the southern part of his dominions, applied to Shalmaneser for aid. The opportunity was eagerly embraced, and Shalmaneser overran the Chaldean communities, crushed the rebellion, and reëstablished the rule of Marduk-nadin-shum, who reigned thenceforth under the protectorate of Assyria (852–851 B. C.).

In 829 a rebellion broke out in Assyria, and during its progress in 825 Shalmaneser died. The rebellion was finally crushed by his successor, Shamshi-Adad IV (825–812), whose reign was taken up with numerous campaigns intended to solidify the shattered empire.

In 812 Adad-nirari III, grandson of Shalmaneser III, ascended the throne, and during his reign of nearly thirty years (812–783), crowded with campaigns, accomplished much for the restoration of Assyrian prestige. We are, unhappily, but poorly supplied with inscriptions of his reign, and are not able to trace his movements in detail, though, fortunately, the Assyrian Eponym Canon supplies us with chronological details sufficient to enable us to follow them in part. He seems to have invaded the west in 806, 805, 803,[1] and 797, and upon these expeditions claims to have received tribute from all the states on the seacoast from Tyre to Philistia and also to have so humbled Mari, king of

[1] The Canon merely says "against the sea coast"; see p. 229. This might mean the Persian Gulf coast. It is not quite certain, therefore, that the statement in the text is correct.

Damascus, as to secure heavy booty from him and to consider him thereafter as a subject king. In his reign, therefore, we may recognize the results of the work of Shalmaneser III. But there could be no real peace in these Syro-Phœnician states so long as the kingdom of Khaldia continued to hold sway in territory from which the invasion of northern Syria was so easy and so tempting. The removal of this great menace to his western and northwestern borders was not accomplished by him. He was much more successful in eight campaigns against the Medes, and in Babylonia he completely restored Assyrian supremacy and made a great stride forward in the amalgamation of Assyrians and Babylonians. His reign must be considered one of the greatest in the annals of his people.

854 B. C.

The Obelisk Inscription [1]

(54) In the sixth of my years of reign I marched against the cities which are in the territory of the (55) river Balikh. They had killed Giammu their prince. (56) I entered Til-mar(?)-akhi. (57) I crossed the Euphrates at high water, [and] (58) received the tribute of all the kings of the Hittite country. (59) At that time Bir-idri, (60) king of Damascus, Irkhulina the Hamathite,

[1] The beautiful obelisk containing this text was found in the central palace at Nimroud, and is now in the British Museum. It was first published by A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London, 1851), pp. 87–91, and translated by J. Oppert, *Histoire des empires* (Versailles, 1865), pp. 108–116, by A. H. Sayce, *Records of the Past*, v, pp. 29–42. The text was republished by Abel and Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 7ff., and translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, pp. 129ff. Compare also Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 110.

(54) ina VI palê-ia a-na alâ-ni ša si-di (nâru) Ba-li-ḫi (55) aḳ-ṭí-rib (m)Gi-am-mu bêl alâ-ni-šu-nu idû-ku (56) a-na (âlu) Til-mâr-a-ḫi êru-ub (57) (nâru) Purattu ina mi-li-ša ê-bir (58) ma-da-tu ša sarrâ-ni ša (mâtu) Ḫat-ti (59) kâli-šu-nu am-ḫur ina û-mi-šu-ma (m)Pir-id-ri (60) šar (mâtu) Dimašḳu (m)Ir-ḫu-li-na (mâtu) A-mat-a-a a-di šarrâ-

together with the kings (61) of the Hittite country trusted in one another, and (62) marched to make war and battle (63) upon me. By command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord (64) I fought with them and defeated them. I took from them (65) their chariots, their horses, their equipments, and (66) destroyed, with arms, twenty thousand five hundred of their troops.

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ni (61) ša (mâtu) Ḫat-ti u a-ḫat tam-ti a-na idî a-ḫa-miš (62) it-taklu-ma a-na ê-piš ḳabli u taḫazi (63) a-na irti-ia it-bu-ni ina ki-bit Ašur bêlu rabû bêli-ia (64) it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ abikta-šu-nu aš-kun (65) nar-kabâti-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu u-nu-tu taḫâzi-šu-nu e-kim-šu-nu (66) XX.M.V.C (ṣâbu) ti-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakkê u-šam-ḳit

The Monolith Inscription [1]

Column II:

(78) In the eponym year of Daian-Asshur in the month of Airu, on the fourteenth day I departed from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris [and] approached the cities (79) of Giammu on the Balikh. The fear of my dominion, the brightness of my powerful arms frightened them and they slew with their own arms Giammu their lord. (80) I entered Kitlala and Til-sha-mar-akhi. I brought my gods into his palaces [and] in his palaces I held festival. (81) I opened his treasury [and] found his treasures; his goods and possessions I plundered [and] carried away to my city of Asshur. From Kitlala

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[1] The monolith containing this inscription was erected in the neighborhood of Diarbekr, on the upper Tigris, and is now in the British Museum. It is published III R., 7f. (1866). Compare also James R. Craig, *Hebraica*, iii (1887), p. 201. It has been frequently translated, for example, by A. H. Sayce, *Records of the Past*, iii, p. 81; F. E. Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, pp. 151ff. The portion here given is also translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 18ff., and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 109f.

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(78) ina lime Daian-Ašur araḫ Airu ûmu XIV (kam) ištu Ninua at-tu-muš (nâru) Diglat i-té-bir a-na alâni(ni) (79) ša Gi-am-mu (nâru) Baliḫi aḳ-ṭi-rib pul-ḫa-at bêlû-ti-ia na-mur-rat kakkî-ia iz-zu-ti ip-la-ḫu-ma i-na kakki ra-ma-ni-šu-nu (m)Gi-am-mu bêli-šu-nu (80) i-du-ku a-na (alu) Kit-la-la u (alu) Til-ša-mâr-a-ḫi lu eru-ub ilâni-ia ana ekallâti-šu lu-u-še-ri-ib ta-ši-il-tu ina ekallâti-šu lu aš-kun (81) na-kan-te lu ap-ti ni-ṣir-tu-šu lu a-mur makurri-šu bušâ-šu aš-lu-

I departed [and] approached Kar-Shulmanu-asharid. (82) Upon boats made of the sheep skins I crossed the Euphrates for the second time at flood. The tribute of the kings of that side of the Euphrates, of Sangar (83) of Carchemish, of Kundashpi of Kummukh, of Arame, of Bit-Gusi, of Lalli, the Melidæan, of Khaiani, of Bit-Gabar, (84) of Kalparuda, the Patinæan, of Kalparuda, the Gurgumæan, silver, gold, lead, copper, [and] copper vessels, (85) I received in Asshur-utir-aṣbat,—on the far side of the Euphrates,—on the river Sagur; this city the Hittites (86) call Pitru. I departed from the Euphrates, [and] approached Khalman (i. e., Aleppo). They feared my battle, [and] embraced my feet. I received (87) gold and silver as their tribute. I offered sacrifices to the god Adad of Khalman.

I departed from Khalman and approached two cities of (88) Irkhulini, the Hamathite. Adennu, Parga, [and] Arganâ, his royal city, I captured. I brought out his booty possessions and (89) goods of his palaces, and set fire to his palaces. I departed from Argana; I approached Qarqar; (90) Qarqar his royal city, I plundered, destroyed [and] burned with fire. Twelve hundred chariots, twelve hundred horsemen, twenty thousand men of

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la a-na ali-ia Ašur ub-la ištu (alu) Kit-la-la at-tu-muš a-na (alu) Kar-šul-man-nu-asaridu (82) aḳ-ṭi-rib ina elippâni mašak taḫ-ši-e ša šanî-te šanîtu (nâru) Pu-rat ina me-li-ša e-bir ma-da-tu ša šarrani ša-šidi am-ma-te ša (nâru) Purat ša (m)Ša-an-gar (83) Gar-ga-meš-ai ša (m)Ku-un-da-aš-pi (alu) Ku-mu-ḫa-ai ša (m)A-ra-me mâr Gu-si ša (m)Lal-li (alu) Me-li-da-ai ša (m)ḫa-ia-ni mâr Ga-ba-ri (84) ša (m)Kal-pa-ru-da (mâtu) Pa-ti-nai-ai ša (m)Kal-pa-ru-da (mâtu) Gam-gu-ma-ai kašpi ḫurâṣi anakî siparri ummârî siparri (85) (alu) Ašur-ut-tir-aṣ-bat ša šidi am-ma-te ša (nâru) Pu-rat ša êli (nâru) Sa-gu-ri ša niši-e (mâtu) Ḫat-ta-ai (alu) Pi-it-ru (86) i-ḳa-bu-šu-ni ina lib-bi am-ḫur ištu êli (nâru) Pu-rat at-tu-muš a-na (alu) Ḫal-man aḳ-ṭi-rib taḫâzi i-du-ru šepâ iṣ-bu-tu (87) kaspi ḫurâṣi ma-da-ta-šu-nu am-ḫur niḳî ana pan (ilu) Adad ša (alu) Ḫal-man êpu-uš ištu (alu) Ḫal-man at-tu-muš a-na alâ-ni (88) ša (m)Ir-ḫu-li-e-ni (mâtu) A-mat-a-a aḳ-ṭi-rib (alu) A-di-en-nu (alu) Par-ga-a (alu) Ar-ga-na-a âlu šarru-ti-šu akšu-ud šal-la-su bušâ-šu (89) makkuri êkallate-šu u-še-ṣa-a a-na êkâllâte-šu išâti ad-di ištu (alu) Ar-ga-na-a at-tu-muš a-na (alu) Ḳar-ḳa-ra aḳ-ṭi-rib (90) (alu) Ḳar-ḳa-ra âlu šarru-ti-šu ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina išâte aš-ru-up I.M.II.C narkabâti I.M.II.C bit-ḫal-lu XXM ṣabê ša (m)Bir-id-ri

Bir-idri[1] (91) of Damascus; seven hundred chariots, seven hundred horsemen, ten thousand men of Irkhuleni the Hamathite; two thousand chariots, ten thousand men of Ahab, (92) the Israelite; five hundred men of the Guæans (i. e., of Que, Cilicia); one thousand men of the Musreans; ten chariots, ten thousand men of the Irqanatians; (93) two hundred men of Matinu-ba'li, the Arvadite; two hundred men of the Usanateans; thirty chariots, ten thousand men of (94) Adunu-ba'li the Shianian; one thousand camels of Gindibu, the Arabian . . . one thousand men of (95) Ba'sa, son of Rukhubi of Ammon, these twelve[2] kings he took to his assistance, [and] they marched to make (96) war and battle upon me. With the exalted power which Ashur, the lord, had granted me, with the powerful arms, which Nergal, who walks before me (97) had granted to me, I fought with them; from Qarqar to Gilzau I accomplished their defeat. Fourteen thousand of their troops (98) I cast down with arms, like Adad I rained a deluge upon them, I heaped

[1] The Assyrian form of the name is expressed by (*ilu*) IM-id-ri and the reading of the ideogram IM has caused much dispute. Schrader, Zimmern, and Ungnad have read it Adad-idri or Hadad-idri, but Delitzsch and Winckler, Bir-idri. Zimmern has now changed his mind (Benhadad, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 299–303), and Langdon has supported him (Langdon, *Pir-idri [Ben-Hadad] King of Syria, Expository Times*, November, 1911, pp. 68, 69). The name seems originally to have been Bir-hadar; compare LXX, *ὶιος* Ἀδερ. He is the king who is called Benhadad in 1 Kings 20. 1ff.; 2 Kings 6. 24; 8. 7–15.

[2] The total of these numbers makes eleven, and not twelve, and the total of all arms amounts to 3,940 chariots, 1,900 horsemen, 62,900 infantry, and 1,000 camels.

(91) ša (mâtu) Dimaški VIIC narkabâte VIIC bit-ḫal-lu XM ṣabê ša (m)Ir-ḫu-li-e-nu (mâtu) A-mat-a-a IIM narkabâte XM ṣabê ša (m)A-ḫa-ab-bu (92) (mâtu) Sir-'-la-a-a VC ṣabê ša (mâtu) Gu-a-a IM ṣabê ša (mâtu) Mu-us-ra-a-a X narkabâte XV ṣabê ša (mâtu) Ir-ḳa-na-ta-a (93) IIC ṣâbê ša (m)Ma-ti-nu-ba-'-li (mâtu) Ar-ma-da-a-a IIC ṣâbê ša (mâtu) U-sa-na-ta-a-a XXX narkabâte X (?) M ṣâbê (94) ša (m)A-du-nu-ba-'-li (mâtu) Ši-a-na-a-a IM (imêru) gam-ma-lu ša (m)Gin-in-di-bu-' (mâtu) Ar-ba-a-a . . . M ṣâbê (95) ša (m)Ba-'-ša mâr (m)Ru-ḫu-bi (mâtu) A-ma-na-a-a XII šarrâ-ni an-nu-ti a-na nirarû-ti-šu il-ḳa-a a[-na e-peš] (96) ḳabli u taḫâzi ana maḫri-ia it-bu-ni ina idât ṣîrâte ša Ašur bêlu ittadin ina kakkê dannûte ša Nergal a-lik pani-ia (97) iš-ru-ka it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-is ištu (alu) Ḳar-ḳa-ra a-di (alu) Gil-za-u abikta-šu-nu lu aš-kun XIVM ṣâbê (98) ti-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakkê u-šam-ḳit kima (ilu) Adad êli-šu-nu ri-

up their bodies, (99) I filled the plain. [I destroyed] their troops with arms, I made their blood flow over the . . . of the field. (100) The field was too small to cast down their bodies, the broad field (?) was not sufficient to bury them. With their bodies I dammed (101) the Orontes, as with a dam (?). In that battle I took from them their chariots, horsemen, (102) horses, their teams.

ḫi-il-ta u-ša az-nin u-ma-ṣi šal (?)[ma(?)-te-šu-nu (99) pa-an na-mê-ê u-šam-li rapšate ummânâte-šu-nu ina kakkê u-šar-di damê-šu-nu ḫar-pa-lu ša nagu (100) i-mê-iṣ-ṣir a-na šum-ḳut napšâtê-šu nab-ra-ru-u rap-šu a-na ḳub-bu-ri-šu-nu iḫ-li-iḳ ina nišê-šu-nu (101) (nâru) A-ra-an-tu kima ti-tur-ri ak-šir ina ki-rib tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-ti narḳabâte-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu(102)sîsê-šu-nu ṣinda-at ni-ri-šu-nu e-kim-šu-nu

The Bull Inscription [1]

(67) In the sixth of my years of reign I departed from Nineveh, (and) approached the (68) river Balikh. [The land (?)] feared my powerful arms and [killed its prince] Giammu. I entered Til-mâr-akhi. (69) I took the city for myself. I departed from the district of the Balikh. I crossed the Euphrates at high water (and) received the tribute of the kings (70) of the Hittite country. I departed from the Hittite country (and) approached Khalman (i. e., Aleppo). I offered [sacrifice to the god Hadad] of Khalman. I departed (71) from Khalman. I approached Qarqar. Bir-idri of Damascus and Irkhuleni of Hamath, (72) together with twelve kings of

[1] Inscribed upon two large bulls from Nimroud, published by A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London, 1851), pp. 14–16, 46, 47; republished in transcription and translation by Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vi, pp. 144ff. The portions here quoted are translated also by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 110.

(67) ina VI palê-ia ištu (âlu) Ni-nu-a at-tu-muš a-na (68) (nâru) Ba-li-ḫi aḳ-ṭí-[rib mâtu (?) ištu] pân kakkê-ia dan-nu-te ip-laḫ-ma (m)Gi-am-mu [bêl ali-šu-nu idûk (?) a-na] alu Til-mâr-a-ḫi êru-ub (69) ala a-na ramâni [iM]-ia aṣ-bat ištu ši-di (nâru) Ba-li-ḫi at-tu-muš (nâru) P[urât ina mi-li-ša e-bir ma-da-tu] ša šarrâ-ni (70) ša (mâtu) Ḫat-ti am-ḫur ištu (mâtu) Ḫat-ti at-tu-muš a-na (alu) Ḫal-man aḳ-ṭí-rib (immêru) [nikê ana pân Adad?] ša (alu) Ḫal-man êpu-uš (71) ištu (alu) Ḫal-man at-tu-muš a-na (alu) Ḳar-ḳa-ra aḳ-ṭí-rib (m)Bir-id-ri ša (mâtu) Imêri-šu (m)Ir-ḫu-le-ni (mâtu) A-ma-ta-a-a (72) a-di XII šarrâ-ni ša ši-di tam-di a-na idê a-ḫa-miš

the sea-coast trusted to their arms, and marched to make war and battle against me. (73) I fought with them. Twenty-five thousand of their warriors I destroyed with arms. Their chariots, their saddle-horses, (74) their equipments I took from them. They fled to save their lives. I took ship and went out upon the sea.

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it-tak-lu-ma a-na e-peš ḳabli u taḫazi a-na irti-ia it-bu-ni (73) it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ XXMVM ṣâbê ti-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakkê ú-šam-ḳit narkabâte-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu (74) ú-nu-ut taḫazi-šu-nu e-kim-šu-nu a-na šú-zu-ub napšate-šu-nu e-li-ú ina elippê ar-kab a-di ḳabal tam-di a-lik

The Berlin Inscription [1]

(1) Shalmaneser, the great king, the mighty king, (2) king of all the four quarters, the sturdy, (3) the bold, the rival of the princes (4) of the world, great kings, (5) son of Ashurnazirpal, king of the world, king of Assyria, (6) son of Tukulti-Ninib, king of the world, king of Assyria, conqueror of (7) Enzi,[2] Gilzan, (and) Khubushkia. (8) Urartu, I smote (?) their defeat (9) I accomplished. Like fire (10) I came upon them. Akhuni (11) of the people of Adini,[3] together with his gods (12) the soldiers of his land, and the goods of his household I seized (13) for the people of my land. At that

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[1] From a large statue of the king, found at Asshur (see Andræ, in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*, No. 21, pp. 20, 39–42). Published by Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts*, i, No. 30, Plates 41, 42. Translated by Langdon, *Expository Times*, November, 1911, p. 69.

[2] Elsewhere Enzite.

[3] For the correct translation of *mar Adini* see note on Iaua mar Ḫumria, p. 304.

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(1) Sulmanu-ašaridu šarru rabû šarru dannu
(2) šar kul-lat kib-rat arba'i ik-du
(3) li-'-ú ša-nin mal-ki
(4) šá kiš-ša-ti rabûti šarrâni
(5) mar Ašur-naṣir-apli šar kissâti šar (mat) Aššur
(6) apal Tukulti-Ninib šar kiššâti šar (mat) Aššur-ma ka-šid
(7) (mat) En-zi (mat) Gil-za-a-nu (mat) Ḫu-bu-uš-[ki-a]
(8) (mat) U-ra-[ar?]-tam as-pan (?) [abikta-šunu]
(9) aš-kun-ma ki-ma išati
(10) eli-šu-nu a-ba-' A-ḫu-ni
(11) mar A-di-ni a-di ilâni-šú
(12) ṣabê-šu mâti-šù makkur biti[šù a]-su[ḫa-šù]
(13) a-na nišê mâti-ia [i-nu-]šu-ma

time (14) Bir-idri of the land of Damascus, (15) together with the twelve princes, his helpers, (16) their defeat I accomplished. Twenty-nine thousand (17) strong warriors (18) I prostrated like a simoon (?) (19) The rest of his soldiers, into the (20) river Orontes (21) I cast. (22) To (23) save (24) their lives they went up. (25) Bir-idri forsook his land.[1] (26) Hazael, the son of a nobody, (27) seized the throne. His numerous soldiers (28) he summoned; to make (29) battle and war against me he went forth. (30) With him I fought, his defeat (31) I accomplished. The wall of his camp I took from him. (32) To save his life (33) he went up. To (34) Damascus, (35) his royal city, I pursued him.

[1] "Forsook his land" is equivalent to abdication.

(14) (m, ilu) Bir-id-ri ša (mat) Dimaški
(15) a-di XII mal-ki ri-ṣi-šu
(16) abikta-šu-nu aš-kun-ma XXIXM
(17) a-li-li mun-taḫ-ḫi-ṣi
(18) ú-ni-li ki-ma šu-bi[1]
(19) si-ta-at ṣâbê-šu-nu a-na
(20) nâr A-ra-an-te (21) aš-pu-uk (22) a-na (23) šu-zu-ub
(24) napšâti-šu-nu e-li-ú (25) (m, ilu) Bir-id-ri mâti-su e-mi-id
(26) (m) Ḫa-za-'-ilu mar la ma-ma-na
(27) kussa iṣ-bat ṣâbê-šu ma-'-du
(28) id-ka-a a-na e-piš
(29) ḳabli u taḫazi a-na irti-a it-ba
(30) it-ti-šu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ abikta-šu
(31) aš-kun dur uš-ma-ni-šu e-kim-su
(32) a-na šu-zu-ub napšâti-šu (33) e-li a-di
(34) (âlu) Di-ma-aš-ki
(35) âl šarrûti-šu ar-di

[1] Syriac šaubâ, simoon [Haupt]. Langdon translates I crushed like chaff, which seems unsuitable.

850–849 B. C.

The Obelisk Inscription [1]

(85) In the tenth of the years of my reign I crossed, for the eighth time, the Euphrates and captured the

[1] For reference to text publication see p. 293.

(85) ina X palê-ia VIII šanîtu (nâru) Purattu e-bir alâ-ni ša

cities of Sangara of Carchemish. (86) I marched to the cities of Arame, and captured Arne, his royal city, with one hundred of its villages.

(87) In the eleventh of my years of reign I crossed, for the ninth time, the Euphrates and captured cities without number. I went up to the cities of the Hittite country, and (88) of Hamath, and captured eighty-nine cities. Bir-idri of Damascus and twelve kings of the Hittite territory trusted (89) to their arms. I accomplished their defeat.

(m)Sa-an-ga-ra Gar-ga-miš-a-a ak-šu-ud (86) a-na alâ-ni ša (m)A-rame aḳ-ṭí-rib (alu) Ar-ni-e âlu šarru-ti-šu adi IC alâ-ni-šu akšu-ud (87) ina XI palê-ia IX šanîtu (nâru) Purattu e-bir alâ-ni a-na la ma-ni akšu-ud a-na alâ-ni ša (mâtu) ḫat-ti (88) ša (mâtu) A-mat-a-a at-[ta]-rad LXXXIX alâ-ni akšu-ud(m) Bir-id-ri (mâtu) imerišu XII šarrâ-ni ša (mâtu) Hat-ti (89) a-na idî a-ḫa-miš iz-zi-zu abikta-šu-nu aš-kun

The Bull Inscription [1]

(84) In the tenth of my years of reign (85) I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. The cities of Sangar of Carchemish I destroyed, wasted, [and] burned with fire. From the cities (86) of Carchemish I departed, [and] approached the cities of Arame. I captured Arne, the city of his lordship; one hundred cities of its environs (87) I destroyed, wasted, [and] burned with fire. I made a slaughter among them and took away their prisoners. At that time Bir-idri of Damascus, Irkhuleni (88) the Hamathite, together with twelve kings of the sea-coast, trusted in each other, and marched against me to give war and battle. (89) I fought with them (and) ac-

[1] For references to text and translations see p. 297.

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(84) ina X palê-ia (85) VIII šanîtu Purât e-bir alâ-ni ša (m)Sa-angar (alu)Gar-ga-miš-a-a ab-bul a-ḳur ina išati ašru-up ištu alâ-ni (86) ša (alu) Gar-ga-miš-a-a at-tu-muš a-na alâ-ni ša (m)A-ra-me aḳ-ṭí-rib (alu) Ar-ni-e alu šarru-ti-šu akšu-ud a-di IC alâ-ni ša li-me-tu-šu (87) ab-búl a-ḳur ina išati ašru-up dîkta-šu-nu a-duk šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la ina û-me-šu-ma (m)Bir-id-ri ša (mâtu) Imêri-šu (m)Ir-ḫu-le-ni (88) (mâtu) A-ma-ta-a-a a-di XII šarrâ-ni ša ši-di tam-di a-na *id*(pl) a-ḫa-miš it-tak-lu-ma a-na e-peš ḳabli u taḫazi a-na irti-ia it-bu-ni (89) it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-ṣi abikta-

complished their defeat. Their chariots, horsemen, [and] war equipments I took from them; they fled to save their lives.[1]

(90) In the eleventh of my years of reign I departed from Nineveh and crossed for the ninth time the Euphrates at high water. I captured ninety-seven cities of Sangar; (91) I captured, destroyed, wasted, and burned with fire one hundred cities of Arame. I reached the side of the Amanus [and] crossed Mount Yaraku; I climbed up to the Hamathite cities [and] captured the (92) city of Ashtamaku with ninety-seven of its cities. I made a slaughter and carried away prisoners from them.

At that time Bir-idri of Damascus, Irkhuleni of Hamath, (93) with twelve kings of the sea-coast, trusted in each other and marched against me to give war and battle. I fought with them and (94) accomplished their defeat. Ten thousand of their soldiers I destroyed with arms; their chariots, horsemen, [and] war equipments I took from them. On my return I captured Apparasu, (95) a fortress of Arame. At that time I received the tribute of Kalparundi of Patin, silver and gold bars,

[1] The account here given of a campaign in 850 against the peoples of Damascus and Hamath is not confirmed in the other inscriptions of this king, and must be an erroneous duplication upon the Bull inscription. The language is the same as that given under the eleventh year (849), and must be an accidental mistake for the tenth year (850).

šu-nu aš-kun narkabâti-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu ú-nu-ut taḫâzi-šu-nu e-kim-šu-nu a-na šu-zu-ub napšâte-šu-nu e-li-ú (90) ina XI palê-ia ištu (alu) Ni-nu-a at-tu-muš IX šanîtu Purât ina mi-li-ša e-bir XCVII alâ-ni ša (m)Sa-an-ga-ar akšu-ud C alâ-ni ša (m)A-ra-me (91) akšu-ud ab-búl a-ḳur ina išâti ašru-up ši-di (šadû) Ḫa-ma-ni aṣ-bat (šadû) Ia-ra-ḳu a(t)-ta-bal-kat a-na alâ-ni ša (mâtu) A-ma-ta-a-a at-tar-da (92) (alu) Aš-ta-mar-ku a-di XCIX alâ-ni akšu-ud dîkta-šu-nu a-duk šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la ina û-me-šu-ma (m)Bir-id-ri ša (mâtu) imêri-šu (m)Ir-ḫu-li-ni (mâtu) A-ma-ta-a-a (93) a-di XII šarrâ-ni ša ši-di tam-di a-na *id*(pl) a-ḫa-miš it-tàk-lu-ma a-na e-peš ḳabli ù taḫazi ina irti-ia it-bu-ni it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-si abikta-šu-nu (94) aš-kun XM ṣâbê ti-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakke ú-šam-ḳit narkabâti-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu ú-nu-ut ta-ḫa-zi-šu-nu e-kim-šu-nu ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia (alu) Ap-pa-ra-zu (95) alu dan-nu-ti-šu ša (m)A-ra-me akšu-ud ina û-me-šu-ma ma-da-tu ša (m)Ḳal-pa-ru-un-di (mâtu) Pa-ti-na-a-a kaspu(pl)

horses, cattle, sheep, (96) stuffs, and cloths.[1] I went up to the Amanus; I cut beams of cedar wood.

[1] ? Linen.

hurâṣu(pl) anku(pl) sisê alpê immerê (96) (ṣubât) lu-bul-ti (ṣubât) kitû(pl) am-ḫur a-na (šadû) Ḫa-ma-ni e-li (iṣu) gušurê (iṣu) e-ri-ni a-kis

846 B. C.

The Obelisk Inscription [1]

In the fourteenth of my years of reign I called out[2] the land [and] crossed the Euphrates. Twelve kings marched against me; (92) I fought with them and accomplished their defeat.

The Bull Inscription [1]

In the fourteenth of my years of reign I called out the broad land without number. (100) With one hundred and twenty thousand troops I crossed the Euphrates at high water. At that time Bir-idri of Damascus, Irkhuleni of Hamath, (101) with twelve kings of the seacoast, above and below,[3] called out their troops without number, and marched against me. I fought with them and (102) accomplished their defeat; I destroyed their chariots and horsemen; their war equipments I took from them. They fled to save their lives.

[1] For references to texts and translations see pp. 293, 297
[2] That is, made a levy of troops.
[3] That is, North and South.

Obelisk:

ina XIV palê-ia mâtu ad-ki (nâru) Purattu e-bir XII šarrâni ina irti-ia it-bu-ni [it-ti-šu-nu] (92) am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ abikta-šu-nu aš-kun

Bull:

ina XIV palê-ia ma-a-tu rapaš-tu a-na la ma-ni ad-ki it-ti (100) I.C.M,XX.M ummânâte-ia (nâru) Purât ina mi-li-ša e-bir ina û-me-šu-ma (m)Bir-id-ri ša (mâtu) Dimašku (m)Ir-ḫu-le-ni (mâtu) A-ma-ta-a-a a-di (101) XII šarrâ-ni ša ši-di tam-di elîti u šalîti ummânâte-šu-nu ma'adâti a-na la ma-ni id-ku-ni a-na irti-ia it-bu-ni it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-si (102) abikta-šu-nu aš-kun narkabâti-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu a-si-i' ú-nu-ut taḫazi-šu-nu e-kim-šu-nu a-na šú-zu-ub napšâte-su-nu e-li ú

842 B. C.

The Obelisk Inscription [1]

In the eighteenth of my years of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazaël (98) of Damascus marched out to battle. One thousand one hundred and twenty-one of his chariots, [and] four hundred and seventy of his horsemen, with (99) his camp, I took from him.

Annalistic Fragment [2]

(1) In the eighteenth of my years of reign I crossed, for the sixteenth time, (2) the Euphrates. Hazael of Damascus (3, 4) trusted to the great number of his troops (5) and called out his troops in numbers. (6) Saniru,[3] a peak in the Lebanon district, he made into (8) his fortress. I fought with him (9) and defeated him. Sixteen thousand (10) of his soldiers with arms (11) I destroyed with arms, one thousand one hundred and twenty-one of his chariots, (12) four hundred and seventy of his horsemen, with his camp, (13) I took from him. He fled to save (14) his life. I pursued him and (15) in Damascus, his royal city, shut him up.

[1] For reference to text and translation see p. 293.

[2] The original appears to have been lost. It is published from squeezes in III R., 5, No. 6, and also in Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 4te Auf. (Leipzig, 1900), p. 51f. Translated by Winckler, in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, p. 140f., and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 112.

[3] שְׂנִיר = Hermon, Deut. 3. 9.

Obelisk:

ina XVIII palê-ia XVI šanîtu Purattu e-bir (m)Ḫa-za-'-ilu (98) ša (mâtu) Imeri-šu a-na taḫâzi it-ba-a IMICXXI narkabâti-šu IVCLXX bit-ḫal-lu-šu it-ti (99) uš-ma-ni-šu e-kim-šu

Fragment:

(1) ina XVIII palê-ia XVI šanîtu (nâru) Purattu (2) e-bir Ḫa-za-'-ilu ša (mâtu) Dimašḳi (3) a-na gi-biš um-manâti-šu (4) it-ta-kil-ma ummanâti-šu (5) a-na ma-'-diš id-ka-a (6) (šadû) Sa-ni-ru ubân šade(e) (7) ša pu-uṭ (šadû) Lab-na-na a-na dan-nu-ti-šu (8) iš-kun it-ti-šu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ (9) abikta-šu aš-kun XVIM (10) ṣâbê ti-du-ki-šu ina kakkê (11) u-šam-kit IMICXXI narkabâti-šu (12) IVCLXX bit-ḫal-lu-šu it-ti uš-man-ni-šu (13) e-kim-šu a-na šu-zu-ub (14) napšâti-šu ê-li arki-šu ar-te-di (15) ina (alu) Di-maš-ḳi

(16) I cut down his parks and marched to the mountains of (17) the Hauran. Cities (18) without number I destroyed, wasted, [and] (19) burned with fire, and carried away booty (20) without number. (21) I marched to the mountains of Ba'li-ra'si,[1] (22) a mountain which is at the head of the sea, (23) and set up there my royal portrait. At that time I received (24) the tribute of the Tyrians, (25) Sidonians, and of Jehu, (26) of the land of Omri.[2]

OBELISK LEGEND BENEATH THE RELIEFS

Tribute of Jehu, of the land of Omri: silver (and) gold, a bowl (?) of gold, a basin (?) of gold, cups (?) of gold, pails of gold, bars of lead, sceptres (?) for the hand of the king, and balsam woods I received from him.

[1] At the front of the Nahr-el-Kelb, the Dog River, a short distance above Beirut.

[2] Jehu of Israel. The Assyrian expression *mar Ḫumri*, formerly translated "son of Omri," means rather "the people of the land of Omri," as Bezold was the first to discover (*Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets . . . of the British Museum*, v, p. 1994). See further Bezold, *Ninive und Babylon*, 3te Auf. (Leipzig, 1909), p. 51.

alu šarru-ti-šu e-ṣir-šu (16) kirê-šu ak-kis a-di šade(e) (17) (mâtu) Ḫa-u-ra-ni a-lik alâni(ni) (18) a-na la ma-ni a-bul a-ḳur (19) ina išati ašrup(up) šal-la-su-nu (20) a-na la ma-ni aš-lu-la (21) a-di šade(e) (šadû) Ba-'-li-ra-'-si (22) ša rêš tam-di a-lik ṣa-lam šarru-ti-ia (23) ina lib-bi aš (!)-ḳup ina u-me-šu-ma (24) ma-da-tu ša (mâtu) Ṣur-ra-a-a (25) (mâtu) Ṣi-du-na-a-a ša (m)Ia-u-a (26) mâr Hu-um-ri-i am-ḫur

OBELISK LEGEND:

ma-da-tu ša (m)Ia-u-a mâr Ḫu-um-ri-i kaspê ḫuraṣê sip(?)-lu ḫuraṣu zu-ḳu-tu ḫuraṣu ḳa-bu-a-te ḫuraṣu da-la-ni ḫuraṣu anakê (iṣu) ḫu-but-tu bušû šarri (iṣu) bu-dil-ḫa-ti am-ḫur-šu

839 B. C.

THE OBELISK INSCRIPTION

In the twenty-first of my years of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I marched against the cities of (103) Hazael of Damascus. I captured four of his cities. I received the tribute of the Tyrians, (104) Sidonians and Byblians.

OBELISK:

ina XXI palê-ia XXI šanîtu (nâru) Purattu e-bir a-na alâni(ni) (103) ša Ḫa-za-'-ilu ša (mâtu) Imeri-šu a-lik IV ma-ḫa-zi-šu akšud(ud) ma-da-tu ša (mâtu) Ṣur-ra-a-a (104) (mâtu) Si-du-na-a-a (mâtu) Gu-bul (!)-a-a am-ḫur

V. ADAD-NIRARI III (812–783 B. C.)

1. CALAH INSCRIPTION[1]

(1) The palace of Adad-nirari, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, king of Assyria, the king over whom from his childhood Ashur, king of the Igigi[2] had watched, and had presented him with a kingdom (2) beyond compare, whose lordship, like . . . had proclaimed over the people of Assyria, and (3) had established his throne; the lofty priest, who adorns E-sharra,[3] the unwearied . . . , who holds in his hand the command of E-kur; (4) who goes about in the service of Ashur his lord, and the kings of the four quarters of the earth (5) has he cast down at his feet; who has conquered from Siluna, (6) which lies in the east, the lands of Ṣaban, Ellipi, Kharkhar, Araziash, (7) Mesu, Madai, Gizilbunda, in its entire extent, (8) Munna, Parsua, Allabria, Abdadana, (9) Nairi, in its entire extent, Andiu, whose location is far distant, (10) the mountain slopes, in their entire extent to the coast of the great sea of the (11) east; who conquered from the bank of the Euphrates the Hittite country, Amurru in its entirety, (12) Tyre,

[1] First published in I Rawlinson, 35, No. 1. Translated by Abel in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, pp. 190ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch*, 3te Auf., p. 26f., and by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 112, 113.

[2] The gods and spirits of the upper world.

[3] The temple of Ashur, called also Ekur.

(1) e-kal (m)Adad-nirâri šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar (mâtu) Aššur šarru ša ina mâri-šu Ašur šar (ilu) Igigi ut-tu-šu-ma mal-kut (2) la ša-na-an u-mal-lu-u ḳa-tuš-šu ri-'-u-su kima rî-ti êli niše (mâtu) Aššur u-te-bu-ma (3) u-šar-ši-du kussâ-šu šangu ellu za-nin E-šar-ra la mu-par-ku-u mu-rim pa-an E-kur (4) ša ina tukul-ti (ilu) Ašur bêli-šu illi-ku-ma mal-ki ša kib-rat irbit-ti (5) u-šik-ni-šu a-na šepâ-šu ka-šid ištu (sâdu) Si-lu-na (6) ša na-paḫ (ilu) šam-ši (mâtu) ṣab el-li-pi (mâtu) Ḫar-ḫar (mâtu) A-ra-zi-aš (7) (mâtu) Me-su (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a (mâtu) Gi-zil-bu-un-da ana si-ḫir-ti-šu (8) (mâtu) Mu-un-na (mâtu) Par-su-a (mâtu) Al-lab-ri-ia (mâtu) Ab-da-da-na (9) (mâtu) Na-'-ri ana paṭ gim-ri-ša (mâtu) An-di-u ša a-šar-su ru-ḳu (10) mid-bak šadu(u) a-na paṭ gim-ri-šu a-di eli tam-dim rabî-ti (11) ša na-paḫ (ilu) šam-ši ištu eli (nâru) Purattu (mâtu) Ḫatti (mâtu) A-mur-ri ana si-ḫir-ti-ša (12) (mâtu) Ṣur-ru (mâtu) Ṣi-du-nu mât Ḫu-um-ri-i (mâtu) U-du-mu (mâtu)

Sidon, the land of Omri,[1] Edom, Palastu,[2] (13) to the coast of the great sea of the west had cast themselves at my feet, (14) I laid tribute and taxes upon them.

(15) I marched against Damascus, I shut up Mari', the king of Damascus, (16) in Damascus, his royal city. (17) The fear of the brightness of Ashur his[3] lord, smote him to earth, he took my feet and (18) surrendered.[4] Two thousand three hundred talents of silver, twenty talents of gold, (19) three thousand talents of copper, five thousand talents of iron, colored garments, linen (?), (20) an ivory bed, an ivory couch with inlaid border, his possessions, his goods (21) in unmeasured number in Damascus, his royal city, I took in his palace. (22) All the kings of Chaldea surrendered. I laid tribute and taxes upon them (23) for the future. Babylon, Borsippa, and Kutha (24) brought pure offerings to the oracles of the god Bel, Nebu, Nergal . . .

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[1] Israel.
[2] Philistia.
[3] "His," so the original. It should be "my."
[4] This campaign was useful to Israel in affording her a short breathing spell from Aramæan attacks. For this reason Winckler (*Geschichte Israels*, p. 154) desires to apply to Adad-nirari the passage, "And the Lord gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians" (2 Kings 13. 5), and Jeremias (*Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 2d edition, p. 517). Otto Schroeder has returned to this again, arguing (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1912, No. 2, col. 63) that the Hebrew words saviour and helper are translations of second half of the Assyrian king's name. But the reference is surely to Jeroboam, as is made clear by 2 Kings 14. 26, 27. See on the passage Kittel, and also Benzinger.

Pa-la-as-tu (13) a-di eli tam-dim rabi-ti ša šul-mu (ilu) šam-ši ana šêpâ-ia (14) u-šik-niš biltu ma-da-tu êli-šu-nu u-kin a-na (15) mâtu Dimaški lu-u a-lik (m)Ma-ri-' šarru ša mâtu Imeri-šu (16) ina (alu) Di-ma-aš-ki alu šarrû-ti-šu lu-u e-sir-šu (17) pul-ḫi me-lam-me ša Aššur bêli-šu iš-ḫup-šu-ma šêpâ-ia iṣ-bat (18) ar-du-ti êpuš(uš) MMCCC bilat kaspi XX bilat ḫuraṣi (19) MMM bilat siparri V.M bilat parzilli lu-bul-ti bir-me kitê (20) iršu šinni ni-mat-ti šinni iḫ-zi tam-li-e bušû-šu ša-šu-šu (21) ana la ma-ni ina Di-ma-aš-ki maḫâz šarrû-ti-šu ina ki-rib êkalli-šu am-ḫur (22) šarrâni(ni) ša (mâtu) Kal-di kâli-šu-nu ar-du-ti ê-pu-šu biltu ma-da-tu ana û-(23)-um za-ti êli-šu-nu u-kin Babilu Bar-sip Kutû (24) ri-ḫat (ilu) Bêl (ilu) Nabû (ilu) Nêrgal lu-u iš-šu-ni niḳi ellûti

2. NEBO STATUE FROM CALAH[1]

(1) To Nebo, the powerful, the exalted, the child of Esagil, the majestic leader, (2) the strong prince, the son of Nudimmut,[2] whose command is exalted, the (3) messenger of cunning things, who rules over all heaven and earth, who knows all things, (4) whose ear is wide open, who holds the tablet stylus, who takes the prisoner's hand, the merciful, the sorcerer, who (5) is able to cleanse or bewitch the beloved of Bel, the lord of lords, (6) whose power is beyond dispute, without whom naught is determined in heaven, (7) the compassionate, the forgiving, whose condescension is good, who dwells in Ezida, which is in Calah, (8) the great lord, his lord has this been made and presented, for the life of Adad-nirari, the king of Ashur, his lord, and for the life (9) of Sammuramat,[3] mistress of the palace, his mistress, by Bel-tarṣi-ilu-ma, (10) governor of Calah, Khamadi, Sirgana, Temeni, Ialuna, (11) for his life, for the length of his days, increase of his years, the wellbeing of his house, and his

[1] Published I R., 35, No. 2; Abel and Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen*, p. 14. Translated by Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 630; by Abel, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, p. 193; by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 27, 28.

[2] Nudimmut = Ea.

[3] Sammuramat, who is the original of the legendary Semiramis, was the wife of Shamshi-Adad IV, and the mother of Adad-nirari IV, who here calls her "mistress of the palace." See the most interesting study by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Die Historische Semiramis und ihre Zeit*. (Tübingen, 1910).

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(1) a-na (ilu) Nabû da-pi-ni ša-ki-e mâr (ilu) E-sag-gil igigallu šit-ra-ḫu (2) rubû kaš-ka-šu mâr (ilu) Nu-dim-mut ša ki-bit-su maḫ-rat (3) abkal nik-la-a-ti pa-ḳid kiš-šat šami-e irṣi-tim mu-du-u mimma šum-šu (4) rap-ša uz-ni ta-me-iḫ ḳân dup-pi a-ḫi-zu ḳat ka-mi ri-me-nu-u muš-ta-lu (5) ša šu-ud-du u šu-šu-bu ba-šu-u it-ti-šu na-ra-am (ilu) Enlil bêl bêli-e (6) ša la iš-ša-na-nu dan-nu-su ša balu-uš-šu ina šami-e la iš-ša-ka-nu mil-ku (7) ri-me-nu-u ta-ia-a-ru ša na-aš-ḫur-šu ṭâbu a-šib E-zi-da ša ki-rib (alu) Kal-ḫi (8) bêlu rabû bêl-šu a-na balâṭ (m)Adad-nirâri šar (mâtu) Aššur bêli-šu u balât (9) (ameltu) Sa-am-mu-ra-mat amelit êkalli belti-šu (m)Bêl-tar-ṣi-ilu-ma (amêlu) šakin (10) (alu) Kal-ḫi (mâtu) Ḫa-me-di (mâtu) Sir-ga-na (mâtu) Te-mi-ni (mâtu) Ia-lu-na (11) a-na balâṭ napsâti-šu arâk ûmi-šu šum-ud šanâti-šu šul-mu bîti-šu u nišî-šu la bašû

people, that illness may not befall his posterity. (12) Let every later prince trust in Nebo, trust not in any other god.[1]

[1] Winckler (*Keilinschriftliches Textbuch*, 3te Auf., p. 28, footnote) refers to the last line as having a "monotheistic tendency." It may, rather, have a henotheistic tendency, but even this is dubious in the light of the king's other inscriptions.

murus pirḫi-šu (12) u-še-piš-ma iḳîš ma-nu ar-ku-u a-na (ilu) Nabû na-at-kil ana ilu ša-ni-ma la ta-tak-kil

VI. TIGLATHPILESER III (745–727 B. C.)

There was a great civil war in Assyria in the year 746, and at its close there appeared a new order in the kingdom. Before it there had ruled a weak descendant of the ancient line of kings who had made the name of Assyria feared from the eastern mountains to the western sea. In his hands the power which had swept with a force almost resistless was a useless thing. When he was gone the sceptre was grasped by a hand as firm as ever had been known in the kingdom, and its every move was directed by a mind full of original creative impulse.

The new king was proclaimed under the name and style of Tiglathpileser in Assyria, and later under the name of Pulu[1] in Babylonia. He does not give the name of his father in any of his inscriptions, and it is quite clear that he was not a descendant of the royal line, but a usurper raised to the throne by his own ability.[2]

[1] The name in Assyrian is Tukulti-apal-ešarra, which signifies, "My help is in the son of Esharra." The name in the Old Testament is written regularly Tiglathpileser, but appears erroneously written Tilgathpilneser in 1 Chron. 5. 6, 26, and 2 Chron. 28. 20. The name is written exactly the same as in the former Hebrew writing in the inscription of Panammu found at Sinjirli (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, veröffentlicht vom Orient-Komitee zu Berlin, i, pp. 55ff.). The Ptolemaic Canon writes the name Poros; see p. 239.

[2] Winckler (*Vorderasiatische Geschichte*, p. 39) hazards the conjecture that he may have been a son of Adad-nirari IV, but marks it with a query. He gives no ground for the suggestion, nor do I know of any.

In the very first year of his reign Tiglathpileser found the opportunity for a display of his double skill as a general and as an organizer. Since 747 Babylonia had been under the rule of Nabonassar, who was unable to hold in check the Aramæans, who were invading the land from the south, threatening to engulf Babylonian civilization and supplant it with their own. They were in possession of Sippar and Dur-Kurigalzu, from which every semblance of Nabonassar's dominion had disappeared. It is probable that he had asked for the intervention of his powerful neighbor, for Tiglathpileser was hailed as a deliverer as he marched southward. He drove the Aramæans before him, and reorganized the administrative system of the country. Nabonassar retained, indeed, the royal title, but the real king was Tiglathpileser.

Two expeditions east of the Tigris speedily brought those great provinces of which Namri was the chief into subjection, but Media still remained practically independent.

During the period of Assyrian decline, before Tiglathpileser came to power, the kingdom of Khaldia (Urartu) had enjoyed a succession of kings whose prowess had gradually won all that had been lost to Assyria under the vigorous blows of Shalmaneser III. Sarduris II, perhaps the greatest of these kings, had broken down the whole circle of tribute-paying states dependent upon Assyria in the north. He had overrun the territory north of the Taurus and west of the Euphrates, and even dared to call himself king of Suri, that is, of Syria. Assisted by a coalition of several northern princes, he marched westward and seemed ready to make this claim good. Tiglathpileser accepted the challenge, and struck his first blow by laying siege to Arpad. Sarduris

responded, not by attempting to assist the endangered city, but by striking directly at Assyria. Tiglathpileser turned upon him, and the two armies met in the south-eastern part of Kummukh,[1] where the Assyrians gained a victory and pursued the fleeing Sarduris as far as the Euphrates north of Amid. Arpad held out for three years (742–740), and when finally reduced it was made the first Assyrian province in Syria.[2] Immediately upon its surrender deputations from nearly all the Syro-Phœnician states arrived bearing presents in token of their acceptance of the overlordship of Assyria. The small state of Unqi continued in rebellion, and had to be brought into subjection by the capture of its capital, Kinalia. It received an Assyrian governor, and was formed into a province of the now rapidly growing empire. During the years 739–735 Tiglathpileser was busied with campaigns into Armenia and into Media. From the former were taken two districts, Ulluba and Kilkhi, to receive Assyrian governors, and so assist in holding back the kings of Khaldia from invasions of Syria.

As soon as the Assyrian army had been withdrawn from Syria the states which had sent tribute were quickly ready to unite in resisting any further payments to the new monarch of Assyria. It was natural enough to pay tribute when an Assyrian army was standing near by threatening reprisals; it was quite a different matter to send treasure away to Assyria when there was none to enforce its collection. Nineteen states united to resist the payment, emboldened by the absence of Tiglathpileser, among them Hamath, Damascus, Kummukh, Tyre, Gebal, Que, Melid, Carchemish, and

[1] The later well-known Kommagene, but covering more territory.
[2] An echo of this victorious campaign appears in 2 Kings 19. 11–13.

Samaria, while Azariah of Ja'udi[1] (Yaudi) was the leader among them. Tiglathpileser came west at once and captured "the city of Kullani,"[2] as the eponym canon informs us, but with the order of the campaign we are, unhappily, not fully acquainted because of the fragmentary character of the king's annals. The remaining states, except Yaudi, paid the tribute, and so for a time at least assured their security. The territory of the rebels, in its northern portion, received 30,000 colonists from Ulluba and Kilkhi, and thousands were carried out of it. Menahem of Israel paid a tribute of 1,000 shekels,[3] which secured for him the continuation of his rule, but a new province was constituted in the north, and over it was seated as governor the son of Tiglathpileser, who afterward succeeded to the throne under the name of Shalmaneser.

The difficulties in the west were by no means concluded; they were, indeed, scarcely more than well begun. Damascus had sent tribute, but it had not surrendered, and no Assyrian king had set foot within its walls. Rezon was now king and was determined to hold out against the Assyrians to the last. The

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[1] The name "Azariah" corresponds exactly with the name of the King Azariah of Judah (2 Kings 15. 1, 2), called also Uzziah (2 Chron. 26. 1), and the name "Ja'udi," "Yaudi," corresponds perfectly with "Judah." It was natural, therefore, that, as they were contemporaneous, the King Azariah of these inscriptions should be accepted as the Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah; so Schrader argued (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtforschung*, pp. 395–421), and so scholars generally agreed, as I also did myself (*History of Babylonia and Assyria*, ii, pp. 119ff.). It is now clear that this is incorrect. The land here referred to is a district of Sam'al (Zenjirli), of which Panammu was king, whose inscription, found at Zenjirli, repeatedly invokes the gods of Ja'udi (Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli I, *Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen*, Königl. Museen zu Berlin, Heft xi, Berlin, 1893, pp. 64, 79). The credit of perceiving these facts belongs in the first instance to Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, p. 1, *Das Syrische Land Jaudi und der angebliche Azarja von Juda*).

[2] Kullani, the modern *Kullanhou*, located about six miles from Tell Arfad (Arpad). It appears in Isa. 10. 9 in the form *Calno* and in Amos 6. 2 is called Calneh. See Gray and Driver on the passages.

[3] 2 Kings 15. 19.

strategy of Tiglathpileser was of the highest order, and his plans for strangling Damascus proceeded steadily and resistlessly. In 734 he went straight to the coast of the Mediterranean, having crossed the plains of Syria near Damascus. His course was southward, and either Ashdod or Ekron was first taken, and then Gaza was approached. Hanno, the king, fled to Egypt, Gaza was taken and its gods and goods carried away to Assyria.

Pekah was now king of Samaria, and the weak and vacillating Ahaz was on the throne of Judah which had so lately been occupied by Ahaziah. Even in the very presence of the Assyrian menace these western states were ever engaged in a game of small and selfish politics. Rezon of Damascus and Pekah now united to wreak vengeance upon Ahaz and enrich their own kingdoms. Helpless before such a threat, Ahaz appealed to Tiglathpileser for assistance, an appeal certain of a speedy hearing. Tiglathpileser determined to strike Samaria first, and immediately upon his reappearance in the west the Syro-Phœnician allies withdrew from southern Judah. Tiglathpileser apparently entered Samaria from the plain of Esdraelon, and took Ijon, Abel-Beth-Ma'aka, Janoah, Qadesh, and Hazor, and overran the whole of Gilead, Galilee, and Naphtali, carrying away large numbers into captivity.[1] Pekah was slain by a party of assassins, and Hosea appointed king in his stead by the Assyrian monarch.

Tiglathpileser was now free to turn to the far greater task of overcoming Damascus. Rezon met him and was defeated, making a very narrow personal escape. The whole country was desolated, Tiglathpileser boasting that he had destroyed at this time five hundred and ninety-one cities, whose inhabitants, numbering thousands, were carried away, with all their possessions, to

[1] 2 Kings 15. 29.

Assyria. At last, about the end of 732, Damascus fell into his hands.

The success of Tiglathpileser IV in the west had exceeded the dreams of Shalmaneser III, who first began these invasions. By his colonizing methods he had begun the assimilation of these diverse populations into one common whole. He had extended Assyrian commerce across the Euphrates valley and over all Syria to the Phœnician and Philistine cities. Had his people been native to the sea-coast, he might have undertaken to snatch the commerce of the Mediterranean. The concluding years of Tiglathpileser's reign were occupied in righting troublous situations in Babylonia. In 733 Nabonassar died and was succeeded by his son, Nabunadinzer, who died in the second year of his reign by the hands of an assassin, Nabu-shum-ukin, who reigned only one month, to be deposed by Ukinzer, a Chaldean prince of Bit-Amukkani. This was in 732, and Tiglathpileser was in camp before Damascus. In 731 he appeared determined to establish a new order. Ukinzer fled from Babylon on his approach, but prepared for a siege in his old capital of Sapia. Tiglathpileser was unable to take it, perhaps on account of the lateness of the season. It was taken in 730, and on New Year's Day, 728, Tiglathpileser was crowned king of Babylon. In the month of Tibet, 727, the great king died.

1. ANNALS[1] (738)

103 . . . [In] the course of my campaign [I received] the tribute of the kings of [. . .]

[1] Published, transliterated, and translated by Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers*, iii (1893). See i, pp. 18ff., Plates xx, xxi, xv, xvi. Compare also Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 28ff.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 113ff.

(103) . . . [ina] mê-ti-iḳ girri-ia man-da-at-tu ša šar[rani]

104 . . . Az]ariah of Ja'udi (Yaudi) like . . .
. . . . . .
105 . . . Azariah of Ja'udi in
106 . . . without number exalted to heaven
107 . . . . . .
. . . with eyes as from heaven
108 . . . by means of an assault of foot-soldiers
109 . . . the advance of the powerful troops of Asshur they heard, and their hearts feared
110 . . . . . I destroyed, wasted, burned with fire
111 . . . who had taken the part (?) of Azariah and strengthened him
112 . . . like vinestocks
113 . . . . . was hard
114 . . . . . was closed (?) and high . . .
115 . . . . . was situated and its exit . . .
116 . . . . . he made deep . . .
117 . . . . . he set his arms in order against
118 . . . . . he (? I) made them bear
119 . . . . . his great men like

[120–122 destroyed]

123 . . . Azariah . . .
. . . a palace of my royalty . . .
124 . . . tribute like [the Assyrian I laid upon them]
125 . . . Kul[lani (?) . . . his confederation . . .

. . . (104) . . . [Az-ri]-ia-a-u (mâtu) Ia-u-da-a-a kima . . . (105) . . . A]z-ri-ia-u (mâtu) Ia-u-di ina . . . (106) . . . [a]-na la ni-bi ana šami-e ša-ḳu-u . . . (107) . . . ina enâ ki-i ša ul-tu šami-e . . . (108) . . . [i]-na mit-ḫu-uṣ zu-ki šêpâ . . . [a-ka-am] (109) [um-ma-na-at] Ašur gab-ša-te iš-mu-ma ip-laḫ . . . (110) . . . ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina [išâti aš-ru-up] . . . (111) . . . [a-na] [Az-ri-i]a-a-u e-ki-mu u-dan-ni-šu-ma . . . (112) . . . kima (iṣu) gup-ni . . . (113) . . . šum-ru-ṣa-at . . . (114) . . . id-lit-ma ša-ḳa-at . . . (115) . . . šit-ku-nu-ma mu-ṣa-šu . . . (116) . . . [u]-ša-pil-ma . . . (117) . . . tuklati-šu u-ra-kis a-na . . . (118) . . . u-ša-az-bil-šu nu-ti-ma . . . (119) . . . šu rabûti kima kâr . . . [Lines 120–122 are totally destroyed.] (123) . . . (m)Az-ri-a-[u] . . . êkal šarrû (?)-ti-ia . . . (124) . . . ma-da-at-tu ki-i ša [mâtu Aš-šu-ri e-mid-su-nu-ti (125) . . . ma (alu) Kul-[la-ni?] . . . [(alu) gu-ub]-lu . . . kit-ri-šu (alu) . . . [(alu) ar-

126 . . . the cities Usnu, Siannu, Si[mirra], Rash-
puna (?) on the sea-coast, together with the cities
as far as the mountain of Saue,

127 a mountain which reaches (?) to the Lebanon, and
Mount Ba'liṣapuna as far as Mount Ammana,[1]
the mountain of the Urkarinu wood, and Sau
in its entirety, the district of the city of Kâr-
Hadad,

128 the city of Khatarikka,[2] in the district of the city of
Nuqudina, Mount Khasu, with the cities of its
environs, the city of Arâ, both of them,

129 with the cities of their environs, Mount Sarbûa, in
its entirety, the cities of Ashkhani, Jadabi, Mount
Yaraqu in its entirety,

130 the cities . . . Ellitarbi, Zitânu up to the city
of Atinni . . . the city of Bumame, nineteen
districts

131 of Hamath, together with the cities of its environs
on the coast of the western sea, which they in sin
and evil for Azariah had taken,

132 I added to the territory of Assyria. My officers I
set over them as governors, 30,300 men [I
deported

[1] Ammana = Antilebanon.
[2] Hadrach, Zech. 9. 1.

ka-a (alu) zi-mar-ra] . . . (126) . . . (alu) Us-nu-u (alu) Ṣi-an-nu . . . (alu) Ṣi-mir-ra (alu) Ra-aš-pu-na [ša a-aḫ t]am-tim a-di alâni a-di (šadû) Ṣa-u-e (127) šadê(e) ša ina (šadû) Lab-na-na ma it-taḳ-ki-pu-ni (šadû) Ba-'-li-ṣa-pu-na a-di (šadû) Am-ma-na (šadû) (iṣu) urḳarinu (mâtu) sa-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šu piḫât (alu) Kar-Adad (128) (alu) Ḫa-ta-rik-ka piḫât (alu) Nu-ḳu-di-na (šadû) Ḫa-su a-di alâni ša si-ḫir-ti-šu (alu) A-ra-a [alâni] ki-lal-li-šu-nu (129) a-di alâni ša si-ḫir-ti-šu-nu (šadû) Sa-ar-bu-u-a šadu-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šu (alu) Aš-ḫa-ni (alu) Ia-da-bi (šadû) Ia-ra-ḳu šadu(u) a-na gi-mir-ti-šu (130) (alu) . . . ri (alu) El-li-ta-ar-bi (alu) Zi-ta-a-nu a-di lib-bi (alu) A-ti-in-ni (alu) . . . (alu) Bu-ma-me XIX na-gi-e (131) ša (alu) Ḫa-am-ma-at-ti a-di alâni ša si-ḫir-ti-šu-nu ša a-aḫ tam-tim ša sul-mu (ilu) šam-ši ša ina ḫi-iṭ-ṭi u ḳul-lul-ti a-na (m) Az-ri-ia-a-u e-ki-i-mu (132) a-na mi-ṣir (mâtu) Aššur utir-ra-a (amêlu) šu-ud-šaḳ-ia (amêlu) bêl piḫâti eli-šu-nu aš-kun XXXMIIIC

133 . . . from] their cities, and in the district of Ku . . . settled them. . . . 1,223 people I settled in the district of Ulluba.[1]

150 The tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummukh, Reson of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria,
151 Hiram of Tyre, Sibittibi'li of Gebal (Byblus), Urikki of Que, Pisiris of Carchemish, Eni-el
152 of Hamath, Panammû of Sam'al, Tarkhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Melid, Dadilu
153 of Kasku, Uassurmi of Tabal, Ushkhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tukhan, Tukhamme of Ishtunda,
154 Urimmi of Khushimna, Zabibê, the Queen of Arabia, gold, silver, lead, iron, elephant-hide, ivory,
155 colored garments, linen stuffs, purple and red stuffs, *ushu* wood, *ukarinu* wood, everything costly, the royal treasure, fat sheep, whose pelts were
156 dyed red, winged birds of heaven, whose pinions were dyed purple, horses, mules, oxen and sheep, camels, male
157 and female, with their young, I received.

[1] Lines 134–149 contain an account of a campaign east of the Tigris.

nišê [as-su-ḫa-am-ma] (133) [ultu ki-rib] alâni-šu-nu-ma piḫât (alu) ku . . . u-ša-aṣ-bit MIICXXIII nišê ina pihât (mâtu) Ul-lu-ba u-še-šib

(150) [. . .] ma-da-at-tu ša(m)Ku-uš-ta-aš-pi (alu) Ḳu-um-mu-ḫa-a-a (m)Ra-ṣun-nu (mâtu) Dimaški (m)Me-in-ḫi-im-me (alu) Sa-me-ri-na-a-a (151) Ḫi-ru-um-mu (alu) Ṣur-ra-a-a (m)Si-bi-it-ti-bi-'-li (alu) Gu-ub-la-a-a (m)U-ri-ik-ki (matu) Ḳu-u-a-a (m)Pi-si-ri-is (alu) Gar-ga-miš-a-a (m)E-ni-ilu (152) (alu) Ḫa-am-ma-ta-a-a (m)Pa-na-am-mu-u (alu) Sa-am-'-la-a-a (m)Tar-ḫu-la-ra (mâtu) Gur-gu-ma-a-a (m)Su-lu-ma-al (mâtu) Me-lid-da-a-a (m)Da-di-i-lu (153) (alu) Kas-ka-a-a (m)U-as-sur-me (mâtu) Ta-bal-a-a (m)Uš-ḫi-it-ti (mâtu) Tu-na-a-a (m)Ur-bal-la-a (mâtu) Tu-ḫa-na-a-a (m)Tu-ḫa-am-me (alu) Iš-tu-un-da-a-a (154) (m)U-ri-im-me (alu) Ḫu-šim-na-a-a (m)Za-bi-bi-e šar-rat (mâtu) A-ri-bi huraṣu kaspu anâku parzillu mašak pîri šin pîri (155) lu-bul-ti bir-me (lubultu) kitû (ṣubâtu) ta-kil-tu (ṣubâtu) ar-ga-man-nu (iṣu) ušû (iṣu) urkarinu mima aḳ-ru ni-ṣir-ti šarru-u-ti kirre pal-ku-ti ša ṣubâte-šu-nu (156) ar-ga-man-nu ṣar-pat iṣ-ṣur šami-e mut-tap-ri-šu-ti ša a-gap-pi-šu-nu a-na ta-kil-te ṣar-pu sîsê pare alpe u si-e-ni gammale (157) (šal) a-na-ḳa-a-te a-di ba-ak-ka-ri-ši-na am-ḫur

2. CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE WEST IN 733–732 [1]

195 . . . . . his[2] warriors I took prisoner.
. . . . . cast down with my arms
196 . . . . . .
. . . . . before him
197 the chariot drivers and . . . their arms I broke,
198 their chariots and their horses I took . . . his warriors, who carried bows . . .
199 . . . who carried shields and spears I took prisoner with my hands, their line of battle
200 I broke. He fled alone to save his life and
201 . . . like a mouse (?) entered the gate of his city. His leaders alive
202 I run through with spears and set them up to be looked upon by his land. Forty-five people (?) of the camp
203 . . . I collected about his city, and like a bird in a cage I shut him in, his parks
204 . . . his plantations, which were without number, I cut down, and left not one (tree).
205 . . . Khadara, the paternal home of Reson of Damascus
206 . . . (where) he was born, I besieged, I took. 800 people with their goods

[1] Published and translated in Rost, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 34ff., and ii, Plates xxii, xxiii, xviii. Winckler, *Textbuch*, pp. 31ff., and Ungnad in Gressmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 115.

[2] That is, Rezon of Damascus.

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(195) . . . (amêlu) ḳu[-ra-di-]šu ak-[šud] . . . u-šam-ḳit ina (iṣu) kakkê-ia (196) . . . pa-ni-šu . . . (197) (amêlu) bêl narkabâte u . . . kakkê-šu-nu u-šab-bir-ma (198) narkabâte-šu-nu sîsî-šu-nu a[ṣ-bat] . . . (amêlu) mun-daḫ-ṣi-šu na-ši (iṣu) ḳaštu . . . (199) . . . [na]-ši ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-e ina kâtâ u-ša[m-ḳit]-su-nu-ti-ma taḫazi-šu-nu . . . (200) [u-paṭ]-ṭir šu-u a-na šu-zu-ub napšati-šu e-[di]-nu-uš-šu ip-par-ši-id-ma (201) . . . [ki]m[a] aiṣu abul ali-šu e-ru-ub (amêlu) ašaridûti-šu bal-ṭu-us-su-nu (202) [ina ḳâtâ aṣ-bat [a-na] (iṣu) za-ḳi-pa-a-ni u-še-li-ma u-šad-gi-la mât-su XLV ṣâbê uš-ma-ni (203) [ina pi-ḫa]-at ali-šu aḳ-ṣur-ma kima iṣ-ṣur ḳu-up-pi e-sir-šu (iṣu) kire-šu (204) . . . ṣip-pa-a-te ša ni-i-ba la i-šu-u ak-kis-ma ištên(ên) ul e-zib (205) . . . [(alu)] Ḫa-a-da-ra bît abi-šu ša (m)Ra-ṣun-ni (mâtu) Dimaški (206) [a-šar] i-'-al-du al-me ak-šud

207 . . . their cattle, [and] sheep I took away. 750 prisoners of Kurussa

208 . . . prisoners of Irma, 550 prisoners of Mituna, I took away. 591 cities

209 . . . of 16 districts of Damascus I destroyed like a deluge heap.

210 . . . Samsi, queen of Aribi, who had trampled on the oath of Shamash

211 . . . . . city . . .

212 . . . . . city of Ezasi . . .

213 . . . . . Aribi in the land of Saba (?)

214 her people in her camp . . .

215 before my powerful arms bowed themselves, camels, female camels

216 as her tribute she brought before me. A resident

217 I set over her. The Bir'a[1]

218 I cast down at my feet. Mas'a, Tema,

219 the Saba, Khajappa, Badana,

220 the Khatti, the Idiba'il

221 in the territory of the west, whose dwelling is afar off,

222 the glory of my dominion cast down [tribute

223 of my dominion], gold, silver, camels, female camels,

[1] Arabian tribe, as are also the following.

VIIIC nišê a-di mar-ši-ti-šu-nu (207) . . . alpê-šu-nu ṣi-e-ni-šu-nu aš-lu-la DCCL šal-la-at (alu) Ku-ru-uṣ-ṣa-a (208) . . . [šal-la-at] (alu) Ir-ma-a-a DL šal-la-at (alu) Me-tu-na aš-lu-la DXCI alâni (209) . . . ša XVI nagi-e ša (mâtu) Dimaški ki-ma til a-bu-bi u-ab-bit (210) . . . (m)Sa-am-si šar-rat (mâtu) A-ri-bi ša ma-mit (ilu) Ša-maš te-ti-ḳu-ma (211) . . . alu . . . (212) . . . [a]-na (alu) E-za[si] . . . 213) . . . [(mâtu)] A-ri-bi i-na (matu) Sa-[ba'-] (214) [nišê-ša i]-na karâši-ša . . . [la-pa-an kakkê-ia (215) dannûti] taš-ḫu-ut-ma [gammalê a-na-ḳa-a-te] . . . (216) . . . a-d[i maḫ-ri-a taš-ša-a (amêlu) ki-e-pu] (217) [ina êli-ša aš]-kun-ma (am[êlu) Bir-'-a-a] (218) [a-na s]êpâ-ia u-šak-[niš (alu) Ma-as-'-a-a (alu) Ba-da-na-a] (220) [(alu) Ḫa-at-ti-a-a (amêlu) [I-di-ba-'-il-a-a . . . (221) [ša mi-ṣir mâtâti ša šulum šam-[ši ša a-šar-šu-un ru-u-ḳu] (222) [ta-nit]-ti bê-lu-ti-ia al . . . (223) [bê-lu-ti hurâṣu kaspu gam] mali (šal) a-na-ḳa-a-tê

224 spices of every kind, their tribute like one man they carried into my presence
225 they kissed my feet . . . their . . . a palace worthy of my royalty. I built.
226 . . . . . I-di-bi'lu I placed as Resident in[1] the land of Egypt
227 [Bit-Khumria] all of whose cities, on my former campaigns I had added [to my territory]
228 . . . . . into captivity had carried, [and] had left for him Samaria alone, *Pekah* their king [they had cast away]
229 like a stormwind . . .
230 . . . a district of Bit-[Khumria]?
231 prisoners of . . . city of -bara, 625 prisoners of the city
232 . . . prisoners of Khinaton, 650 prisoners of Qana (?)
233 400 prisoners of . . . at-bi-te, 650 prisoners of Ir (?) . . .
234 . . . the people with their herds I carried away . . . the cities of Aruma, Marum . . .
235 . . . Mitinti of Ashkelon had sinned against my oath, and from me
236 had fallen away. He saw the defeat of Reson, [and] fell into terror (?) . . .

[1] The land of Israel.

(224) [ri]ḳkê kala-ma ma-da-ta-šu-nu ki [išti-en a-di maḫ-ri-ia u-bi-lu-nim-ma] (225) [u-na-aš]-ši-ḳu šêpâ-ia . . . ni-šu-nu . . . e-kal ši-[mat šarru-u-ti-ia] ad-[di] (226) . . . (m)I-di-bi-'-e-lu a-na (amêlu) ki-[pu-u-ti êli [(mâtu) Mu-uṣ-ri] ap-ḳid (227) [. . . i]-na gir-ri-te-ia maḫ-ra-a-te gi-[m]ir alâni [-šu ana miṣir mâti-ia] am-nu-u . . . (228) . . . li-šu aš-lu-lu-ma (alu) Ša-me-ri-na e-di-nu-uš u-maš-[šir?] [. . .] šarru-šu-nu . . . (229) [kima] im-ba-ri . . . (230) . . . [šal-lat ša] . . . nagi-e ša (mâtu) bît [. . . al]-ḳa? (231) . . . šal-lat] (alu) . . . ba-ra-a DCXXV šal-lat (alu) . . . (232) [šal-lat (alu) Ḫi-na-tu-na DCL šal-lat (alu) Ḳa-na . . . (233) [IVC šal-lat (alu) . . . at-bi-te DCL šal-lat (alu) Ir (?) . . . (234) . . . nišê a-di mar-ši-ti-šu-nu [aš-lu-la] . . . (alu) A-ru-ma (alu) Ma-ru-um . . . (235) . . . [(m)Mi-ti-in-ti (mâtu) As-ḳa-lu-na-a-a ina a-di-[ia iḫ-te-ma it-ti-ia] (236) itta-bal-

237 Rukibtu, the son of Mitinti seated himself on his throne. In order

238 to save his life he came before me, and besought me . . . 500 . . .

239 . . . . . and, into his city I entered, 15 cities [of its environs,

240 I took from his land and] gave them to Idi-bi'il of Arubu.

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kit taḫ-du ša (m)Ra-ṣun-ni e-mur-ma ina mi-ḳit [te-mi (?) im-ḳut] (237) (m)Ru-u-kip-tu mari-šu] ina (iṣu) kussû-šu u-šib a-na (238) [etir napiš-ti-šu adi maḫ-ri-ia illik-]ma u-ṣa-la-ni D . . . (239) . . . -ma eru-ub XV alâni [ša li-me-ti-šu (240) ultu mâti-šu ab-tuk-ma ana] (m)I-di-bi-'-i-lu (mâtu) A-ru-bu [addin]

3. SMALL INSCRIPTION I[1]

1 . . . the city of Khatarikka to Mount Saua

2 . . . the cities of Gubli,[2] Ṣimirra, Arqa, Zimirra

3 . . . the cities of Usnû, Siannu, Ri'rabâ Ri'siṣû

4 . . . cities on the coast of the Upper Sea I captured. Six of my officials

5 I set over them as governors; the city of Rashpuna, on the coast of the upper[3] sea

6 . . . . . upper sea] The city of Gal'a the city of Abilakka, which at the entrance of Bit-Khumria[4]

[1] Published from squeezes of a stone tablet in III R., 10, No. 2, and by Rost, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 78ff., and ii, Plate 15. Compare also Winckler, *Textbuch*, 3te Auf., pp. 34ff., and Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, pp. 30ff. Ungnad in Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[2] Gabala, not Gebal.—Winckler.

[3] So the text, which reads *eliti*, but Small Inscription iii reads *šapliti*, i. e., "lower."

[4] Israel.

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(1) . . . ki ša . . . (alu) Ḫa-ta-rik-ka a-di (sadû) Sa-u-a (2) . . . (alu) Gu-ub-la (alu) Ṣi-mir-ra (alu) Ar-ḳa-a (alu) Zi-mar-ra (3) . . . [(alu)] Us-nu-u (alu) Si-an-nu (alu) Ri-'-ra-ba-a (alu) Ri-'-si-ṣu-u (4) . . . alâni(ni) ša tam-tim e-li-te a-bil VI (amelu) šu-ud-šaḳ-[ia] (5) (amêlu) bêl pihâti ili]-šu-nu aš-kun (alu) Ra-aš-pu-(u)na ša a-aḫ tam-tam e-li-ti . . . (6) ni-te (alu) Ga-al-'-za (?) [(alu)] A-bi-il-ak-k[a] ša pâṭ (mâtu) Bît-Ḫu-um-ri-a

7 . . . the broad [Naphta]li[1] in its entirety I added to Assyria.
8 My officials as governors I set over them. Hanno of Gaza
9 fled before my arms and escaped to Egypt: the city of Gaza
10 I captured, his goods, his possessions, his gods I carried away . . . my royal portrait
11 . . . I set up in the palace of Hanno and . . . . . . added to the gods of their land . . .
12 [Tribute and taxes] I laid upon them . . . I overwhelmed and like a bird he fled
13 . . . I brought him back to his place
14 . . . . . gold, silver, colored garments, linen stuffs
15 . . . . . I received . . . Bît Khumria
16 . . . . . the entirety of its people
17 their goods to Assyria I carried away. As Pekah, their king, they had deposed, Hosea
18 I established as king over them. Ten talents of gold . . .
. . . talents of silver I received as a present from them.

[1] Naphtali is a very clever and probable emendation of Hommel. In the original only the final syllable *"li"* is discernible.

(7) . . . li rap-šu a-na si-[ḫir-ti-šu] a-na mi-ṣir (mâtu) Aššur u-tir-ra (8) [(amêlu) šu-ud-šak-ia (amêlu) bêl piḫati (êli-šu-nu aš]-kun(m) Ḫa-a-nu-u-nu (alu) Ḫa-az-za-at-a-a (9) [la pa-an ka]kkê-ia ip-par-ši-du-ma a-na (mâtu) Mu-uṣ-ri in-nab-tu (alu) Ḫa-az-zu-tu (10) [ak-šud bušâ-šu] makkura-šu ilâni(ni)-šu aš-lu-la . . . ia u ṣalam šarrû-ti-ia (11) . . . ina ki-rib êkalli [ša (m)Ḫa-a-nu-u-nu ul-ziz] ma . . . ilâni mâti-šu-nu am-nu-ma (12) [biltu ma-da-at-tu] u-kin-šu-nu-ti . . . [iš]-ḫup-šu-ma ki iṣ-ṣu-ri (13) . . . a-na ašri-šu u-tir-šu-ma (14) . . . [ḫurâṣu] kaspu lu-bul-ti bir-me kitû (15) . . . rabûti (iṣu) . . . [am]-ḫur (mâtu) bît-Ḫu-um-ri-a . . . (16) . . . il-lut amêlu . . . pu-ḫur nišê-šu (17) [mak-kuri-šunu a-na] (mâtu) Ašur u-ra-a (m)Pa-ḳa-ḫa šarru-šu-nu is-ki-pu-ma (m)A-u-si-' (18) [a-na šarrû-ti]-ina êli-šu-nu aš-kun X gun ḫu[râṣi] . . . gun kasp[i] . . . ti-šu-nu am-ḫur-šu-ma

4. NIMROUD TABLET[1]

57 [Tribute] of Kushtashpi of Kummukh, Urikke of Quë, Sibittibi'l of Gebal, Pisiris of Carchemish,

58 Eni-el of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal [of Melid, Dadilu of Kaska],

59 Uassurme of Tabal, Ushkhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tukhan, Tukhamme of Ishtunda, Urimme of Khushimna,

60 Matan-bi'l of Arvad, Sanipu of Bît-Ammân,[2] Salamanu of Moab,

61 Metinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of Judah,[3] Kaushmalaka of Edom, Mus [. . .],

62 Hanno of Gaza, gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, colored garments, linen stuffs, cloths of his land, red,

63 Every costly thing, products of sea and land, products of their land, royal treasure, horses, mules, teams . . . [I received]

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[1] Published in II R., 67. Republished and translated by Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pilesers*, iii, i, pp. 54ff., and ii, p. 24. The passage here quoted is on the Reverse, and begins, according to Rost's numeration, with line 7. Compare also Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, p. 34, and Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 116.

[2] Ammon.

[3] This is the first appearance of Judah in the Assyrian inscriptions.

(57) [ma-da-at-tu] ša(m) Ku-uš-ta-aš-pi (mâtu) Ku-muḫ-a-a (m) U-ri-ik-ki (mâtu) Ku-u-a-a (m)Si-bi-it-ti-bi-'-ilu (alu) [Gu-ub-la-a-a (m)Pi-si-ri-is (mâtu) Gar-ga-miš-a-a] . . . (58) [(m)E-ni-ilu (mâtu) Ḫa-am-ma-ta-a-a (m)Pa-na-am-mu-u (alu) Sa-am-'-la-a-a (m)Tar-ḫu-la-ra (mâtu) Gur-gu-ma-a-a (m)Su-l[u-ma-al (mâtu) Melid-da-a-a (m)Da-di-ilu (mâtu) Kas-ka-ai (59) (m)U]-as-sur-me (mâtu) Ta-bal-a-a (m)Uš-ḫi-it-ti (alu) Tu-na-a-a (m)Ur-bal-la-a-a (alu) Tu-ḫa-na-a-a (m)Tu-ḫa-am-[me (alu) (m)Iš-tu-un-da-a-a (m)U-ri-im-me (alu) Ḫu-šim-na-ai (60) [(m)M]a-ta-an-bi-'-ilu (alu) Ar-ma-da-a-a (m)Sa-ni-pu (alu) Bit-am-ma-na-a-a (m)Sa-la-ma-nu (mâtu) Ma-'-ba-a-a [. . .] (61) (m)M]e-ti-in-ti (mâtu) As-ḳa-lu-na-a-a (m)Ia-u-ḫa-zi (mâtu) Ia-u-da-a-a (m)Ka-uš-ma-la-ka (mâtu) U-du-mu-a-a (m)Mu-uṣ-[ri] . . . (62) [(m)Ḫa]-a-nu-u-nu (alu) Ḫa]-za-at-a-a ḫurâṣu kaspu anâku parzillu abâru lubul-ti bir-me kitû lu-bul-ti mâ-ti-šu-nu argamanu (63) [mimma šum-šu] aḳ-ru bi-nu-ut tam-tim na-ba-li ṣi-bu-ta-at mâti-šu-nu ni-ṣir-ti šarrû-ti sîsî pare ṣinda-at (iṣu) ni-[i-ri] . . . [am-ḫur]

VII. SARGON II (722–705 B. C.)[1]

Immediately on the death of Shalmaneser V, in the year 722, Sargon, who was not of the royal line, succeeded to the throne. In his brief but distinguished reign the kingdom of Assyria reached the very zenith of its power in western Asia. His contact with the west country, however, was somewhat less important for the biblical peoples than that of Sennacherib, his son and successor, or of Tiglathpileser IV, who preceded him by one reign.

The campaigns of Sargon, like those of Tiglathpileser, dealt chiefly with the north, that is, with Urartu or Chaldia, with the south, or Babylonia, and with the west, Syria and Palestine; and in their relative importance for Assyria they stood in the order named.

Immediately on the death of Shalmaneser V, in the year 722, the city of Samaria fell after a siege of three years.[2] Sargon claims the victory for himself, though he could not have been present at all, and, indeed, it is just possible that the city may have fallen while Shalmaneser still lived, and the news only reached Assyria after his decease.[3] He deported 27,290 of the inhabitants and "placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities [lxx, mountains] of the Medes,"[4] whose places were later supplied by peoples brought from various lands conquered by the Assyrians.

In Babylonia[5] there were problems of greater moment

[1] On the reign of Sargon students should consult the very valuable collection and sifting of all the inscription material in A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria.* New York, 1908.

[2] 2 Kings 17. 6. [3] So Winckler, KAT³, p. 64.

[4] 2 Kings 17. 6. Compare *ib.*, 18. 11, and 1 Chron. 5. 26. On the places, see Hastings, *Bib. Dict.*; Cheyne, *Ency. Bib.*, s. v.

[5] On the Babylonian campaign see Goodspeed, *Hist.*, p. 246; Rogers, *Hist.*, ii, pp. 152–154; Winckler, *World's History*, iii, pp. 26; KAT³, pp. 63, 64.

for Sargon than these affairs in the west. In 729 Merodach-baladan had paid homage to Tiglathpileser IV, and during the short reign of Shalmaneser V he remained quiet, though doubtless plotting rebellion at the first opportunity. Immediately on the change of dynasty, at the death of Shalmaneser, he seized southern Babylonia and then the city of Babylon, where he was proclaimed king on New Year's Day, 721. Sargon marched at once into the country and attacked Merodach-baladan and his ally, Khumbanigash of Elam at Dur-ilu, in northern Babylonia. Sargon claims a victory, though the sequel clearly proves that the result was at least indecisive. He did not take Babylonia from Merodach-baladan. The loss of prestige in his failure was a fruitful cause of rebellions elsewhere.

The severe punishment of Samaria did not prevent another rebellion in the west, for in 720 Ilu-bi'di (or Yau-bi'di), a king of Hamath, formed part of a coalition composed of Hanno, king of Gaza, Sib'e of Egypt, and the lately formed Assyrian provinces of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria.[1] Sargon attacked them in detail, first defeating Ilu-bi'di at Qarqar and then proceeding southward to engage Hanno and Sib'e at Rapikhu (Raphia). The victory was complete; Sib'e fled, Hanno was captured and carried to Assyria, while nine thousand and thirty-three of his people were deported.

Sargon had no further need to attack any Syrian or Palestinian state until 710. He had previously removed Azuri, king of Ashdod, for failure to pay tribute, and had set up in his place Akhimiti, his twin brother. He was deposed in a rebellion, and a certain Yamani

[1] It is interesting to note that this new rebellion in Samaria is not mentioned at all in the Old Testament.

(called also Yatna) became king. This was serious enough in itself, but it was only the outward expression of a much greater rebellion. Shabako had become king of Egypt about 715, and it may well have been due to his promises of aid that the new uprising was due. However that may be, it is certain that Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria had joined in the rebellion, and, in spite of the efforts of Isaiah, Judah also yielded to the Egyptian wiles. Sargon made a forced march into the west, and Yamani fled to Egypt, to be later delivered up to Sargon by the king of Melukhkha. Ashdod, Gath, and Ashdudimmu received an Assyrian provincial government.

The next events in the reign of Sargon have no direct bearing upon his campaigns in the biblical territory. They may be summarized as follows:

During the years 719 and 718 Sargon invaded the north country of Urartu, or Chaldia, in the former year attacking successfully its eastern and in the latter its western borders.

The year 717 witnessed the fall of Carchemish, the last of the small states into which the once powerful Hittite empire had broken up.

In the years 716–712 Sargon directed a series of destructive attacks upon Rusas, king of Chaldia, which resulted in his death, and the addition of his desolated territories to Assyria as a province. In the same years Mita of Mushke, who had ventured to invade Que (Cilicia), was driven back into his own territory and a part of Melid (Melitene) was annexed to Kummukh and also made into an Assyrian province.

In 710 Sargon, feeling his borders sufficiently secure in other directions, entered vigorously upon an invasion of Babylonia. The conditions were exceedingly favor-

able for the Assyrians. Khumbanigash of Elam, who had given such signal aid to Merodach-baladan in 721, had died in 717, and his successor, Shutur-nakhundi (in Elamitic, Shutruk-nakhunte), gave none. Furthermore, the administration of Merodach-baladan had alienated many of his subjects, and had offended the powerful priesthood. Without external aid, and with only a divided support from his own people, he was compelled to flee. Sargon was received as a deliverer, and caused himself to be proclaimed as Shakkanak (governor) of Babylon.

In 706 Sargon dedicated the new city of Dur-Sharrukin, which he had built for his future residence, and in 705 he died of violence, and was "not buried in his house."[1]

[1] ina bîti-šu la ḳib-ru, K. 4730, line 9. Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, ii, p. 52; *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, p. 411. Winckler's attempt to connect with this event the passage Isa. 14. 4–20 is not convincing (see Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 183).

1. The Conquest of Samaria (722, 721)

Annals, lines 10–17 [1]

In the beginning of my reign (722) and in the first year of my reign (721) . . . Samaria I besieged and took [three lines lost] (15) 27,290 inhabitants I carried away, 50 chariots I collected there as a royal force . . . (16) I set up again and made more populous than before. People from lands which I had taken I settled there. (17) My men I set over them as governors. Tribute and taxes like the Assyrian I set over them.

[1] Published and translated by Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1889). The passage translated above is found in i, p. 4, and ii, p. 1. Compare also Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 38, 39, and Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 116.

ina [reš šarruti-ia ina maḫrê palî-ia (11) . . . (alu) Sa-me-r[i-na-a-a alme akšud . . . (15) XXVII.M,II.C,LXXXX niše ašib libbi-šu aš-lu-la L narkabtu ki-ṣir šarrû-ti-ia ina [libbi-šu-nu aḳ-ṣur-ma . . . (16) . . . u]tir-ma eli ša pa-na u-še-me niše matâte ki-šit-ti kâtâ-ia ina lib-bi (17) u-še-šib (amelu) šu-ud-šak-ia (amelu) šaknu eli-šu-nu aš-kun-ma bil-tu ma-da-at-tu ki-i ša aš-šu-ri e-mid-su-nu-ti

2. The Campaign Against Hamath and Gaza (720)

Annals, lines 23–31[1]

In the second year of my reign Ilu-bi'di of Hamath . . . (24) collected his numerous troops to Ḳarḳar. The oath of Ashur he despised . . . (25) Arpad, Ṣimirra, Damascus, Samaria he made rebellious against me. . . . [2 lines wanting] . . . (27) he made. Sib'u, his Tartan, he called to his side. He marched against me to deliver battle and (28) slaughter. In the name of Ashur, my lord, I defeated him. (29) Sib'u fled alone like a shepherd whose sheep are stolen, and disappeared. (30) Hanno I took prisoner, and carried in chains to my city of Asshur. (31) I destroyed, wasted, and burned Rapihu, [and] carried away 9,033 men with their goods.

[1] See references to text and translation, under No. 1.

i-na šani-e palê-ia (m)I-lu-bi[-'-di (matu) Amatai . . . (24) . . . ummanâte-šu rapšâ-tim i-na (alu) Ḳar-ḳa-ri u-paḫ-ḫi-ir-ma ma-mit . . . (25) . . . (alu) Ar-pad-da (alu) Si-mir-ra (alu) Di-maš-ki (alu) Sa-me-ri-na [itti-ia ušbalkit-ma . . . [Two lines wanting] (27) . . . kun-ma (m)Sib'u (amelu) tur-ta-nu-šu a-na ki-it-ri-šu it-mu-u-ma a-na epiš ḳab-li (28) u ta-ḫa-zi a-na irti-ia it-ba-a i-na zi-kir Ašur bêli-ia abikta-šu-nu am-ḫas-ma (29) (m)Sib'u ki-i rê'u ša ṣi-na-šu ḫab-ta e-da-nu-uš-šu ip-par-šid-ma eli (30) (m)Ḫa-nu-nu i-na ḳa-ti aṣ-bat-ma ka-mu-us-su a-na ali-ia Aššur u-ra-aš-šum-ma (31) (alu) Ḫa-pi-ḫu ab-bul ak-ḳur i-na iš-ati aš-ru-up IX.M,XXXIII nišê a-di makkuri-šu-nu aš-lu-la

3. Stone Inscription from Kalah [1] (717 B. C.)

(7) [Sargon], the exalted prince, who fought in the environs of Dûr-ilu with Khumbanigaš, the king of Elam, and accomplished his defeat, (8) Who conquered the land of Judah,[2] whose location is distant; who destroyed Hamath; whose hands have taken its prince Yaubi'-di prisoner.

[1] Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 168ff.; ii, 48. Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, pp. 34ff. Ungnad in Gressmann, *op. cit.*, i, p. 117.

[2] It is impossible to determine whether Judah is here meant, or the land of Yaudi in the northwestern part of Syria.

(7) rubû na-'-du ša ina ri-bit (alu) dûr-ilu it-ti (m)Ḫum-ba-ni-ga-aš šar (mâtu) E-lam-ti in-nam-ru-ma iš-ku-nu abikta-šu (8) mu-šik-niš (mâtu) Ia-u-du ša a-šar-šu ru-u-ḳu na-ṣi-iḫ (mâtu) Ḫa-am-ma-te ša (m)Ia-u-bi-'-di ma-lik-šu-nu ik-šu-du ḳâtâ-šu

4. Cylinder Inscription [1] (713)

(19) [Sargon] who conquered the broad Bit-Khumria, who accomplished the defeat of Egypt at Rapiḫi, [and] carried Hanno, king of Gaza, prisoner to the city of Asshur.

[1] Winckler, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 43; Peiser, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 38f.

(19) mu-ri-ib (matu) Bit-(m)Ḫu-um-ri-a rap-ši ša ina (alu) Ra-pi-ḫi abiktu-u (mat) Mu-uṣ-ri iš-ku-nu-ma (m)Ḫa-a-nu-nu šar (alu) Ḫa-zi-ti ka-mu-us-su u-še-ri-ba (alu) Aššur

5. The Campaign Against Ashdod (711) [1]

(90) Azuri, king of Ashdod, planned in his heart to bring no more tribute, (91) and sent to the kings of his neighborhood to stir up (92) enmity against Assyria. Because of the evil he had done I removed (93) his lordship over the people of his land, and (94) appointed his twin (?) brother Akhimiti to the kingship over them. (95) But the Hittites, planning evil, hated his rule, raised to the throne Yamani (*var.* Yatna), who had no claim upon it, [and] who, (96) like them, knew no reverence for authority. (97) In the anger of my heart I did not collect the mass of my troops, (98) I did not rally my forces. (99) With my soldiers, who do not depart from my side,[2] in the place where I am staying, (100) I marched against Ashdod.[3] (101) Yamani, who heard from afar (102) the approach of my column, fled to the

[1] The general inscription, line 90ff. Published and translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, p. 114f.; ii, 33f.; *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum A. T.*, 3te Auf., pp. 40, 41; Peiser, *Keilinschriftliches Bibliothek*, ii, p. 64f.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 117, 118.

[2] That is, the guard.

[3] *Var.* to Ashdod, his royal city, I went in haste.

(90) (m) A-zu-ri šar (alu) As-du-di a-na la ma-še-e bil-ti (91) libbu-šu ik-pu-ud-ma a-na šarrâ-ni li-me-ti-šu (92) zi-ra-a-ti (mâtu) Aššur iš-pur aš-šu limut-tum e-pu-šu (93) eli nišê mâti-šu be-lu(t)-su u-nak-kir (94) (m)A-ḫi-mi-ti a-ḫu ta-lim-šu a-na šarrû-ti eli-šu-nu aš-kun-ma (95) (amêlu) Ḫa-at-te da-bi-ib ṣa-lip-ti belu(t)-su i-zi-ru-ma (m)Ia-ma-ni la bêl (iṣu) kussû (96) ša ki-ma ša-a-šu-nu-ma pa-laḫ bê-lu-ti la i-du-u u-rab-bu-u eli-šu-un (97) i-na šu-ḫu-ut lib-bi-ia gi-biš ummanâte-ia (98) ul u-paḫ-ḫir-ma ul aḳ-ṣura ka-ra-ši (99) it-ti (amêlu) ḳu-ra-di-ia ša a-šar sa-al-me (100) idâ-a la ip-par-ku-u a-na (alu) As-du-di (101) al-lik-ma u šu-u (m)Ia-ma-ni a-lak gir-ri-ia (102) ru-ḳiš iš-me-ma a-na i-te-e (mâtu) Mu-

borders of Egypt, (103) which lies before Melucha, and was seen no more. (104) Ashdod, Gimtu [Gath], Ashdudimmu (105) I besieged [and] conquered; I seized as booty his gods, his wife, his sons and daughters, (106, 107) possessions and goods, the treasures of his palaces, together with the people of his land. (107) Those cities I took anew, and (108) I caused to dwell in them people of lands, which were the spoil of my hands, (109) from the lands of the East. I set my officers over them, I added them to the people of Assyria, they gave obedience. The king of Melucha, who among . . . an inaccessible place, a road . . . whose fathers (110) for a long time, since the epoch of the Moon god, had sent no ambassadors to the kings, my fathers, (111) to pay respects, he heard afar off of the power of Ashur, Nabu, and Marduk; the fear of my royal majesty covered him, and terror was poured out over him. (112) He cast him into bonds and fetters of iron, and they brought him before me in Assyria,—a long journey.

ṣu-ri (103) ša pa-at (mâtu) Me-luḫ-ḫa in-na-bit-ma la in-na-mir (104) a-šar-su (alu) As-du-du (alu) Gi-im-tu (alu) As-du-di-im-mu (105) al-me ak-šud ilâni-šu aššati-šu aplê-šu binâti-šu (106) bušû makkûru ni-ṣir-ti êkalli-šu it-ti nišê mati-šu (107) a-na šal-la-ti am-nu alâni šu-a-tu-nu a-na eš-šu-ti (108) aṣ-bat nišê mâtâti ki-šit-ti ka-ti-ia (109) ša ki-rib . . . ni-pi-iḫ (ilu) šam-si lib-bi u-še-šib-ma [(amêlu) šu-ud-šak-ia eli-šu-nu aš-kun] it-ti niše (mâtu) Aššur am-nu-šu-nu-ti-ma i-šu-ṭu ab-ša-ni šar (mâtu) Me-luḫ-ḫa (110) ša i-na ki-rib . . . iz-zu a-šar la'-a-ri u-ru-uḫ . . . ša ul-tu û-me ru-ḳu-ti a-di-i (ilu) Sin abî-šu a-na šarrâ-ni abî-ia (111) rak-bu-šu-un la iš-pu-ru a-na ša-'-al šul-me-šu-un da-na-an (ilu) Ašur (ilu) Nabû (ilu) Marduk a-na ru-ḳiš [iš-me-ma] pul-ḫi me-lam-me šarrû-ti-ia ik-tu-mu-šu-ma it-ta-bi-ik-šu ḫa-at-tu (112) i-na ṣi-iṣ-ṣi iṣ-ḳa-ti bi-ri-tu parzillu id-di-šum-ma a-na ki-rib (mâtu) Ašur(ki) ḫar-ra-ni . . . a-di maḫ-ri-ia ub-lu-ni

6. Fragment of Another Account of the Campaign Against Ashdod [1]

(1) In the ninth[2] year of my reign I marched to the

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[1] A fragment of a prism, published by Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, p. 186f.; ii, pp. 45, 44. *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 41, 42. Compare Ungnad in Gressmann, *op. cit.*, i, p. 118.

[2] The Annals read "eleventh" and evidently correctly.

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(1) i-na IX palê-ia a-na . . . (2) . . . rabî-ti-a . . .

. . . (2) [. . . coast] of the great sea . . . Azuri (3) king of Ashdod . . . (6) Akhimeti . . . (7) his twin (?) brother (8) I raised to rule over them . . . (9) tribute and taxes of my lordship (10) like those of . . . (11) kings I laid upon him . . . But . . . (12) the evil in . . . (13) not to bring tribute . . . (14) they drove him away . . . (18, 20) They set upon the throne over them Yamani a soldier . . . (21) their city (26) . . . a moat of its environs (27) . . . feet in depth they dug, (28) they reached the water level. . . . (29) to punish (?) the people of Philistia, Judah, Edom, (30) Moab, those who live by the sea, and brought tribute and (31) presents to Ashur, my lord. (32) Planning hostilities, to rebel against me, (33) they sent their presents to Pir'u, (34) king of Egypt, a prince who could not help them, that he might set himself (35) in hostility to me, they invited him into a confederation: (36) I, Sargon, the legitimate ruler, (37) who honors the oath of Nabu and Marduk, and (38) guards the name of Ashur, I sent my troops across the Tigris and Euphrates (39) at flood tide. (40, 41, 42) Yamani, their king, who had trusted to his own

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[(m)A-zu-ri?] (3) [šar (alu) As-du-di . . . (4) aš-šu . . . (5) iš-tu . . . (6) (m)A-ḫi-me-ti . . . (7) a-ḫu ta-lim-šu êli-[šu-nu] (8) u-rab-bu-u . . . (9) bil-tu ma-da-at-tu . . . (10) ki-ma ša šarrâ-ni [maḫrûti] (11) êli-šu aš-kun . . . (12) lim-nu-ti i-na . . . (13) a-na la na-šê-e bil-ti (14) [im-]ta-li[ku?]-ma . . . (15) ma-li-ki-šu-nu si-ḫu . . . (16) . . . (17) u-še-ṣu-šu . . . (18) (m)Ia-ma-ni amêl ṣâbê . . . a-na šarrû-ti eli-šu-nu [ina (iṣu) kussû?] (20) bê-ili-šu u-še-ši-[bu-šu-ma] . . . (21) ali-šu-nu . . . (22) ša mit-ḫu (?)-[ṣi . . .] (23–25) . . . (26) . . . li-mê-ti-šu ḫi-ri-ṣa . . . (27) X+XX i-na I amtu a-na šu-pa-li . . . (28) ik-šud-du mê nak-[bi] a-na . . . (29) ša (mâtu) Pi-lis-te (mâtu) Ia-u-di (mâtu) U-du-[mu] (30) [(mâtu) Ma]-a-bi a-ši-bu-ut tam-tim na-aš bil-[ti u] (31) ta-mar-ti ša (ilu) Ašur bê-ili-ia (32) da-bib sa-ar-ra-a-ti la mi-i-nu ḫul-la-a-te (33) ša it-ti-ia ana šun-ku-ri eli (m)Pi-ir-'-u (34) šar (mâtu) Mu-uṣ-ri mal-ku la mu-še-zi-bi-šu-nu (35) šul-man-na-šu-nu iš-šu-u-ma e-tir-ri-šu-uš (36) ki-id-ra a-na-ku (m)Šarru-ukîn rubû ki-e-nu (37) pa-li-iḫ ma-mit (ilu) Nabû (ilu) Marduk na-ṣi-ru (38) zik-ri (ilu) Ašur (nâru) Diglat (nâru) Purattu (39) i-na mêli kiš-ša-ti e-du-u tak-lat-ti (?) ummanâte (40) na-pa-liš u-še-tiḳ u šu-u (m)Ia-ma-ni (41) šarru-šu-nu ša i-na e-[mu-uḳ ra-man-]i-šu (42) it-tak-lu-ma ul i[k-nu-šu] a-na

power, and had not bowed to my lordship, (43) heard afar off the advance of my column. (44) The fear of Ashur, my lord, cast him down, to . . . which is on the bank of the river . . . his land . . . far away . . . (49) he fled . . . Ashdod (?) . . .

bê-lu-ti (43) [a-]lik gir-ri-ia a-na [ru-ḳi-]e-ti iš-me-ma (44) [na-]mur-rat (ilu) Aššur bêl-ili-ia is-ḫup-šu-ma . . .
. . . . . .
(49) . . . in-na-bit . . .

7. Campaigns Against Samaria, Gaza, and Hamath (722–720) [1]

(23) From the beginning of my rule (722 B. C.) to the fifteenth (707 B. C.) of my years of reign I accomplished the defeat of Khumbanigash of Elam in the environs (?) of Dur-ilu; I besieged and captured Samaria; I carried away (24) 27,290 of its inhabitants, I collected there 50 chariots; the remainder of them I permitted to retain their goods (?), put my governors over them, and upon them the tribute of former kings (25) I laid.

Hanno, king of Gaza, had come with Sib'e, the Tartan of Egypt, to Rapikhi against me, to offer battle and slaughter; (26) I accomplished their defeat. Sib'e feared the onset of my arms, fled and was no more found; Hanno, the king of Gaza, I took prisoner. (27) The tribute of Pir'u, the king of Egypt, Samsi, the queen

[1] The General Inscription, published and translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 96ff.; ii, p. 30f. Translated by Peiser, *Keilinschriftliches Bibliothek*, ii, pp. 52ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 37, 38; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 117.

(23) ul-tu rêš sarrû-ti-ia a-di XV palê-ia ša (m)(ilu) Ḫum-ba-ni-ga-aš (amêlu) Elamû i-na ri-bit (alu) Dûr-ilu(ki) aš-ku-na taḫ-ta-(a)-šu (alu) Sa-me-ri-na al-me ak-šud (24) XXVII. M, II. C, XC nišê a-šib (ina) libbi-šu aš-lu-la L (iṣu) narkabâte ina libbi-šu-nu aḳ-ṣur-ma u si-it-tu-ti i-nu-šu-nu u-ša-ḫi-iz (amêlu) šu-ud-šak-ia eli-šu-nu aš-kun-ma biltu šarri maḫ-ri-e (25) e-mid-su-nu-ti (m)Ḫa-nu-nu šar (alu) Ḫa-zi-ti it-ti (m)Sib-'-e (amêlu) tur-tan-nu (mâtu) Mu-su-ri ina (alu) Ra-pi-ḫi a-na e-piš ḳabli u taḫâzi a-na tarṣi-ia it-bu-ni (26) abiktaš-šu-nu am-ḫa-as (m)Šib-'-e ri-ġim (iṣu) kakkê-ia e-dur-ma in-na-bit-ma la in-na-mir a-šar-šu (m)Ḫa-nu-nu šar (alu) Ḫa-zi-ti ina ḳa-ti aṣ-bat (27) ma-da-at-tu ša (m)Pi-ir-'-u šar (mâtu) Mu-ṣu-ri (sal)

of Arabia, It'amara the Sabaean, gold, the products (?) of the mountains, horses, camels I received.

(33) Yaubi'di of Hamath, a soldier (?), who had no claim on the throne, a Hittite, a bad man, had set his mind on the kingdom of Hamath, caused Arpad, Ṣimirra, Damascus, and Samaria (34) to rebel against me, and united them, and prepared for battle. The troops of Ashur I collected, [and] besieged him with his soldiers in his darling city of Ḳarḳar. (35) I captured [and] burned Ḳarḳar. Him I flayed, [and] killed the rebels in those cities, and established peace. Two hundred chariots and six hundred horsemen (36) I collected among the inhabitants of Hamath and added to my royal forces.

Sa-am-si-e šar-rat (mâtu) A-ri-bi (m)It-'-am-a-ra (mâtu) Sa-ba-'-a-a ḫurâṣu iš-bi šâde sisi (imeru) gammale am-ḫur

(33) (m)(ilu)Ia-u-bi-'-di (mâtu) A-ma-ta-a-a ṣa-ab . . . la bêl (iṣu) kussû (amêlu) ḫat-tu-u lim-nu a-na šarru-ut (mâtu) A-ma-at-ti libbu-šu iḳ-pu-ud-ma (alu) Ar-pad-da (alu) Si-mir-ra (alu) Di-maš-ḳa (alu) Sa-me-ri-na (34) it-ti-ia uš-bal-kit-ma pa-a e-da u-ša-aš-kin-ma iḳ-ṣu-ra taḫâzu um-ma-na-at (ilu) Ašur gab-ša-a-ti ad-ki-ma ina (alu) Ḳar-ḳa-ri (alu) na-ram-i-šu ša-a-šu a-di (amêlu) mun-taḫ-ṣi-šu (35) al-me ak-šud (alu) Ḳar-ḳa-ru ina ḳibûti ak-mu ša-a-šu ma-šak-šu a-ku-uṣ ina ki-rib ali-šu-nu-ti bêl ḫi-iṭ-ṭi a-duk su-lum-mu-u u-ša-aš-kim IIC (iṣu) narkabâte VIC (imeru) bit-ḫal-lim (36) i-na lib-bi nišê (mâtu) A-ma-at-ti aḳ-ṣur-ma eli ki-ṣir šarrû-ti-ia u-rad-di

VIII. SENNACHERIB (704–682)

In the same month that Sargon died his own son ascended the throne and began the direction of the empire now become so great. Sennacherib had need to be greater than his father, as the burden of administration is heavier than the load of conquest; but, in spite of the boasting of his high-sounding inscriptions, he must be judged to be far inferior to Sargon in ability.

Sennacherib was received at once in Assyria as the legitimate king, but the Babylonians were not so compliant, but set up as their king a certain Marduk-zakir-shumu, whom the Assyrian inscriptions derisively call

the son of a slave. Whatever his origin may have been, he was clearly not the man of the hour, for he reigned only one poor month, when the forceful Merodach-baladan drove him from his seat and assumed the kingdom (702). He knew well that he would not be allowed to remain in possession of the ancient mother kingdom without a struggle, and he began his preparations for the inevitable assault of the Assyrian king. His first move was to send an embassy to Hezekiah, king of Judah, to congratulate him on his recovery from a severe illness. Plainly enough, the real motive was to stir up disaffection against Assyria and lay the foundations for a rebellion in the west. The sequel would seem to show that other countries were visited at the same time, and that even Egypt was approached. This embassy was probably an important factor in the rebellion of which both Assyrians and Hebrews have so much to tell.

Sennacherib paid no attention to the west, but, with the wisest possible tactics, marched at once into Babylonia. He met with no resistance on the long march until Kish, nine miles east of Babylon, was reached. Here Merodach-baladan had dared to draw up his forces and offer battle. He was completely routed and fled the country. Sennacherib treated the native Babylonians with much consideration, but savagely ravaged the Chaldean territory, from which the tormentor, Merodach-baladan, had come. The country was reorganized, and a Babylonian named Bel-ibni, who had been bred at the Assyrian court, was set up as king.

At the close of this campaign Sennacherib had to secure his borders by a raid among the Kassites and into Ellipi. He had now pacified, in the true Assyrian

manner, the entire eastern section of his empire, and was prepared to meet the situation in the west.

The whole west was now ready for a rebellion against Assyria. Hezekiah had conquered the Philistines,[1] and had given thereby proof of his prowess, and he had added enormously to the defenses of Jerusalem by constructing an underground aqueduct which brought water into the city.[2] The kingdom of Judah had also a popular party, eager to cast off the Assyrian yoke and make an alliance with Egypt, while the small Phœnician and Philistine states had suffered such sore oppression at the hand of Assyrian governors that they too were ready for any desperate chance. It is difficult now to estimate truly the relative importance of all the incidents which led to the great breach, and it is easier to enumerate the different movements than to make sure of their relative order.

From Judah an embassy went to Egypt, and the Egyptians promised assistance.[3] This was in itself a rebellion against Assyria, but the first outward stroke seems to have occurred in Ekron, where the inhabitants cast into chains their governor, Padi, and delivered him up to Hezekiah, who is thereby acknowledged as the leader of the uprising. Padi had been appointed governor by the Assyrians, and Sennacherib dare not permit him to be thus treated or the whole fabric of government by appointed deputy would collapse. In 701 he marched westward, and reached the Mediterranean coast in the neighborhood of Tyre. He did not, however, attack the city, whose reduction, without the possession of a naval force, would have been impossible. Contenting himself with ravaging its

[1] 2 Kings 18. [2] 2 Kings 20. 20; compare 2 Chron. 32. 5.
[3] Isa. 30. 1–4; 31. 1.

tributary cities on the mainland, he turned to Sidon. The king, Elulaeus (Luli), fled, and the city surrendered without a blow. It was used as the center of a new province, and Ethobal was set up as its king, with authority over the towns along the coast as far south as Acre. This success over Sidon had far-reaching effects, for deputations began to arrive bringing presents and pledges of fealty from a large number of small states which had joined in the rebellion. From Arvad and Gebal, from Ashdod and distant Moab, from Ammon and Edom came those whose hearts were faint. But though honeycombed with defections, the little confederation held out, and prepared for defense. Ashkelon was next reached and speedily taken, the former Assyrian king, Sharru-ludari, was restored to power, and Zidqa, who had supplanted him, was carried off to Assyria a prisoner. A similar fate befell Beth-Dagon, Bene-barqa, and Azuru. .

The victorious columns had now an open road to Ekron, unless there was some demonstration from without. This was, however, afforded from an army from Egypt and Ethiopia,[1] perhaps under the leadership of Shabaka,[2] which advanced northward, intending to form a connection with the forces of Hezekiah. Sennacherib met and defeated this body at Eltekeh, and

[1] The words here translated "Egypt" and "Ethiopia" are *Muṣri* and *Melukhkha* (see the text below, p. 342). The attempt of Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 24ff., 195, 337, and *Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'in*, Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1898, pp. 1ff.), to identify these with portions of Arabia seems to me to have failed. See for an elaborate discussion of the matter, Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon*, pp. 57ff., and compare Budge, *History of Egypt*, vi, pp. xvff.; Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905); Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und thre Nachbarstämme* (1906), pp. 455–471; Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel, seine Entwickelung im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1911), p. 103.

[2] Shabaka was the founder of the twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian dynasty, and is known to have been upon the throne at this time (see, e. g., Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv, p. 151, and *ib.*, *History of Egypt*, p. 550.

then, turning back, destroyed Ekron before moving on Judah. The Shephelah suffered severely, for he claims to have captured forty-six cities. Jerusalem was blockaded, but not taken. Lachish, as the famous relief shows, was besieged and taken. Sennacherib was probably recalled from the siege of Jerusalem by the troubles in Babylonia, which form the most characteristic mark of his reign.

Thus far we have depended entirely upon the Assyrian sources. We must now pay heed to the biblical, and with them begin the complications. The chief passage is found in 2 Kings 18. 13 to 19. 37. It appears again, however, in Isa. 36–39, with these two chief differences: that in Isaiah the verses which appear in 2 Kings 18. 14–16 are omitted, while, on the other hand, there is added in Isa. 38. 9–20 a so-called psalm of Hezekiah. The textual disturbances and differences are the same in so many places that there can be little doubt that the two do not come from a common source, but, rather, that the text of Kings is the original and the Isaiah text excerpted from it in an abridged form. This conclusion finds considerable support also from the presence of some of the characteristic diction of the book of Kings, such as "*for my servant David's sake*" (Isa. 37. 35; compare 1 Kings 11. 13, 32; 2 Kings 8. 19), "*walked before thee in truth*" (Isa. 38. 3; compare 1 Kings 2. 4; 3. 6), and others. Kuenen has conclusively shown, however, that the Isaiah text is decidedly the better preserved.[1] The chronological note in 2 Kings 18. 13, which appears also in Isaiah ("Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fortified cities of Judah, and took them"), is quite clearly the work of a redactor,

[1] Kuenen, *Historisch-Critisch Onderzoek*, § 45.

and rests, not upon documentary evidence or tradition, but upon chronological calculation. It is quite irreconcilable with 2 Kings 18. 9 ("And it came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah, which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it"), and may safely be disregarded. The date of Sennacherib's Judæan campaign is certainly 701, whatever the redactor of Kings may have calculated.

And now we come to the real crux of the situation. The redactor who put together the pieces which now make a continuous narrative evidently thought that everything in it applied to one campaign of Sennacherib —the campaign of 701—and so the passage is still interpreted by the majority of modern scholars. There are, however, great difficulties in this interpretation, and these have increased rather than diminished in recent years. Some of these are, indeed, not new, but occurred to the early students of Assyrian inscriptions. It seems not to be generally known that Sir Henry Rawlinson saw the necessity for assuming two western campaigns of Sennacherib, for he wrote: "Such is the account which Sennacherib gives of an expedition briefly touched on in a few verses (2 Kings 18. 13–16), an expedition which is not to be confounded with that second invasion of these countries by the same monarch, which terminated in the destruction of his host, and his ignominious flight to his capital. This latter expedition is not described in his annals, as it may perhaps belong to a period beyond the time to which they extend."[1]

This view of Rawlinson found no acceptance when

[1] Quoted in G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i, p. 484, 3rd edition (London, 1875).

it was first propounded, but there are now additional reasons for taking it up again. Those which appear to be the most important are the following: 1. Tirhaka cannot have been the leader of an army of Egypt and Ethiopia in the year 701, for he certainly did not come to the throne until some years later. And the representation of Tirhaka's advance, in 19. 7, 9, as a rumor which led Sennacherib to leave Palestine seems most improbable. 2. The passage 19. 35–37 dates the assassination of Sennacherib as following closely on his return from Palestine, though his death did not occur until 681, twenty years later than the campaign of 701. If we assume two campaigns of Sennacherib in the west, these difficulties vanish. Upon this theory the biblical sources may be analyzed as follows: The account of the first campaign ends with 2 Kings 19. 8 ("So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah; for he had heard that he was departed from Lachish"). We are not told what answer he had received from King Hezekiah, for the writer was not really interested in political affairs, but, rather, in the prophet Isaiah, whose life he was probably writing. With 2 Kings 19. 9 begins the account of the second campaign; begins, indeed, abruptly, for the introduction which it must have had originally has been left out by the redactor. According to this second account, which deals, *ex hypothesi*, with a second and later campaign into the west, he sent a letter from some unknown point demanding the surrender of Jerusalem before he should attack Tirhaka, who was advancing against him. On the advice of Isaiah, Hezekiah, the king, refused, and shortly thereafter pestilence fell on the Assyrian army, and Sennacherib was forced to withdraw to Assyria, where a few years later he was slain.

Upon this hypothesis the Sennacherib Taylor Cylinder refers to the first campaign of 701, and the small text (see below, p. 345) gives proof that Sennacherib really did make a later expedition into the west, while the tradition which Herodotus has preserved (see below, p. 346) of the destruction made by mice, the symbol of pestilence, fits well with the description of the plague in 2 Kings 19. 35.

During the campaign of 701 in the west a new rebellion began in Babylonia, in which Bel-ibni, the notorious Merodach-baladan, and a Chaldean prince, Marduk-ushezib, joined. When Sennacherib invaded the land in 700 the compact fell in pieces. Bel-ibni was captured and sent to Assyria, and Merodach-baladan died soon after his precipitate flight into the Elamitic coasts of the Persian Gulf. Sennacherib made his son, Asshur-nadin-shum, king of Babylon, and went away to carry war into Cilicia and Kappadocia.

The order which had been established in Babylonia was of short duration. The Chaldeans who had fled to Elam with Merodach-baladan had made so much trouble in Babylonia that Sennacherib, in 694, made a raid upon them in a campaign fraught with great difficulties. To revenge this the Elamites invaded Babylonia, plundered Sippar, and carried off Asshur-nadin-shum into a captivity from which he never returned. The Elamites then made Nergal-ushezib king of Babylonia. He was, however, able to hold only northern Babylonia, while the south was retained by the Assyrians. Sennacherib sent a column into Elam, and while he was there the Chaldeans seized the throne for Mushezib-Marduk, who was publicly proclaimed king in 692. He won the support of the entire land, and to his aid came also the Elamites, and the Chaldeans

who had so long followed the fortunes of Merodach-baladan, and were now led by his son Samunu. In 691 Sennacherib met their combined armies at Khalulê, where he claimed a great victory.

In 689 Sennacherib, maddened by its long career of glory and of perfidy to the Assyrians, destroyed the city of Babylon.

In some year between 688 and 682 Sennacherib went westward into Arabia, and in 681 he was slain in the temple by his son or sons.

1. The Campaign Against Jerusalem (701 B. C.)[1]

Column II:

(34) In my third campaign I marched against the land of the Hittites. (35) The fear of the splendor of my dominion overwhelmed Luli (Elulaeus), king of Sidon, (36, 37) and he fled far away into the sea and died. (38) Sidon the great, Sidon the less, (39) Bit-zitte, Sariptu (Zarephath), Makhalliba, (40) Ushu, Akzib, and Akku (Acco), (41) his strong cities, defended by walls, (42) provisioned and provided with water, his garrison (?) cities, the might of the arms of (43) Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them, and they bowed (44) at my feet. I placed Tuba'lu (Ethobal) upon the royal throne

[1] The Taylor Cylinder, so named after a former owner, though not a cylinder, but a prism, has been repeatedly published and translated. See especially I R., 37–42; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 4te Auf., pp. 54–68; Abel and Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 17–21. For translations compare Bezold, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, pp. 80ff., and Rogers, *Records of the Past*, new series, vi, pp. 80ff. On the portion here given see also King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, pp. 52ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, pp. 43ff.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 119, 120.

(34) i-na šal-ši gir-ri-ia a-na (mâtu) Ḫa-at-ti lu al-lik (35) (m)Lu-li-i šar (alu) Ṣi-du-un-ni pul-ḫi me-lam-me (36) be-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma a-na ru-uḳ-ḳi (37) ḳabal tâm-tim in-na-bit-ma mâti-šu e-mid (38) (alu) Ṣi-du-un-nu rabû-u (alu) Ṣi-du-un-nu ṣiḫru (39) (alu) Bît-zi-it-ti (alu) Ṣa-ri-ip-tu (alu) Ma-ḫal-li-ba (40) (alu) U-šu-u (alu) Ak-zi-bi (alu) Ak-ku-u (41) alâni-šu dan-nu-ti (bîtu) durâ-ni a-šar ri-i-ti (42) u maš-ki-ti bît tuk-la-ti-šu ra-šub-bat (iṣu) kakke (43) (ilu) Ašur bêli-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti-ma ik-nu-šu (44) še-

(45) over them and fixed upon him (46) yearly and unchanging taxes and tribute for my dominion. (47) Minkhimmu (Menahem) of Shamsimuruna, (48) Tuba'lu (Ethobal) of Sidon, (49) Abdili'ti of Arvad (Arados), (50) Urumilki of Gebal (Byblos), (51) Mitinti of Ashdod, (52) Budu-ilu of Bit Ammanaa (Beth Ammon), (53) Kammusunadbi of Moab, (54) Malik-rammu of Edom, (55) all kings of the Amurru-Country, (56) districts of great extent, brought rich presents (57) before me, for the fourth time (?) and kissed my feet.

(58) But Ṣidqa, the king of Ashkelon, (59) who had not submitted to my yoke, I carried away the gods of his father's house, himself, (60) his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, his seed of his father's house, and (61) I brought him to Assyria. (62) Sharruludari, son of Rukib-tu, their former king, (63) I appointed over the people of Ashkelon, and the payment of taxes, (64) presents to my dominion, I laid upon him, that he might bear my yoke.

(65) In the course of my campaign I besieged Beth-Dagon, (66) Joppa, Benebarqa, Azuru, (67) cities of Ṣidqa, which had not quickly submitted at my feet, (68) I captured them and carried off their booty.

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pu-u-a (m)Tu-ba-'-lu i-na kussî šarrû-ti (45) elî-šu-un u-še-šib-ma bilat man-da-at-tu bê-lu-ti-ia (46) šat-ti-šam$_4$ la ba-aṭ-lu u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu (47) ša (m)Mi-in-ḫi-im-mu (alu) Šam-si-mu-ru-na-a-a (48) (m)Tu-ba-'-lu (alu) Ṣi-du-un-na-a-a (49) (m)Ab-di-li-'-ti (alu) A-ru-da-a-a (50) (m)U-ru-mil-ki (alu) Gu-ub-la-a-a (51) (m)Mi-ti-in-ti (alu) As-du-da-a-a (52) (m)Pu-du-ilu (alu) Bît-am-ma-na-a-a (53) (m)Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi (mâtu) Ma-'-ba-a-a (54) (m)(ilu) Malik-ram-mu (mâtu) U-du-um-ma-a-a (55) šarrâ-ni (mâtu) Amurru ka-li-šu-un ši-di-e (56) sad-lu-ti ta-mar-ta-šu-nu ka-bit-tu a-di bušî (57) a-na maḫ-ri-ia iš-šu-nim-ma iš-ši-ku šêpê-ia (58) u (m) Ṣi-id-ka-a šarru (alu) Is-ḳa-al-lu-na (59) ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ia ilâni bît abi-šu ša-a-šu (60) aššat-su mârê-šu mârâti-šu aḫe-šu zîr bît abi-šu (61) as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na (mâtu) Aššur(ki) U-ra-aš-šu (62) (m)Šarru-lu-da-ri mâr (m)Ru-kib-ti šarru-šu-nu maḫ-ru-u (63) eli nišê (alu) Is-ḳa-al-lu-na aš-kun-ma na-dan bilti (64) kat-ri-e be-lu-ti-ia e-mid-su-ma i-ša-aṭ ap-ša-a-ni (65) i-na me-ti-iḳ gir-ri-ia (alu) Bît-da-gan-na (66) (alu) Ia-ap-pu-u (alu) Ba-na-a-a-bar-ḳa (alu) A-zu-ru (67) alâni(ni)ša (m) Ṣi-id-ḳa-a ša a-na šêpê-ia (68) ar-ḫiš-la ik-nu-šu al-me ak-šu-ud aš-lu-la šal-la-sun (69) (amêlu)

(69) The governors, princes, and people of Ekron, (70) who had cast into iron fetters Padi, their king, (71) (who had been faithful to the commands and compact of Assyria), and had given him over to Hezekiah (72) of Judah, in a hostile manner,—(73) their hearts feared. They summoned the kings of Egypt, (74) the bowmen, chariots [and] horses of the king of Melukhkha, (75) forces without number, and they (76) came to their help. In the neighborhood of Altaqu (Eltekeh) (77) their line of battle was drawn up against me, they consecrated (78) their arms. With the help of Ashur, my lord, I (79) fought with them and accomplished their defeat. (80) The commander of the chariots, and the sons of the king of Egypt, (81) with the commander of the chariots of the king of Melukkha, (82) my hands captured alive in the battle. I besieged and captured Altaqu (Eltekeh) [and] (83) Tamna (Timnath) and carried away their booty.

Column III:

(1) I drew near to Amkaruna (Ekron); the governors and (2) princes, who had committed sin I slew, and hung their bodies (3) on poles around the city. (4) The towns-

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šakkanake (amêlu) rubê u nišê (alu) Am-ḳar-ru-na (70) ša (m)Pa-di-i šarri-šu-nu bêl a-di-e u ma-mit (71) ša (mâtu) Aššur bi-ri-tu parzilli id-du-ma a-na (m)Ḫa-za-ḳi-ia-u (72) (mâtu) Ia-u-da-a-a id-di-nu-šu nak-riš a-na an-ṣil-li e-sir-su (73) ip-laḫ lib-ba-šu-un šarrâ-ni (mâtu) Mu-ṣu-ri (74) (amêlu) sâbê (iṣu) kašti (iṣu) narkabâte (imêru) sîsê ša šar (mâtu) Me-luḫ-ḫi (75) e-mu-ki la ni-bi ik-te-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku (76) ri-ṣu-us-su-un i-na ta-mir-ti (alu) Al-ta-ḳu-u (77) el-la-mu-u-a si-id-ru šit-ku-nu u-ša-'-lu (78) (iṣu) kakkê-šu-un i-na tukul-ti (ilu) Ašur bêli-ia it-ti-šu-un (79) am-da-ḫi-iṣ-ma aš-ta-kan abikta-šu-un (80) (amêlu) bêl (iṣu) narkabâte u mârê šarri (mâtu) Mu-ṣu-ra-a-a (81) a-di (amêlu) bêl (iṣu) narkabâte ša šarri (mâtu) Me-luḫ-ḫi bal-ṭu-su-un (82) i-na ḳabal tamḫa-ri ik-šu-da kâtâ-a-a (alu) Al-ta-ḳu-u (83) (alu) Ta-am-na-a almê akšu-ud aš-lu-la šal-la-sun

Column III:

(1) a-na (alu) Am-ḳar-ru-na aḳ-rib-ma (amêlu) šakkanakê (2) (amêlu) rubê ša ḫi-iṭ-ṭu u-šab-šu-u a-duk-ma (3) i-na di-ma-a-te si-ḫir-ti ali a-lul pag-ri-šu-un (4) mâre ali e-piš an-ni u ḳul-la-ti

folk who had committed wickedness and offence (5) I counted as spoil; to the rest of them, (6) who had not committed sin and wickedness, (7) in whom no guilt was found, I proclaimed pardon. Padi, (8) their king, I (9) brought out of Jerusalem, and (10) set him on the throne of dominion over them, and the tribute of my dominion (11) I laid upon him. And of Hezekiah, (12) the Judæan, who had not submitted to my yoke, (13) forty-six strong cities, with walls, the smaller cities (14) which were around them, without number, (15) by the battering of rams and the assault of engines, (16) the attack of foot-soldiers, mines, breaches, and axes. (17) I besieged and captured them. Two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty men, young, old, male and female, (18) horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and (19) sheep without number I brought out from them and (20) counted as booty. [Hezekiah] himself I shut up like a caged bird within Jerusalem, (21) his royal city. I cast up entrenchments (22) against him, and whosoever came forth from the gate of his city I punished[1] (?) him. (23) His cities which I had plundered, (24) I separated from his land, and gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, (25) Padi, king of Amqaruna and Ṣillibel (26) king of

[1] The translation *punished* is Ungnad's. I set it down very doubtfully. Perhaps it would be better to translate "I turned back."

(5) a-na šal-la-ti am-nu si-it-tu-te-šu-nu (6) la ba-bil ḫi-ṭi-ti u ḳul-lul-ti ša a-ra-an-šu-un (7) la ib-šu-u uš-šur-šu-un aḳ-bi (m)Pa-di-e (8) šarra-šu-nu ul-tu ki-rib (alu) Ur-sa-li-im-mu (9) u-še-ṣa-am-ma i-na kussî bê-lu-ti eli-šu-un (10) u-še-šib-ma man-da-at-tu bê-lu-ti-ia (11) u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu u (m)Ḫa-za-ki-a-u (12) (mâtu) Ia-u-da-a-a ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ia (13) XLVI alâni-šu dan-nu-ti (bîtu) dûrâni u alâni siḫrûti (14) ša li-me-ti-šu-nu ša ni-ba i-šu-u (15) i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-me u ḳit-ru-ub šu-pi-i (16) mit-ḫu-ṣu zu-uḳ šêpâ pil-ši nik-si u kal-ban-na-te (17) al-me akšu-ud CC.M,CL niše ṣiḫru rabû zikaru u sinništu (18) (imêru) sisê (imêru) parê imêrê (imêru) gammalê alpê (19) u ṣi-e-ni ša la ni-bi ul-tu kir-bi-šu-un u-še-ṣa-am-ma (20) šal-la-tiš am-nu ša-a-šu kîma iṣṣur ḳu-up-pi ki-rib (alu) Ur-sa-li-im-mu (21) alu šarrû-ti-šu e-sir-šu (alu) ḫalsâni eli-šu (22) u-rak-kis-ma a-ṣi-e abulli ali-šu u-tir-ra (23) ik-ki-pu-uš ali-šu ša aš-lu-la ul-tu ki-rib mâti-šu (24) ab-tuḳ-ma a-na (m)Mi-ti-in-ti šar (alu) As-du-di (25) (m)Pa-di-i šar (alu) Am-ḳar-ru-na u(m)Ṣil-bêl (26) šar (alu) Ḫa-zi-ti ad-din-ma u-ṣa-aḫ-ḫir mât-su (27) e-li

Gaza, and diminished his land. (27) Beside the former taxes, paid yearly, I added (28) the tribute and presents of my dominion, and (29) laid these upon them. As for Hezekiah, (30) the fear of the majesty of my dominion overwhelmed him (31) and the Urbi, and his regular troops, (32) whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem (33) his royal city, deserted. (34) With thirty talents of gold [and] eight hundred talents of silver, (35) precious stones, stibium, uknu-stones, (36) couches of ivory, seats of ivory, elephant-hide, (37) ivory, ushu and ukarinnu wood, diverse objects, a heavy treasure, (38) and his daughters, the women of his palace, male musicians, (39) female musicians he despatched (40) after me to Nineveh, my capital city. He sent his ambassador to give tribute (41) and make submission.

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bilti maḫ-ri-ti na-dan šat-ti-šu-un (28) man-da-at-tu kat-ri-e bê-lu-ti-ia u-rad-di-ma (29) u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu-un šu-u (m)Ḫa-za-ḳi-a-u (30) pul-ḫi mê-lam-me bê-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma (31) (amêlu) ur-bi u (amêlu) ṣâbê-šu damḳûti (32) ša a-na dun-nu-un (alu) Ur-sa-li-im-mu (alu) šarrû-ti-šu (33) u-šê-ri-bu-ma ir-šu-u baṭ-la-a-ti (34) it ti XXX bilat ḫurâṣi VIII.C bilat kaspi ni-ṣik-ti (35) gu-uḫ-li dak-kas-si (abnu) uknî (?) rabûti (36) (iṣu) iršê šinni (iṣu) kussê ni-me-di šinni mašak pîri (37) šinni pîri (iṣu) ušu (iṣu) ukarinnu mimma šum-šu ni-ṣir-tu ka-bit-tu (38) u mârâti-šu (šal) zikrêti ekalli-šu (amêlu) zammerê (39) (šal) zammerêti a-na ki-rib Ninua(ki) alu bê-lu-ti-ia (40) arki-ia u-še-bi-lam-ma a-na na-dan man-da-at-ti (41) u e-piš ardu-u-ti iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šu

2. Summary of Sennacherib's Western Campaign (701) (Nebi Yunus inscription) [1]

(13) I took away the kingdom from Luli, the king of Sidon; I seated (14) Tuba'lu on his throne and [laid upon] him the tribute of my dominion; (15) I destroyed the broad district of Judah; I laid my yoke upon Heze-

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[1] Published I R., 43. Translated by Bezold, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, pp. 118ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, p. 47; Ungnad in Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 121, footnote 3.

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(13) ša (m)Lu-li-i šar (alu) Ṣi-du-un-ni e-kim šarrû-šu (14) (m)Tu-ba-'-lu i-na (iṣu) kussî-šu u-še-šib-ma man-da-at-tu bêlû-ti-ia ṣi-ru-uš-šu (15) u-šal-pit rap-šu na-gu-u (mâtu) Ia-u-di (m)Ḫa-za-

kiah its king; (16) the people of Tumur, who inhabit a steep mountain, I overwhelmed with arms. The city of Ukku, (17) with all its dwellings I destroyed like the mound of a deluge; the people of Khilakki, inhabitants of the (18) hill country, I destroyed with arms, their cities I destroyed, wasted, burned with fire; I conquered (19) Tilgarimmu,[1] which is the borders of Tabal, and turned it into arable land.

[1] Perhaps Togarmah, Gen. 10. 3; 1 Chron. 1. 6; Ezek. 27. 14; 38. 16.

ki-a-u šarrû-šù e-mid ap-ša-a-ni (16) amêluti (alu) Tu-mur-ra-a-a a-ši-bu-ut šadî-i mar-ṣi i-na (iṣu) kakkê u-šam-kit (alu) Uk-ku (17) a-di nap-ḫar da-ad-me-šu ki-ma til a-bu-bi u-ab-bit nišê (mâtu) Ḫi-lak-ki a-ši-bu-ut (18) ḫur-ša-a-ni a-lul i-na (iṣu) kakkê alâni-šu-nu ab-bul aḳ-ḳur i-na išâti aḳ-mu (19) (alu) Til-ga-rim-mu ša pa-ad (mâtu) Ta-ba-li akšu-ud-ma u-tir a-na karme

3. Sennacherib at Lachish, 701

(Inscription on a Relief) [1]

(1) Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, (2) seated himself on a throne and the (3) prisoners of Lakish marched before him.

[1] Published by Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, ii, Plate 23. Translated by Bezold, *Keilinschriftliches Bibliothek*, ii, p. 114; Rogers, *Records of the Past*, new series, vi, p. 83; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch*, p. 47.

(1) Sin-aḫe-erba šar kiššati šar (mâtu) ašur (2) ina (iṣu) kussî ni-mi-di u-šib-ma (3) šal-la-at (alu) La-ki-su (4) ma-ḫa-ar-šu-e-ti-iḳ

4. Sennacherib's Last Campaign Against Arabia

(Between 688 and 682 B. C.) [1]

(22) . . . Telkh]unu, the queen of Arabia, in the midst of the desert, (23) from her I took away a thousand

[1] The discovery of this fragment was first announced by Scheil (*Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, 1904, Feb., cols. 69, 70), who gave a hasty transcription of it, and said that it came from Mosul. It has since passed to the possession of the Berlin Museum, and is published by Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königl. Museen zu Berlin*, i, pp. 73ff., and translated by him in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 121. The campaign is mentioned by Esarhaddon (see p. 354).

(22) . . . [Te-el-ḫu-]-nu šar-rat (amêlu) A-ra-bi i-na ki-rib mad-ba-ri (23) (imêru) gammalê e-kim ka-tuš-ša ši-i it-ti

camels. (24) The fear of my dominion cast her down, and Khazail also. They left their tents (25) and fled to Adummatu, (26) whose location is in the desert, (27) a thirsty place where there is neither provision nor places to drink.

(m)Ḫa-za-ilu (24) . . . e is-ḫup-šu-nu-ti ḳul-ta-ri-šu-nu u-maš-še-ru-u (25) . . . lu (alu) A-du-um-ma-te a-na nap-ša-a-ti in-nab-tu (26) . . . A-du-um-ma-tu ša ki-rib mad-ba-ri šit-ku-na-at šu-bat-sun (27) . . . ṣu-um-me ša ri-i-tu maš-ki-tu la ba-šu-u ki-rib-šu

5. Herodotus on the Campaign of Sennacherib [1]

The next king was a priest of Hephaistos, called Sethôs. This monarch despised and neglected the warrior class of the Egyptians, as though he did not need their services. Among other indignities he went so far as to take from them the lands which they had possessed under all the previous kings, consisting of twelve acres of choice land for each warrior. Afterward, therefore, when Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, marched his vast army into Egypt, the warriors one and all refused to come to his aid. On this the priest, greatly distressed, entered into the inner sanctuary, and before the image of the god bewailed his impending fate. As he wept he fell asleep, and dreamed that the god came and stood at his side, bidding him be of good cheer, and go boldly forth to meet the Arabian force, which would do him no hurt, as he himself would send him helpers.

[1] Herodotus, ii, 141; Herodoti Historiarum Libri, ix, edidit Henr. Rudolph Dietsch, editio alter curavit H. Kallenberg (Leipzig, Teubner, 1894), pp. 204, 205.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Σεθών. τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἄλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιέοντα ἐς αυτούς, καί σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἑκάστῳ δυώδεκα ἀρούρας. μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε και Ασσυρίων. οὐκ ὧν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθέειν· τὸν δ' ἱερέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπελημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς το μέγαρον πρὸς τῶγαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν· ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἀρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον και οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὡς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἀχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατόν· αὐτὸς γαρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωρούς. τού

Sethôs, then, relying on the dream, collected such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, who were none of them warriors, but traders, artisans, and market people; and with these marched to Pelusium, where the passes are by which the country is entered, and there pitched his camp. As the two armies lay here opposite one another there came in the night a multitude of field mice, which devoured all the quivers and bowstrings of the enemy and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields. Next morning they commenced their flight, and great multitudes fell, as they had no arms with which to defend themselves. There stands to this day in the temple of Vulcan a stone statue of Sethôs, with a mouse in his hand,[1] and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me and learn to reverence the gods."

[1] Apollo Smintheus is known to the Greeks and is represented with a mouse in his hand. His cult under this form is especially known in the Troad. Compare Strabo, xiii, 605, and see for coins with such a representation, Corpus Ins. Græcarum, ii, 3577, 3582; iv, 7029; Rev. Arch., xi, 448; Overbeck K.-M. Apollon. Münztafel, v, 25–28, 30–33.

τοισι δή μιν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐννυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἑπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ (ταύτῃ γαρ ἐισι αἱ ἐσβολαί)· ἑπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δέ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένου, τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι [αὐτοῖσι] ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα· πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν [ὅπλων] πεσεῖν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε. "ἐς ἐμέ τις ὁρέων εὐσεβὴς ἔστω."

6. Polyhistor and Abydenus

And after all the other exploits of Sennacherib he adds the following: "He remained in power eighteen years and died by the hand of his son Ardumuzanus, in an uprising." These things says Polyhistor.

From Abydenus concerning Sennacherib. At this

Et post alia omnia facta Sinecherimi illud quoque addens, ait "eum XVIII annis stetisse (in imperio) et structis ei insidiis a filio suo Ardumuzano e vita excessisse." Haec Polyhistor.

Eusebi Chronicorum, Liber I., ed Schoene (Berlin, 1875), I. 27, 25–29.

Abydeni de Senecherimo. Hoc tempore vicesimus quintus utique

time we find Sennacherib, who was the twenty-fifth at least in the succession of kings. He reduced Babylon beneath his sway. . . . [The following words properly belong at the end of the next passage, see below.] After him there ruled Nergilus, who was cut off by his son Adramelus. Adramelus was in turn killed by Axerdis, who was his brother on the father's, though not on the mother's side. He pursued the army to Byzantium and there shut it up.

After the reign of Sennacherib's brother, Akises became king over the Babylonians. He reigned less than thirty days, being murdered by Merodach-baladan, who then forcibly held the kingdom for six months. Baldanus [i. e., Merodach-baladan] was killed by a certain Elibus, who then became king. In the third year of the reign of Elibus, Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, gathered an army against the Babylonians, defeated them in battle and ordered the captive king and his friends to be led into the land of Assyria. Having subdued the Babylonians, he set up his son Asordanius as king, withdrawing himself and proceeding to Assyria.

Sinecherib tandem ex regibus (regnantibus) inventus est (inveniebatur) qui Babelonem sub dititionem (manum suam redigens subegit. . . . Deinceps[1] autem post eum Nergilus regnavit, qui a filio Adramelo est interemptus (interimebatur): at hunc ejusdem frater Axerdis ex eodem (uno) patre, non autem ex eadem matre, occidit (occidebat); et exercitum persecutus in Byzantinorum urbem injecit (injiciebat). Ib., 35. 4–7, 17–22.

Postquam regnasset frater Senecheribi et postquam Akises Babyloniis dominatus esset, et necdum triginta quidem diebus regnum tenuisset, a Marodach Baldano occisus est; et Marodach Baldanus per vim (regnum) tenebat sex mensibus: eum vero interficiens quidam cui nomen erat Elibus regnabat. Verum tertio regni ejus anno Senecheribus rex Assyriorum exercitum conflabat adversus Babylonios, proelioque cum iis commisso vincebat et captum eum una cum amicis in terram Assyriorum perduci jubebat. Babyloniis (ergo) dominatus, regem eis filium suum Asordanium constituebat; ipse vero recedens, terram Assyriorum petebat. Ib., p. 27, 3–15.

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[1] The words from *deinceps* to *regnavit* belong at the end of the next passage after *petebat*. So A. von Gutschmid. See Schœne, *op. cit.*, p. 35, footnote 6.

IX. ESARHADDON (680–668) AND ASHURBANAPAL (668–625)

Sennacherib had provided for the succession to the throne, while he still lived, by choosing Esarhaddon as the crown prince. The king's death may have been due to jealousy engendered by that choice, for such would be a natural Oriental sequence of the decree which elevated a younger son to the highest honors. Esarhaddon had been living in Babylon, and immediately on his father's assassination was there proclaimed king, but had to hasten to Nineveh to quell a rebellious effort to seize the throne. The king's murderers fled to Armenia,[1] and in a month and a half the rebellion was ended, and Esarhaddon was received as king.[2]

For our present purpose Esarhaddon is not of great importance. His points of historic contact with the west are few, and his influence upon the Hebrew people remote. The student of Hebrew politics has no great questions to raise in his reign, nor has he need to be disturbed by the great existing difficulty of arranging in chronological order the chief events of this reign.

At the very beginning of his reign Esarhaddon was busy with the reversal of his father's policy in respect of Babylon. He was engaged in the enormous task of rebuilding the temple of E-sagila—a work that was not completed until 668 B. C.

During the entire reign of Esarhaddon Judah made no move to regain the independence which Sennacherib had taken away. He had not, indeed, taken Jerusalem, but he had compelled the payment of tribute, and Esarhaddon enumerates Manasseh of Judah among his vassals. During the long reign of Manasseh there was,

[1] 2 Kings 19. 37. [2] Babylonian Chronicle, iii, 36–38.

indeed, no opportunity for rebellion. The land was held in subjection by the fear inspired by Esarhaddon's campaigns against Sidon and against Egypt. The first works of war to which Esarhaddon gave his hand were in punishment of the Chaldeans, who had conquered in Babylonia as far north as Ur. These were speedily driven out and a new administration of affairs provided among them.

But these enterprises among the turbulent Chaldeans were small indeed when compared with campaigns which followed speedily upon them. Sennacherib had set up a new province in Sidon, and so long as Ethobal lived, whom he had made king, the subservience to Assyria continued. His son Abd-milkot formed an alliance with two city kings inhabiting the Cilician highlands and suspended the payment of tribute. Esarhaddon set out for the west, and on his approach Abd-milkot fled to sea and left his city to its fate. The siege and the campaign against the allies of Abd-milkot lasted three years, and when the city fell it was savagely dismantled, its stones tumbled into the sea, and upon its site a new Assyrian city bearing Esarhaddon's name was erected and peopled by captives drawn from distant conquered lands. It was a piece of folly that could produce no enduring results; the ancient name of Sidon persisted in spite of Esarhaddon, and but for his boastful words the world had never known that Esarhaddon's-burg had ever occupied the site. But we must not fail to observe that such a castigation as Sidon had received would not be without influence in Judah. We shall not go far astray if we ascribe Manasseh's peaceful acceptance of Assyrian overlordship in part to the solemn warning of Sidon's example.

Esarhaddon was not so fortunate at Tyre, which he besieged for a series of years, but did not finally con-

quer, though his attack must have seriously injured the city's commerce. Tyre was never a menace to Assyria's growth in commercial or in political power, and Esarhaddon's only loss through the failure to reduce it was in the plunder which might have been secured.

Esarhaddon had now attacked two important Phœnician cities, but the real enemy of Assyrian progress in the west remained untouched. So long as Egypt was permitted to stir up at will the smaller western states to rebellion, just so long would Assyrian domination be in constant jeopardy. Esarhaddon conceived the colossal project of actually conquering Egypt and of adding it to the Assyrian empire. The accession of wealth thus to be gained would be enormous; the peace certain thus to be achieved in all the west might indeed tempt any monarch.

The first undertaking against Egypt took place in 673, and failed.[1] The Assyrians were defeated, and no allusion to their misfortune appears in Esarhaddon's inscriptions. The lesson of this failure was duly learned, for Esarhaddon began a most systematic approach upon Egypt by attacking and defeating its possible allies in Arabia and in the great deserts. In 671 Esarhaddon was ready to push boldly into Egypt, and in three successive battles Tirhaqa was defeated and the land as far south as Thebes was conquered. The whole campaign was a driving of Ethiopians out of Egypt and the changing of the overlordship of the ancient land from their hands to those of the Assyrians.

Immediately on the conclusion of the successful campaign in Egypt Esarhaddon had to quell a rebellion in Assyria, the cause of which is unknown.

Hardly had Esarhaddon left Egypt when Tirhaqa again entered it from the south and began a reconquest,

[1] Babylonian Chronicle, iv, 10, 16 (see p. 217).

and Esarhaddon, in 668, set out against him. From this expedition he never returned, but died on the long and toilsome march.

Before setting out for Egypt on the last campaign Esarhaddon had made a proclamation on the Feast of Gula (April, 668 B. C.) of his son, Ashurbanapal, as the next king of Assyria, and his younger son, Shamash-shum-ukin, as king of Babylon. This disposition of the kingdom was to be the beginning of the end of Assyrian power, though in the beginning it seemed on the surface to augur so well for peace. Ashurbanapal,[1] the Sardanapalus of the Greeks and Latins, and the Asnapper of the Old Testament, became king without a word of protest, as did also his brother in Babylon.

The first deed in Ashurbanapal's reign was to carry to a successful conclusion the campaign against Tirhaqa, on which Esarhaddon had died. By the end of 667 the land was once more in the hands of Assyrian governors. It was, however, much more difficult to hold than to conquer, and before 660 the great culture land of the Nile was once more ruled by an independent Egyptian king. The great tide of Assyrian power had begun to ebb.

Ashurbanapal's contact with the western countries was even less important than Esarhaddon's. Tyre early surrendered to him, and Ushu and Acco were punished.

During fifteen years the dual government went on peacefully, but in 652 Shamash-shum-ukin rebelled against his brother and a civil war of terrible vindictiveness began between Babylonia and Assyria. Asshurbanapal triumphed, and in 648 his brother died by his own hand. Ashurbanapal became king of Babylon under the name and style of Kandalanu in 647. The

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[1] Ezra 4. 10, R. V., Osnappar (אָסְנַפַּר); better Asenappar.

campaigns between 647 and 640 were chiefly directed against kings and peoples of small moment, and no effort was made to extend the borders of the empire. From 640 until the end of his reign, in 626, Ashurbanapal was devoted to works of peace upon a scale unapproached by any previous Assyrian monarch. Temples, both in Assyria and in Babylonia, were rebuilt, renewed, or richly adorned by him. In these years Assyrian art touched a point attained by no other ancient Oriental people, while a great wave of ease, culture, and luxury swept over the kingdom. Greatest of all the works of Ashurbanapal was the library. The ancient archives of the two kingdoms were searched for books, and when interesting or important documents were discovered they were taken to Nineveh, there to be copied and annotated by the scholars of the court. The copies were preserved in the palace, while the originals went back to the place whence they had been borrowed. The library thus formed numbered not less than ten thousand tablets, and from its discovery comes a large part of our knowledge of Assyrian history, literature, and science. In the year 626 Ashurbanapal died, leaving behind him an empire stately and magnificent, but much diminished.

ESARHADDON

1. Prism A [1]

Column I:

(10) [Esarhaddon] the conqueror of the city of Sidon,

[1] Published by Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, pp. 20–29; I R., pp. 45–47, and Abel und Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen*, pp. 22–24. Translated by Ludwig Abel, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, pp. 124ff. The portion from line 55 onward is also translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 50f.

Column I:

(10) ka-šid (alu) Ṣi-du-un-ni ša ina ḳabal tam-tim (11) sa-pi-nu

which lies in the midst of the sea; (11) he who overwhelmed all its houses; (12) its walls, its dwellings I tore down, (13) cast them into the sea, (14) and made the place where they stood a ruin. (15) Abdmilkot its king, (16, 17) who had fled into the sea before my arms, (18) I drew him like a fish out of the sea (19) and cut off his head. (20) His treasures and goods, gold, silver, precious stones, (21) elephant hide, ivory, Ushu and Urkarinu-wood, (22) colored cloth, and cloth of every kind, (23) precious things of his palace, (24) I plundered in a mass; (25) its people without number, (26) cattle and sheep, asses (27) I carried away to Assyria. (28) I collected the kings of the Hittite country, (29) and of the sea-coast all of them. (30) I erected in another place a city and (31) called its name Esarhaddon-burg. (32) The people, the spoil of my bow, from the hill country (33) and from the eastern Sea, (34) I settled there, (35) my officials as governors I set over them.

Column II:

(55) Adumu, a fortress of Aribi, (56) which Sennacherib king of Assyria, (57) my father, my begetter, had captured;

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gi-mir da-ad-me-šu (12) dûru-šu u šu-bat-su as-suḫ-ma (13) ki-rib tam-tim ad-di-i-ma (14) a-šar maš-kan-i-šu u-ḫal-liḳ (15) (m)Ab-di-mil-ku-ut-ti šarru-šu (16) ša la-pa-an kakkê-ia (17) ina ḳabal tam-tim in-nab-tu (18) ki-ma nu-u-ni ul-tu ki-rib tam-tim (19) a-bar-šu-ma ak-ki-sa ḳaḳ-ḳa-su (20) nak-mu bušû-šu ḫurâṣi kaspi abnî a-ḳar-tu (21) mašak pîri šin pîri (iṣu) ušû (iṣu) urkarînu (22) (ṣubâtu) lu-bul-ti birme u kitî mimma šum-šu (23) ni-ṣir-ti ekalli-su (24) a-na mu-'-di-e aš-lu-la (25) nišê-šu rapšâti ša ni-ba la i-ša-a (26) alpê u si-e-ni imêre (27) a-bu-ka a-na ki-rib (mâtu) Ašur(ki) (28) u-pa-ḫir-ma šarrâni (mâtu) Ḫat-ti (29) u a-ḫi tam-tim ka-li-šu-nu (30) ina aš-ri ša-nim-ma alu u-še-piš-ma (31) (alu) Kar-Ašur-aḫi-iddin-na at-tab-bi ni-bit-su (32) nišê ḫu-bu-ut ḳašti-ia ša šadi-i (33) u tam-tim ṣi-it šam-ši (34) ina lib-bi u-še-ši-ib (35) (amêlu) šu-ud-šak-ia amêl piḫâti êli-šu-nu aš-kun

Column II:

(55) (alu) A-du-mu-u âl dan-nu-ti (mâtu) A-ri-bi (56) ša (m, ilu) Sin-aḫi-erba šar (mâtu) Ašur (57) abû ba-nu-u-a ik-šu-du-ma (58) . . . ilâni-šu

COLUMN III:

(1, 2) and brought its gods to Assyria; (3) Hazael, king of Aribi came (4) with a heavy tribute (5) to Nineveh, my residence (6) and kissed my feet; (7) he pleaded for the gift of his gods. (8) I showed him favor, (9) and repaired the broken portions of those gods; (10) the power of Ashur, my lord, (11) as well as my name I inscribed upon them and (12) gave them back to him. (13) Tabûa, born in my palace, (14) I set over them in dominion, (15) and with her gods, gave her back to her land. (16) I added sixty-five camels to the (17) tax of my father, and (18) put them upon him. (19) After that fate carried away Hazael, and (20) I put Ya'lû his son (21) upon his throne, and added to his father's taxes (22) ten minas of gold, one thousand costly (?) stones, (23) fifty camels, one thousand measures (?) of spices, (24) and put them upon him.

2. PRISM B [1]

COLUMN V:

[The armory] (1) which the former kings, my fathers, had built, (2) to house equipments, and shelter the

[1] First published III R., 15, 16, corrections by R. F. Harper, in *Hebraica*, iii, pp. 177–185, who also gave a transliteration and translation, *ib.*, iv, pp. 146–157. See also Winckler in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, p. 140f., and *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 51, 52, and partly also by Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 123.

COLUMN III:

(1) a-na (mâtu) Aššur (ki) (2) [u]-ra-a (3) (m)Ḫa-za-ilu šar (mâtu) A-ri-bi (4) it-ti ta-mar-ti-šu ka-bit-ti (5) a-na Ninua (ki) alu bê-lu-ti-ia (6) il-lik-am-ma u-na-aš-ši-iḳ šêpâ-ia (7) aš-šu na-dan ilâni-šu u-ṣal-la-a-ni-ma (8) ri-e-mu ar-ši-šu-ma (9) ilâni ša-tu-nu an-ḫu-su-nu ud-diš-ma (10) da-na-an (ilu) Ašur bêli-ia (11) u ši-ṭir šumi-ia eli-šu-nu u-ša-aš-ṭir-ma (12) u-tir-ma ad-din-šu (13) (šal) Ta-bu-u-a tar-bit ekalli-ia (14) a-na šarru-u-ti eli-šu-nu aš-kun-ma (15) it-ti ilâni-ša a-na mâti-ša u-tir-ši (16) LXV (imêru) gammalê eli ma-da-at-te (17) abî-ia maḫ-ri-ti u-rad-di-ma (18) u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu (19) ar-ka (m)Ḫa-za-ilu šim-tu u-bil-šu-ma (20) (m)Ia-'-lu-u mâri-šu (21) ina kussî-šu u-še-šib-ma (22) X ma-na hurâṣi M abnî bi-ru-ti (23) L (imêru) gammale M kun zi rikkê (24) eli ma-da-te abi-šu u-rad-di-ma e-mid-su

COLUMN V:

(1) ša [šarrâni a-lik maḫ-ri abê-ia u-še-pi-šu] (2) a-na šu[-te-šur

horses, (3) mules, chariots, weapons, arms of battle, (4) the spoil of enemies, everything (5) which Ashur, the king of the gods, bestowed upon me as my royal share; (6) to care for the horses, and to drive in the chariots (7) . . . I made the inhabitants of the lands, the booty of my bow, (8) carry the bag and basket, and make bricks. (9) That small building I tore down in its entirety. (10) A large piece of land I took from the field as a building place (11) and added it. With *pili*-stones, a stone of the mountains . . . (12) I built a terrace. I demanded of the kings of the Hittite country, and of those beyond the sea, (13) of Ba'al, king of Tyre, Manasseh, king of Judah, (14) Kauš-gabri, king of Edom, (15) Musuri, king of Moab, (16) Ṣil-Bel, king of Gaza, Metinti, king of Ashkelon, (17) Ikausu, king of Ekron, Milkiashapa, king of Byblos, (18) Matanba'al, king of Arvad, Abiba'al, king of Samsimuruna, (19) Buduil, king of Bêt-Ammon, Akhumilki, king of Ashdod, (20) twelve kings of the sea-coast, Ekishtura, king of Idalion, (21) Pilagura, king of Chytrus, Kisu, king of Sillûa, (22) Ituandar, king of Paphos, Eresu, king of Sillu, (23) Damasu, king of Kuri, Atmezu, king of Tamesu,

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karašu pa-ḳa-di mur-ni-iṣ-ḳi] (3) (imêru) parê (iṣu) narkabâte [til-li u-nu-te taḫâzi (4) u šal-la-at na-ki-ri gi-[mir mimma šum-šu] (5) ša (ilu) Ašur šar ilâni a-na eš-ki šarrûti-ia [iš-ru-ka] (6) a-na šit-mur (imêru) sisî ši-tam-du-uḫ (iṣu) narkabâte (7) ni-ru šu-a-tu . . . nišê mâtâti ḫu-bu-ut ḳašti-ia (8) (iṣu) al-lu tup-šik-ku u-ša-aš-ši-šu-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu libnâti (9) ekalla ṣiḫ-ra šu-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša aḳ-ḳur-ma (10) ḳaḳ-ka-ru ma-'-du kima a-kut-tim-ma ul-tu libbi eḳlê ab-tuḳ-ma (11) eli-šu uš-rad-di ina (abnu) pi-i-li aban šadi-i . . . (12) tam-la-a u-mal-li ad-ki-e šarrâni (mâtu) Ḫat-ti u e-bir tamti (13) (m)Ba-'-lu šar (mâtu) Ṣur-ri (m)Me-na-si-e šar (alu) Ia-u-di (14) (m)Ḳa-uš-gab-ri šar (alu) U-du-me (15) (m)Mu-ṣur-i šar (alu) Ma-'-ba (16) (m) Ṣil-bel šar (alu) Ḫa-zi-ti (m)Me-ti-in-ti šar (alu) Is-ḳa-lu-na (17) (m)I-ka-u-su šar (alu) Am-ḳar-ru-na (m)Mil-ki-a-ša-pa šar Gu-ub-li (18) (m)Ma-ta-an-ba-'-al šar (alu) A-ru-a-di (m)A-bi-ba-al šar (alu) Sam-si-mu-ru-na (19) (m)Pu-du-ilu šar (alu) Bît-am-ma-na (m)Aḫi-mil-ku šar (alu) Aš-du-di (20) XII šarrâni ša kišad tam-tim (m)E-ki-iš-tu-ra šar (alu) E-di-'-al (21) (m)Pi-la-a-gu-ra šar (alu) Ki-it-ru-si (m)Ki-i-su šar (alu) Si-il-lu-u-a (22) (m)I-tu-u-an-da-[ar] šar (alu) Pa-ap-pa (m)E-ri-e-su šar (alu) Si-il-lu (23) (m)Da-ma-su šar (alu) Ku-ri-i (m)At-

(24) Damûsi, king of Qartihadasti, (25) Unasagusu, king of Lidir, Buṣusu, king of Nurênu, (26) ten kings of Cyprus, in the midst of the sea, (27) in all twenty-two kings of the Hittite country, of the sea-coast and of the midst of the sea, of them all (28) I demanded great beams, [tall columns, [Prisms A and C, Column V] (15) planks of cedar and cypress, (16) from the Sirara and Lebanon mountains, (17) female sphinxes and giant bulls (?) (18) stone thresholds, slabs of (19) alabaster Ashnan—, (20) Tushmina—, Breccia—, (21) Engishah—, Aladu and (22) Ginashar—gubba-stones[1] they brought from the mountains, (23) the place of their origin, (24, 25) with difficulty and labor (26) to Nineveh, for my palace.]

[1] These different varieties of stone are unknown to us, and cannot be translated.

me-zu šar (alu) Ta-me-su (24) (m)Da-mu-u-si šar (alu) Ḳar-ti-ḫa-da-as-ti (25) (m)U-na-sa-gu-su šar (alu) Li-di-ir (m)Bu-ṣu-su šar (alu) Nu-ri-e-nu (26) X šarrâni ša (mâtu) Ia-at-na-na ḳabal tam-tim (27) napḫar XXII šarrâni (mâtu) Ḫat-ti a-ḫi tam-tim ḳabal tam-tim kâli-šu-nu (28) u-ma-'-ir-šu-nu-ti-ma gušurî rabûti

(From Prisms A and C comes the continuation, which is here given. The passage is found in Column V, and the numeration of the lines follows that text.)

[(iṣu) dim-me sîrûti (15) (iṣu) a-tap-pi (iṣu) erinu (iṣu) šur-man (16) ul-tu ki-rib (šadû) si-ra-ra (šadû) lab-na-na (17) lamassî LID za-za-a-te (18) (abnu) askuppî a-gur-ri (19) ša (abnu) parûtu (abnu) AN.BU.TIR (20) (abnu) tuš-mi-na (abnu) tuš-mi-na turdu (21) (abnu) EN.GI.ŠAḪ (abnu) a-lal-du (22) (abnu) gi-na-šar-gub-ba ul-tu ki-rib ḫur-ša-ni (23) a-šar nab-ni-ti-šu-nu (24) a-na ḫi-šiḫ-ti ekalli-ia (25) mar-ṣi-iš pa-aš-ḳi-iš (26) a-na (alu) Ninua u-šal-di-du-u-ni]

3. The Campaign Against Arabia and Egypt (670 B. C.)[1] (K. 3082, 3086, S. 2027)

(6) In my tenth campaign [Ashur gave me confidence, and (7) I marched my troops to Magan and Melukh-kha (?)], and [turned] my face [to the land of . . .]

[1] The campaign is found upon a badly broken and joined tablet first published by Robert W. Rogers, *Two Texts of Esarhaddon* (Haverford College Studies, No. 2); portions also in III R., 35, No. 4. Translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, pp. 52ff.; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 123.

(6) ina ešri-e girri-ia (ilu) [Ašur utakkil-anni-ma . . . (7) u-ša-

(8) which in the tongue of the people of Kush and Egypt is called . . . (9) I called out the numerous troops of Ashur, which are in the . . . (10) In the month of Nisan, the first month, I left my city of Asshur. [I crossed] the Tigris and Euphrates at high flood, (11) [and] climbed hard mountains like a wild ox (?). (12) In the course of my campaign I erected siege works against Ba'al, king of Tyre, who had trusted in Tarqu, king of Kush, his friend, and (13) had shaken off the yoke of Ashur, my lord, and had expressed defiance of me, (14) I cut off from him food and drink, the means of life.

(15) From Egypt I broke camp and marched to Melukhkha. (16) Thirty *biru* of land from the city of Apḳu, which lies in the territory of the land of Samen[a], to the city of Raphia, (17) by the side of the brook of Egypt, a place where there is no river, in . . . necessity and want (18) I made my troops drink well water from jugs.

(19) When the command of Ashur, my lord, came into my ears . . . (20) camels of the kings of Aribi [without number I took from them], (21) twenty (?) *biru* of land, a journey of fifteen days . . . I marched. (22) Four *biru* , the district of Gabe, stones [. . .] I marched. (23) Four *biru* of land, a journey of two

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aš-bi-ta pa-nu-u-a a-na . . . (8) ša ina pi-i nišê (mâtu) Ku-u-si u mâtu Mu-ṣur . . . (9) ad-ki-e-ma ummânâte (ilu) Ašur gab-ša-a-ti ša ki [rib . . .] (10) ina araḫ Nisanu arḫi riš-tu-u ul-tu ali-ia Aššur at-tu-muš (nâru) Diglat (nâru) Purattu ina mi-li . . . (11) šadê mar-ṣu-ti ri-ma-niš aš-tam-di-iḫ (12) ina me-ti-iḳ girri-ia eli (m)Ba-'-lu šar (mâtu) Ṣur-ri ša a-na (m)Tar-ḳu-u šar (mâtu) Ku-u-si ib-ri-šu it-tak-lu-ma (13) nîr (ilu) Ašur bêli-ia is-lu-u i-tap-pa-lu me-ri-iḫ-tu (14) (alu) halṣâni eli-šu u-rak-kis-ma a-ka-lu u mu-u ba-lat napiš-tim-šu-nu ak-la (15) ul-tu (mâtu) Mu-ṣur karašu ad-ki-e-ma a-na (mâtu) Me-luḫ-ḫa uš-te-še-ra har-ra-nu (16) XXX kas-pu ḳaḳ-ḳar ul-tu (alu) Ap-ḳu ša pa-di (mâtu) Sa-me-n[a] a-di (alu) Rapi-ḫi (17) a-na i-te-e na-ḫal (mâtu) Mu-ṣur a-šar nâru la i-šu-u ina (?) [. . .] ḫar-ḫar-ri ḳal-ḳal-tu (18) mê bûri ina di-lu-u-ti ummânâte u-ša-aš-ki (19) ki-i ki-bit (ilu) Ašur bêli-ia ina uznâ-ia ib-ši-ma [. . .] bat-ti (20) (imeru) gam-ma-lî ša šarrâni (mâtu) A-ri-bi ka-li-šu-nu i[. . .]-šu-nu-ti (21) XX biru ḳaḳ-ḳar ma-lak XV û-me ina ši-pik (?) [. . .] ar-di (22) IV biru ḳaḳ-ḳar ina abnu gab-e mu-ṣa [. . .] a-lik (23) IV biru ḳaḳ-ḳar ma-lak II

days . . . serpents of two heads . . . died.[1] (24) I trampled on them, and marched four *biru* of land, a journey of two days, with green . . . (25) which . . . with wings. Four *biru* of land, a journey of two days . . . (26) Fifteen *biru* of land, a journey of eight days I marched . . . (27) Marduk, the great lord, came to my help . . . (28) he revived my troops, twenty days, seven . . . (29) in the territory of the land of Ma(?)-gan I rested (?)

(30) From the city of Ma-a[g-da-l]i, . . . (31) a course of forty kaspu of land I marched, . . . (32) that land was like stone . . . (33) like the point of a lance . . . (34) blood and . . . (35) hostile rebellious people. . . . (36) to the city of Ishkhupri.

[1] That is, probably *whoever was bitten by them died.*

û-me ṣîru II ḳaḳḳadî [. . .] i-]mu-ut-ma (24) ad-da-iš-ma e-te-iḳ IV biru ḳaḳ-ḳar ma-lak [II ûmê . . .] (25) ša ṣu-ub-bu-bu ina a-kap-pi IV biru ḳaḳ-ḳar ma-lak II û-[me . . .]-li-ti (26) XV biru ḳaḳ-ḳar ma-lak VIII û[me ar-di . . .] (27) (ilu) Marduk bêlu rabu-u ri-ṣu-ti il-lik-[-ma . . .] (28) u-bal-lit napiš-tim ummânâti-ia XX û-me VII [. . .] (29) ša me-ṣir (mâtu (?)) Ma-gan nu bat (?) [. . .] (30) ul-tu (alu) Ma-a[g-da-li ša pa-]i-di [. . .] (31) mi-ši-iḫ-ti XL kas-pu ḳaḳ-ḳar ar-di [. . .] (32) ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru šu-a-tu ki-ma abnu (?) [. . .] (33) ki-ma ṣip-ri (iṣu) tar-ta-ḫi [. . .] (34) da-mu u šar-ku el[lu . . .] (35) amelu nakru aḳ-ṣi a-d[i . . .] (36) a-na (alu) Is-ḫup-r[i . . .]

[1] Supplied by Winckler; doubtful, but very attractive.

ASHURBANAPAL

4. Ashurbanapal at Acco (About 645 B. C.)[1]

Column IX:

(115) On my return I captured Ushu, (116) which lies on the coast of the sea. (117) The inhabitants of Ushu, who

[1] The large ten-sided prism of Ashurbanapal in the British Museum. Published V R., 1–10. Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, iii. Translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch*, 3te Auf., p. 54; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 124.

Column IX:

(115) ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia (alu) U-šu-u (116) ša ina a-ḫi tam-tim na-da-ta šu-ba(t)-su ak-šu-ud (117) nišê (alu) U-šu-u ša a-na pihâti-

were not obedient to their governor, (118) had not paid tribute, (119) I smote them as the tribute of their land. (120) Among the rebellious people I set up judgment. (121) Their gods, [and] their people I carried as booty to Assyria. (122) The people of Acco who were rebellious I reduced, (123) their bodies I hung on poles (124) around the city; (125) the remainder I brought to Assyria. (126) I chose them for my army, and (127) added them to the numerous troops, (128) which Ashur had presented to me.

šu-nu la sa-an-ḳu (118) la i-nam-di-nu man-da-at-tu (119) na-dan mâti-šu-un a-duk (120) ina libbi(bi) nišê la kan-šu u-ti šip-tu aš-kun (121) ilâni-šu-nu nišê-šu-nu aš-lu-la a-na (mâtu) Aššur (ki) (122) nišê (alu) Ak-ku-u la kan-šu-ti a-nir (123) (amêlu) pagri-šu-nu ina (išu) ga-ši-ši a-lul (124) si-ḫir-ti ali u-šal-mi (125) si-it-tu-ti-šu-nu al-ḳa-a a-na (mâtu) Aššur (ki) (126) a-na ki-ṣir ak-ṣur-ma (127) eli ummanâtê-ia ma-'-da-a-ti (128) ša (ilu) Ašur i-ḳi-ša u-rad-di

X. NEBUCHADREZZAR (604–562 B. C.)

Nebuchadrezzar became king by his father's sudden death, the news of which reached him while he was at the head of a victorious army on the borders of Egypt. Returning posthaste to Babylon, he was received as king without a sign of trouble, and began a reign as brilliant as it was long, and as powerful as it was brilliant. Unhappily, very few inscriptions have been preserved in which there are any accounts of his great military campaigns, the major part of them all being devoted to elaborate accounts of the building and restoration of temples, palaces, streets, and canals all over the country. The meagerness of native inscription material forces us to depend chiefly upon the narratives of the Hebrews for an account of the chief events of his reign.

Jehoiakim, king of Judah, had paid his tribute for three years after Nebuchadrezzar left the southern

borders of his country for his hasty journey to assume the crown. He was then driven by a popular party, against the urgent advice of Jeremiah, to rebel and refuse longer to be considered a vassal king of the Babylonians. Nebuchadrezzar first let loose upon his land marauding bands of Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, and then, in 597, began a siege of Jerusalem. During its continuance Jehoiakim died, and his successor, Jehoiachin, was compelled to surrender the city, and, with eight thousand of his subjects, was carried into captivity. These men were settled, together with their families, in one great block by the river Chebar, a canal near Nippur. This deportation, though doubtless copied after the Assyrian usage, was not properly carried out. The Assyrians scattered their captives, so that they were rapidly assimilated by their neighbors and were deprived of all possibility of maintaining their old national life. These Jewish captives of Nebuchadrezzar were, on the other hand, enabled by their concentration to continue the offices of their religion, and by that means maintain their national exclusiveness. They soon became a thorn in Nebuchadrezzar's side, and so continued for a long period.

Meantime the government of Judah was placed in the hands of Mattaniah, son of Josiah, who was styled Zedekiah, and was sworn to obey Nebuchadrezzar. It is possible that he might have kept his oath but for the seductions of Hophra, king of Egypt, who had succeeded Necho II about 589, and was anxious to win back Syria for himself. Hophra roused to rebellion the states of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon. These sent an embassy to Zedekiah asking his assistance, and soon Judah had cast its lot into the

mad effort, despite the utmost efforts[1] of Jeremiah. In 587 the army of Nebuchadrezzar appeared, and the effort to starve the city by siege began. Soon after Hophra entered Palestine, and the Babylonians were compelled to raise the siege. The popular party which had driven the nation to war felt sure that this was the end and that victory was at hand. Jeremiah protested against this view in words of solemn weight: "Thus saith the Lord: Deceive not yourselves, saying, The Chaldeans shall surely depart from us: for they shall not depart. For though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet would they rise up every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire."[2] To those who trusted in Hophra his word was no less definite: "Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land. And the Chaldeans shall come again, and fight against this city; and they shall take it, and burn it with fire."[3] Men could not believe such a message as that in an hour of apparent hope, and the prophet was apprehended and cast into prison.[4]

The Babylonian army met the Egyptians somewhere south of Jerusalem and drove them back into Egypt, apparently without difficulty.[5] There was no pursuit, but the siege of Jerusalem was resumed at once. Famine, and perhaps pestilence,[6] assisted the besiegers, and on the ninth day of the fourth month (July), in the year 586, the Babylonians breached the walls and poured

[1] Jer. 27. 1–3. The first verse in the Masoretic text reads: "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah." It is clear, however, from verses 2, 12, and 20 that the text is corrupt. It is omitted by LXX, which should be followed. See Giesebrecht on the passage.

[2] Jer. 37. 9, 10. [3] Jer. 37. 7, 8. [4] Jer. 37. 11–15.

[5] Josephus (*Antiquities*, x, 7, § 3) declares that the Egyptians were defeated, but Jeremiah (37. 7), on whom he was doubtless leaning, says nothing of a defeat. [6] Jer. 38. 2.

into the city. Zedekiah fled, but was overtaken in the plains of Jericho, captured,[1] and taken to Riblah. There Nebuchadrezzar slew his sons before him and then put out his eyes.

The siege of Jerusalem had lasted a year and a half (587–586) and condign punishment was visited at once upon the city. Plundered of everything of value, it was given to the torch and a large number[2] of its inhabitants were carried away to join the former exiles in Babylonia. Over the poor who were left behind in the land Gedahiah, a descendant of the house of David, was made governor. Nebuchadrezzar had destroyed a rich province, which might have paid a great annual tribute into his coffers.

In 585 Nebuchadrezzar began a land siege of Tyre, which continued thirteen years (585–573) and ended in a truce, according to which Ethobal was to pay a tribute. It was impossible that Nebuchadrezzar should really conquer Tyre without a navy to blockade its port.

In 567 Nebuchadrezzar invaded Egypt, probably with the determination to punish its king for his interference in the affairs of Palestine and to prevent its recurrence in the future. But how complete was his success in Egypt we do not know.

Nebuchadrezzar based his chief claim to posterity's remembrance upon his great works of building all over Babylonia, but especially in Babylon itself. There Nabopolassar had begun to rebuild the city walls, but had only partially completed the work at his death. Nebuchadrezzar completed the inner wall Imgur-Bel and the outer wall Nimitti Bel, and constructed great

[1] 2 Kings 25. 4, 5.

[2] The number carried to Babylonia is quite unknown. Guthe (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 236, 237) estimates the total number at 36,000 to 48,000, which he counts as a quarter or eighth of the whole population.

city gates of cedar wood covered with bronze. Upon the east side of the city, at a distance of four thousand cubits from the outer wall, he built another massive wall. Before this was a great moat, basin-shaped, deep, and walled up with bricks like a quay. On the north, between the two city walls, and between the Euphrates and the Ishtar gate, was reared an artificial platform of brick laid in bitumen. Upon this he placed a citadel and connected it with the royal palace. This citadel made a watch tower, commanding the level country for several miles around, at the same time that it served to strengthen the walls.

Within the city was beautified; the street of Ai-ibur-shabu increased in height, leveled and repaved; the palace rebuilt upon a scale of magnificence unheard of before. He may well have felt and spoken as the Hebrew book records: "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?"[1]

[1] Dan. 4. 30.

1. East India House Inscription[1]

Column II:

(12) In lofty confidence in him (Marduk), (13) distant lands, (14) far-away mountains, (15) from the upper sea (16) to the lower sea, (17) steep paths, (18) closed roads, (19) where the step is imprisoned, (20) [where] there was no place for the foot, (21) difficult roads,

[1] The text is published I R., 53–58, and with a transcription into Neo-Babylonian, 59–64. See further C. J. Ball, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, x, pp. 87–129; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, 2, pp. 10–28; David W. McGee, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iii, pp. 528–534; Stephen Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, No. 15, p. 120f.

(12) i-na tu-kul-ti-šu ṣir-ti (13) mâtâti ru-ga-a-ti (14) ša-di-im ni-su-u-ti (15) iš-tu ti-a-am-ti e-li-ti (16) a-di ti-a-am-ti ša-ap-li-ti (17) ur-ḫu-um aš-ṭu-tim (18) pa-da-nim pi-ḫu-ti (19) a-ša-ar kib-si šu-up-ru-su (20) še-e-pi la i-ba-aš-šu-u (21) ḫa-ra-nam na-am-ra-ṣa

(22) thirsty roads (23) have I passed through, (24) destroyed the rebellious, (25) captured enemies, (26) ruled the lands, (27) permitted the people to flourish, (28) [but] the bad and evil (29) have I put away among the people.

(22) u-ru-uḫ zu-(ṣu)-ma-mi (23) e-ir-te-id-di-e-ma (24) la ma-gi-ri a-na-ar (25) ak-mi za-'-i-ri (26) mâtu uš-te-ši-ir-ma (27) ni-šim uš-ta-am-mi-iḫ (28) ra-ag-ga u ṣi-e-nim (29) i-na ni-ši u-še-is-si

2. Nebuchadrezzar in the Lebanon [1]

(3) From the upper sea[2] (4) to the lower sea[2] (5) . . . (6) which Marduk the Lord had entrusted to me, (7) among all lands, the totality of dwelling places, (8) I exalted Babylon to the first place. (9) Among the cities . . . (10) [I caused] her name to be praised. (11) The sanctuaries of Nabu and Marduk, my lords, (12) . . . continually . . . (13) at that time . . . the Lebanon, the cedar mountains, (14) the proud forest (?) of Marduk, (15) the scent is pleasant (16) of the cedars, its product. (17) The festival (?) of another god . . . (18) no other king . . . (19) . . . (20) My god Marduk,

[1] The inscription is found in a valley of the Lebanon called Wady Brisa. It was first published by Pognon, *Les inscriptions babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa* (Paris, 1887), and much corrected and improved by Stephen Langdon, *Les inscriptions du Wadi Brissā et du Nahr el-Kelb* (tiragà à part du Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archeologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, vol. xxviii. Paris, 1905), and republished after a study of the original by F. H. Weissbach, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars*, ii, *im Wadi Brisā und am Nahr el-Kelb* (Leipzig, 1906). The passage here given from col. ix appears in Weissbach's edition on Plate 38f., and the translation on p. 31. Compare also for the translation Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, pp. 56ff.; Stephen Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, No. 19, p. 150f.

[2] The upper sea is the Mediterranean, the lower is the Persian Gulf.

(3) [iš-tu] ti-a-am-tim e-li-ti (4) [a-di] ti-a-am-tim ša-ap-li-ti (5) [. . .]e da iš-mu [. . .] (6) [ša (ilu) Mar]duk beli ia-a-ti i-ki-pa-[an-ni] (7) i-na [kul-lat] [m]a-ti-ta-an gi-mi-ir d[a-ad-mi] (8) (alu) Babili a-na ri-še-e-ti u-[. . .] (?) (9) i-na ma-ḫa-zi ra-'- . . . (10) šum-šu a-na ta-na-da-a-ti . . . (11) a[š-r]a-a-ti (ilu) Nabu u (ilu) Marduk bele-e-a (12) mu-[da]-a-am ka-a-a-na . . . (13) i-na u-mi-šu (sâdu) La-ab-na-nu ša-ad (iṣu) [erini] (14) ki-ša-tim (ilu) Marduk šu-um-mu-uḫ-t[i]m (15) ša i-ri-iš-su ṭa-a-bu (16) ša (iṣu) erine ṣi-i-i[t-s]u (17) [ta-a]r-bi-ti ilu ša-nim-ma (?) . . . (18) . . . šarru ša-nim-[m]a la ip . . . (19) . . . ḫa-ti (?) uk (?) . . . šu

the king (21) for the palace of princes . . . of heaven and earth (22) was suited for adornment. (23) As an enemy, a stranger, had taken possession (of the mountain), (24) and had removed its products, (25) its inhabitants had fled and gone far away. (26) With the power of Nabu and Marduk, my lords, (27, 28) I ordered my troops to march to the Lebanon. (29) The enemy, above and below, (30) I drove out, and made the heart of the land to rejoice, (31) its scattered people I gathered, (32) and brought them back to their place. (33) That which no former king had accomplished (I did); (34) I cleaved high mountains, (35) lime-stone I broke off (and) (36) opened trails. (37) I cut a road for the cedars (38) and before Marduk, my king (39) (I brought) massive, tall, strong cedars, (40) of wonderful beauty, (41) whose dark appearance was impressive, (42) the mighty products of the Lebanon. (43) Like a reed . . . (44) [I made them] . . . the Arakhtu canal . . . (45) Into Babylon (46) beams . . .

(47) The people in the Lebanon (48) I made to dwell in peace and safety (49) I permitted no disturber to possess [the land]. (50) That none might produce confusion (51) I have set up my royal image for ever.

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(20) na-a-bu-u-a (ilu) Marduk šar-ri (21) a-na ekal ma-al-ki (?) . . . šame irṣiti (22) šu-lu-lu si-ma-at . . . (23) ša amelu nakru ahu-u i-bi-lu . . . (24) i-ki-mu ḫi-ṣi-ib-[šu] (25) ni-ša-a-šu ip-pa-ar-ša-a-ma i-ḫu-za ni-s[i-i]š (26) i-na e-mu-ḳu (ilu) Nabu u (ilu) Marduk bele-e-a (27) a-na šad La-ab-na-nu a-na . . . (28) u-sa-ad-di-ru [ṣabê-ia] (29) na-ka-ar-šu e-li-iš u ša-ap-li-iš (30) as-su-uḫ-ma li-ib-ba ma-a-ti u-ṭe-ib (31) ni-ša-a-šu sa-ap-ḫa-a-ti u-pa-aḫ-ḫi-ra-am-ma (32) u-te-ir aš-ru-uš-ši-in (33) ša ma-na-ma šarru ma-aḫ-ri la i-pu-šu (34) ša-di-im za-a[ḳ]-ru-u-tim e-ip-tu-uḳ-ma (35) abnê ša-di-[i]m u-la-at-ti-ma (36) u-pa-at-ta-a ni-ir-bi-e-ti (37) ma-la-ak (iṣu) erine uš-te-te-ši-ir (38) a-na ma-ḫa-ar (ilu) Marduk šar-ri (39) (iṣu) erine dan-nu-ti ši-ḫu-u-ti pa-ag-lu-tim (40) ša du-mu-uḳ-šu-nu šu-ku-ru (41) šu-tu-ru bu-na-a-šu-nu ṣal-mu (42) ḫi-ṣi-ib šâd Lab-ab-na-nu gab-ša-tim (43) ki-ma ḳa-ni-e *a-mar damal te kip* . . . (44) (naru) A-ra-a[ḫ]-tim u-ša-az-'- . . . (45) i-na ki-ri-ib [(alu) Bab-ili(ki)] (46) (iṣu) ṣa-ar-ba-ti . . . an (47) nišê ki-ri-ib šâd La-ab-na-nu (48) a-bu-ri-iš u-šar-bi-iṣ-ma (49) mu-ga-al-li-tu la u-šar-ši-ši-[na] (50) aš-šum ma-na-ma la ḫa-ba-li . . . (51) ṣ[a]-lam šar-ru-ti-ia da-er-a-[tim]

3. Nebuchadrezzar's Campaign Against Egypt[1] (567 B. C.)

(5) Gula who slays my foes . . . (6) . . . the queen who endowed me with strength of heart and (7) (might) of hand and consoles me (8) who causes . . . of my reign to be enlarged (9) . . . their. The kings, . . . of his power (10) and . . . pu his general and his hired soldiers like . . . (11) . . . he spoke unto. To his soldiers he (?) . . . (12) . . . who were before him (?) in the road . . . (13) In the thirty-seventh year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, (14) [the kings of] Egypt came up to do battle (15) and Amasis, king of Egypt called out his troops, (16) and . . . cu of the city of Budu-Yaman . . . (17) [and others from (?)] far-away regions in the sea (18) . . . numerous troops (?) which were in Egypt (19) . . . arms and horses . . . (20) . . . to his aid he called (21) . . . and before him (22) to make [war (?)] he trusted. (23) . . . their design (24) he accomplished their defeat (?) and (25) . . . (26) the destruction . . .

[1] Two small fragmentary tablets in the British Museum, first published by Pinches, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vii, pp. 210–225. Published also, with additions by Strassmaier, *Babylonische Texte*, vi, No. 329. Translated by Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, 2, pp. 140, 141, and by Langdon, *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, part i, pp. 180–183. For the historical content see Winckler, *Alte Orient*, 7th year, 2, pp. 30, 31, and compare Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 206, 207, compare also page 44.

(5) . . . (ilu) Gula ša tu-(?)-sam-kit a-a-bi-ia (6) . . . ki be-la-tu ša li-tu lib-bi (7) [u êmuḳ] ḳatâ tu-šak-šid-ma tu-ni-ḫi (8) . . . gir šarru-u-ti-ia tu-šar-ba (9) . . [ka]-li-šu-nu šarrani . . . i-id (?) ḳar-du-ti-šu (10) . . . pi abkalli-šu u ardâni-šu ki-ma . . . tu (11) . . . pu-uš i-ta-a-am a-na ṣabê-šu u . . . ma (12) . . . ša maḫ-ri (?) ki-ir-ba ḫar-an . . . (13) . . . šatti XXXVII kam (mi, ilu) Nabu-kudur-uṣur šar Bâb[ili ki] . . . (14) . . . mi-ṣir a-na e-peš taḫazi il-[lik-ma] (15) . . . A-ma(?)-su šar Mi-ṣir (?)-ma um-ma-[ni-šu id-ki-ma] (16) . . . ku-u ša (alu) Bu-ṭu-ia-a-man (17) . . na-gi-i ni-su-tu ša ki-rib tam-tim (18) . . . ša-ki ma-du-tu ša ki-rib (mâtu) Mi-ṣir . . . (19) . . . uš (?)-ši kakke (imêru) sisê u . . . (20) . . . ri]-ṣu-ti-šu id-kam-ma (21) za . . . ḳa-a ma-ḫar-šu (22) e-peš . . . it it-ta-kil-ma (23) a-ru . . . šak-(?) ṭe-e-mu (24) ka-bi-is-[ta-šu(?)] . . . [e-pu]-uš-ma (25) pa-šit-tim . . . šu-nu (26) ḫa-lik-tum . . . šu-nu (27) ni-su-tum . . . am

4. Building Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar [1]

Column I:

(1) Nebuchadrezzar, (2) king of Babylon, (3) preserver of Esagila and Ezida, (4) son of Nabopolassar, (5) king of Babylon, am I. (6) In order to strengthen the defences of Esagila, (7) that the powerful (8) evil and destroyer (9) might not approach Babylon, (10) that the front of the battle line might not draw near to Imgur-Bel, (11) the wall of Babylon; (12) that which no king before me (13) had done, I did, in that (14) on the outside of Babylon, (15) a great wall to the eastward (16) of Babylon I placed about the city. (17) Its moat I dug (18) and reached water-level, (19) then I saw (20) that the moat which my father had fixed (21) was too small in its construction. (22) A great wall, which like a mountain (23) cannot be moved, (24) of mortar and brick (25) I built, (26) with the moat which my father (27) placed (28) I joined it. (29) Its foundation upon the bosom of the abyss (30) I placed.

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[1] Published by Winckler, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, I, p. 337f.; transcribed also by McGee, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iii, p. 550. The original is in the British Museum, but casts of a duplicate, with some variations, are in the Berlin Museum, and are now published by Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Heft i, No. 40. For translation see Langdon, *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, i, pp. 72–75. Compare also Langdom, *Die Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, No. 4, pp. 80ff.

Column I:

(1) (ilu) Na-bi-um-ku-dur-ri-u-ṣu-ur (2) šar (alu) Ba-bi-il(ki) (3) za-ni-in E-sag-ila u E-zi-da (4) apal (ilu) Na-bi-um-aplu-u-ṣu-ur (5) šar (alu) Ba-bi-lam(ki) a-na-ku (6) aš-šum ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-ti E-sag-ila (7) du-un-nu-num (8) li-im-num u ša-ag-gi-šum (9) a-na (alu) Ba-bi-lam(ki) la sa-na-ga (10) ga-an ta-ḫa-zi a-na im-gur Bêl (11) dur (alu) Ba-bi-lam(ki) la ṭa-ḫi-e (12) ša ma-na-a-ma šar ma-aḫ-ri (13) la i-pu-šu (14) in ka-ma-at (alu) Ba-bi-lam(ki) (15) dûru dannu ba-al-ri ṣit (ilu) šamši (16) (alu) Ba-bi-lam(ki) u-ša-aš-ḫi-ra (17) ḫi-ri-su aḫ-ri-e-ma (18) šu-pu-ul mi-e ak-šu-ud (19) ap-pa-li-is-ma (20) ka-a-ri a-bi-im ik-zu-ur-ru (21) ga-ad-nu ši-ki-in-šu (22) dûra danna ša ki-ma sa-tu-um (23) la ut-ta-aš-šu (24) ina kupri u agurri (25) ab-ni-ma (26) it-ti ka-a-ri a-bi-im (27) ik-zu-ur-ru (28) e-se-ni-iḳ-ma (29) i-ši-su in i-ra-at ki-gal-lim (30) u-ša-ar-ši-id-ma

COLUMN II:

(1) Its head I raised (2) mountain high. (3) Along the city wall, to strengthen it, (4) I made it run, (5) and a great protecting wall (6) for the foundation of this wall of burnt brick I caused to be laid (7) and built it upon the bosom of the abyss, (8) and placed fast its base. (9) The fortifications of Esagila and (10) of Babylon I strengthened (11) and made an everlasting name (12) for my reign.

(13) O Marduk, lord of the gods, (14) my divine creator, (15) before thee (16) may my deeds be pious, (17) may they endure (18) forever. (19) Life for many generations, (20) abundance of posterity, (21) a secure throne, (22) and a long reign, (23) grant as thy gift. (24) Truly thou art my deliverer and my help, (25) O Marduk. (26) By thy faithful word, (27) that changes not, (28) may my weapons advance, (29) be dreadful and (30) crush the (31) arms (32) of the foe.

COLUMN II:

(1) ri-ši-šu ša-da-ni-iš (2) u-za-aḳ-ḳi-ir (3) i-ta-at dûri a-na du-un-nu-nim (4) u-ša-al-li-iš-ma (5) in-du a-sur-ra-a ra-bi-a-am (6) iš-di dûr a-gur-ri e-mi-id-ma (7) in i-ra-at [ki-gal-lim] ab-ni-ma (8) u-ša-ar-ši-id te-me-en-šu (9) ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-ti E-sag-ila (10) u (alu) Ba-bi-lam(ki) u-da-an-ni-in-ma (11) šu-ma-am dâra-a-am (12) ša šar-ru-ti-ia aš-ta-ak-ka-an

(13) (ilu) Marduk bêl ilâni (14) ilu ba-nu-u-a (15) in ma-aḫ-ri-ka (16) ip-še-tu-u-a li-id-mi-ka (17) lu-la-ab-bi-ir (18) a-na dâ-ir-a-tim (19) ba-la-ṭam da-ir-a (20) še-bi-e li-it-tu-ti (21) ku-un-nu ku-su-u (22) u la-ba-ri pa-li-e (23) a-na ši-ri-iḳ-tim šu-ur-ḳam (24) lu re-ṣi tu-kul-ti-ia (25) (ilu) Marduk at-ta-a-ma (26) in ki-bi-ti-ka ki-it-ti (27) ša la na-ka-ri-im (28) lu te-bu-u (29) lu za-aḳ-tu (30) ka-ak-ku-u-a (31) ka-ak na-ki-ri-im (32) li-mi-e-zu

5. WESTERN CAMPAIGN [1]

1 . . . . . .

2 . . . paths of the mountain

3 . . . way of death. arms

[1] Published by Strassmaier in *Hebraica*, ix, p. 5, from British Museum, Sp. ii, 407; translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 3te Auf., pp. 56, 57.

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(1) [. . . ku (?)]-nu lib-b[i . . .] (2) [. . . ni-e-ti ur-ḫi šadu u . . .] (3) [. . . u]-ru-uḫ mu-u-tum kakku in-na-d[i . . .

4 . . . inhabitants of the Hittite country, in the month of Airu, of the third year of
5 [Nebuchadnezzar king of] Babylon opposed his troops.
6 [Nebuchadnezzar] summoned his troops, in 13 days to
7 [the Hittite country] he marched. Of the people inhabiting Ammanu (Anti-Lebanon)
8 . . . . . their heads he beat off
9 . . . . . [upon poles] he hung
10 [. . . to . . .] he brought . . .

(4) . . . nišê (mât) Ḫat-tum ina arḫi airu šattu III-kan (5) . . . tin-tir(ki) pa-ni sâbê-šu is-ba-tu (6) [. . . id-ki-e-ma ina XIII(ta) û-mu a-na (7) [. . . kiḫ]-i ik-šu-da ša nišê a-ši-bi (alu) Am-ma-na-nu (8) [. . .] šu-nu kaḳḳadî-šu-nu u-be-ni-ma (9) [. . .]-di i-lu-ul-ma (10) [. . .] u-ša-aṣ-bit

6. Berossos on the Neo-Babylonian Period [1]

A little lower down Berossos adds what follows in his history of antiquity; I shall set down the words of Berossos, which are as follows: When Nabopolassar, his father [i. e., of Nebuchadrezzar], had heard that the satrap whom he had set over Egypt, and over the regions of Coele-Syria and Phœnicia, had revolted from him, being unable himself to endure the fatigue, committed certain parts of his forces to his son Nebuchadrezzar, who was still a young man, and sent him against the rebel.

[1] Josephus, Contra Apion, i, § 19, 134–138; Flavii Josephi Opera, edited by B. Niese (Berlin, 1889), Vol. v, pp. 24–26. Compare Des Flavius Josephus Schrift gegen Apion, Text und Erklärung aus dem Nachlass von J. G. Müller, herausgegeben durch C. J. Riggenbach u. C. von Orelli (Basel, 1877). Compare translation in Josephus, Whiston's translation, edited by A. R. Shilleto. London, 1890. Vol. v, pp. 192, 193.

[Εἶθ' ἑξῆς ὑποκαταβὰς ὀλίγον ὁ Βηρῶσος πάλιν παρατίθεται ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἱστοριογραφίᾳ]. αὐτὰ δε παραθήσομαι τὰ τοῦ Βηρώσου τοῦτον ἐχοντα τὸν τρόπον· „ἀκούσας δ' ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπολάσαρος, ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἐν τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβοκοδροσόρῳ ὄντι ἔτι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν· συμμίξας δε Ναβουκοδρόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ

Nebuchadrezzar joined battle with him, conquered him, and reduced the land at once to his dominion. It so happened at this time that his father fell ill in the city of Babylon and died, having reigned twenty-one years. When Nebuchadrezzar heard, not long afterward, of his father's end, he set in order the affairs of Egypt and the rest of the district, and committed the captives which he had taken from the Jews, Phœnicians, and Syrians, and from the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct the heavy-armed troops and the baggage to Babylonia, while he himself pushed over the desert with but a few to Babylon. When he arrived there he found that public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans and the kingdom preserved by the principal persons among them, so that he was now ruler of all his father's dominions, and ordered the captives, when they arrived, to be assigned dwelling places in the most convenient parts of Babylonia.

τ' ἐκράτει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο· τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ συνέβη Ναβοπολασάρῳ κατὰ τοῦτον τον καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει μεταλλάξαι τον βίον ἔτη βεβασιλευκότι κά· αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Ναβυνκοδρόσορος, καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμῆς ὀλιγοστὸς παρεγένετο διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξεν [αὐτοῖς] κατοικίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας τόποις ἀποδεῖξαι.

XI. NABONIDUS, BELSHAZZAR, AND CYRUS

Immediately upon the death of Nebuchadrezzar his son, Amel-Marduk,[1] the Evil-Merodach of the biblical

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[1] Man (servant) of Marduk.

writers,[1] ascended the throne and assumed the impossible burden of sustaining the vast empire which a great political and military genius had built up. The one event of his reign which has survived in the memory of man is preserved by the Hebrews alone.[2] He set Jehoiachin free—an act which indicates a policy directly opposed to that of his father. With this accords perfectly the reference of Berosos, who says that he ruled unlawfully and tyrannically.[3] He was assassinated and his brother-in-law, Nergal-shar-usur (i. e., "Nergal protect the king," Gr., *Neriglissor*), became king. He seems to have endeavored to follow closely the example of Nebuchadrezzar, whose daughter was his queen, and his inscriptions even imitate the phraseology of his great exemplar. He devoted himself largely to building and to restoration. Of the outer and larger politics of his reign we have only the hint that the relations of Babylon to Media were strained, and that the Medes pressed into the northern part of the valley and took Harran.

In 556 Nergal-shar-usur died, and his son, Labashi-Marduk, while still a youth, came to the throne. He was assassinated after but nine months of a precarious tenure of the throne, tradition alleging that he had displayed evil traits of character.[4] We may perhaps discern in this simply an excuse to justify his violent removal as a part of a priestly plot to win the throne. The supposition finds a justification in the appearance as king, not of a Chaldean, but of a man of Babylonian origin, Nabonidus, whose whole reign is a continuous manifestation of interest in all things priestly and religious.

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[1] 2 Kings 25. 27–30. [2] See passage just cited.
[3] *ἀνόμως και ἀσελγῶς*. Berosos, in Eusebi Chronicorum Liber Prior, ed. Alfred Schoene, col. 50.
[4] Says Berosus, *διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐκφαίνειν κακοήθη*.

Nabonidus (Babylonian, *Nabu-na'idu*, i. e., "Nabu is glorious") was the son of Nabu-balatsu-iqbi, and must have occupied a distinguished position in the kingdom before he ascended the throne. Like Nebuchadrezzar, he was a great builder, but unlike him by far the greater portion of his labors was given to the reërection of temples. Nebuchadrezzar had constructed palaces, laid out great streets, erected immense walls of defense. It was the glory of Nabonidus to see that gods dwelt more magnificently than men, and that ancient shrines fallen into ruin should arise in a grandeur far exceeding the glory of earlier days. Other kings had been content when rebuilding fallen walls of temples to clear away the rubbish to the ground, leveling off a surface higher than it had been and then building upon it. Nabonidus was not content with work of that character. He must dig down until the earliest foundation stones were discovered. If the temple had been several times rebuilt it interested him to have the records of the several kings who had worked upon it recovered. To this religious, and, if one might so say, archæological, passion we owe much of our knowledge of early Babylonian history, for he had all these records read to him as they were found, and his own inscriptions carefully preserve the accounts of those who had built before him. No longer are building inscriptions dreary wastes of boastful words recording the erection of walls "mountain high," they are now decorated with the names of mighty kings of the distant past, whose honor Nabonidus was proud to record, as he linked his own name with theirs.

To us the archæological researches of the king are not merely interesting; they afford us in some instances our only means of restoring kings of bygone days to

their proper place in history. But devotion to the gods and a passion for archæological learning seem to have worked ill for kingcraft. He was not building walls of defense, as had Nebuchadrezzar; he was not making an army, as had Nabopolassar. The slow growth of a mighty new power beyond his eastern borders made no impression on his absorbed mind. He had no political insight and could not see that the new power would soon be strong enough to covet his dominions and to take them. When Cyrus had driven the Medes out of Harran, Nabonidus glories in the "young servant of Marduk,[1] as he calls him, but does not see that this young servant of Marduk would soon be driven by his own destiny and growing ambition to become his enemy and successor. On the contrary, Nabonidus brings an army to rebuild the temple in Harran, and lays his whole empire under tribute to pay the cost while he glories in the deeds of those whose royal hands had laid its early foundations.

Nabonidus lived in Tema, a place whose insignificance had given it no other mention in the annals of his country. There we can imagine him absorbed in great plans for temple building and restoration and engrossed in the work of his historiographers, who brought him their calculations of the dates when other kings had lived.

The affairs of state, the command of the army, the administration of public affairs had all fallen into the hands of the king's son, Belshazzar (Babylonian, *Belshar-usur*, "Bel protect the king"), who ruled in his father's name and enjoyed his confidence and affection.

Nabonidus seems to have neglected Babylon in very

[1] arad-su ṣa-aḫ-ri. Nabonidus, Abû-Habba, cylinder i, 29. Compare *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, 2, p. 98.

large measure. He calls himself, indeed, by the official title borne by former kings, "Preserver of Esagila and Ezida," but his concerns were evidently elsewhere. In the ancient city of Sippar he razed to the foundations the remains of the temple of the Sun (Shamash), which had been restored but forty-five years before by Nebuchadrezzar. There he found the very lowest foundation stone, on which his savants read the name of Naram-Sin, who lived, as their records showed, thirty-two hundred years before.[1] Upon that exact spot the new foundations were laid and above them rose a new temple far more splendid than the former. For its roof no less than five thousand cedar beams were brought from the far-distant northland, while yet others were required for its massive doors.

At about the same time he reconstructed the temple of E-ulbar, the shrine of the goddess Ishtar-Anunit. There he did not find the earliest foundation, but contented himself with one laid only eight hundred years before his time.

While all these works were in progress another people, fresh and vigorous, untainted by the decay which civilization has often brought, were preparing to undo this splendor and possess the wealth and power which Nabonidus had inherited or amassed.

The beginnings of new powers in the world's history are usually obscure, and to this rule the rise of the great people who were to engulf Babylonia is no exception. But certain lines in the great movement are sufficiently clear to be traced with some certainty. The fall of Nineveh was brought about by the alliance between the Medes and the Babylonians, but it was

[1] V R., 62, b, 57–60. Compare *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.*, iii, 2, p. 105; compare Rogers *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, p. 318f.

the former who struck the fatal blow. The leader of this new Median state was Cyaxares (Uvakhshatara), whose reign lasted until 585 B. C. It was he who really made the name of Medes a terror over all western Asia. It is difficult to follow his course, for the people whom he led were men of action, not writers of tablets, like the Babylonians. We can, however, see them possessing all Assyria after Nineveh was laid waste, and with it the whole of the great northern valley between the Tigris and Euphrates, including those Babylonian cities which had acknowledged the Assyrian overlordship. By 560 their dominion was acknowledged as far west as the Halys, which separated them from the kingdom of Lydia, over which Crœsus, of proverbial memory, was now king (560–546 B. C.).

While these conquests were proceeding, and the world seemed ready to bow down at the feet of the overpowering Medes, there had been born in Anshan, as the son of Cambyses, the boy Cyrus, who grew to manhood as king of Anshan, and as a tributary prince beneath the authority of Astyages, king of the Medes. It was impossible that a man such as he should long remain beneath the sway of another. In 553 he arose against Astyages, and, according to the story which Nabonidus has preserved for us, Astyages was delivered bound into his hands by his own treacherous troops. In 550 Cyrus took Ecbatana and sacked it, and brought there to an end the Median power. The Persians under Cyrus now fell heir to all that the Medes had won, and in 549 turned against Crœsus, who was taken in 546. The Lydian empire was now also brought under Persian control, and before the end of 545 the entire peninsula of Asia Minor was a part of the new Persian empire, divided into satrapies and governed with a strong hand. Even

the isles of the sea began to give submission to the power that had in a night strode out of the unknown wilds of Asia and broken rudely upon the dreams of the Greeks, not only in the islands, but even in the peninsula itself.

Cyrus had now prepared the way for the absorption of Babylonia, with its valuable possessions in Syro-Phœnicia along the Mediterranean coast. While these far-reaching conquests were awaking alarm, even in distant Greece, Nabonidus was paying no heed, busily absorbed as ever in the building and restoring and exploring for ancient foundation stones. The record of his fatuous course is written in the sententious phrases of the Babylonian Chronicle, which record his residence in Tema. In 549, when the Lydian king was full of preparations for the struggle which he knew to be inevitable, Nabonidus was in Tema. In 547 he was still in Tema, and did not even enter Babylon to pay reverence at the great shrine of the gods, or to direct the urgent affairs of state. On the fifth day of the month of Nisan the king's mother died at Dur-Karasu, on the Euphrates above Sippar, and for her a great mourning was made. But on that same day Cyrus crossed the Tigris below Arbela and entered Assyria. Belshazzar was in northern Accad with an army, and on him were such hopes of defense as the country may have felt.

The Chronicle is now badly broken, as an examination of the copy[1] will show, and we are not able to follow the events from year to year. When next the narrative is resumed the year 539 has been reached and Nabonidus is busy removing gods from their shrines to Babylon. In that same year Cyrus met Belshazzar at

[1] See Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, 2, p. 128f.

the canal of Salsallat, near Opis, and defeated him. On the fourteenth day of Tammuz, Sippar was taken without a blow, and two days later the van of the army of Cyrus entered Babylon as the gates swung open without resistance[1] to receive it. Cyrus was not in command, but had remained behind, while Ugbaru (Goburyas), governor of Gutium, led the advance. Nabonidus was taken prisoner in the city. Cambyses, son of Cyrus, seems to have been called king at first, but Cyrus himself was later called king of Babylon, "king of lands."

[1] Cyrus-Cylinder, line 17 (see below, p. 381).

1. INSCRIPTION FROM THE FOUR CLAY CYLINDERS OF NABONIDUS, KING OF BABYLON[1]

COLUMN I:

(1) Nabonidus, king of Babylon, (2) supporter of E-sagila (3), and E-zida (4), who fears the great gods, am I.

(5) E-Lugal-malga-si-di, (6) the step tower of E-gis-shir-gal, (7) which is in Ur, (8) which Ur-Engur, a king of former time, (9) had built but finished not; (10) Dungi, his son, (11) did finish his work. (12) (From the inscriptions of Ur-engur (13) and Dungi, his son, I learned (14, 15) that Ur-engur built that step tower, (16) but had not finished it; (17, 18) Dungi, his son, finished the work.) (19) This step tower (20) had now become old, (21) and upon the old foundation, (22) which Ur-Bau and

[1] These cylinders were found at the four corners of the temple of Sin at Ur. Published I R., 68, No. 1. Transliterated and translated by Peiser, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.*, iii, 2, pp. 94ff.; Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, No. 5, pp. 250ff.

COLUMN I:

(1) (m, ilu) Nabû-na'id šar Babili(ki) (2) za-ni-in E-sag-ila (3) ù E-zi-da (4) pa-liḫ ilâni rabûti a-na-ku (5) E-lugal-malga-si-di (6) ziḳ-ḳu-rat E-giš-šir-gal (7) ša ki-rib Ur(ki) (8) ša (m)Ur-(ilu) engur šarru šu-ut maḫ-ri (9) i-pu-šú-ma la u-šak-li-lu-uš (10) (ilu) Dun-gi mâri-šu (11) ši-pu-šu ú-šak-lil (12) i-na mu-sa-ri-e ša Ur-(ilu) Engur (13) ù (ilu) Dun-gi mâri-šu a-mur-ma (14) ša ziḳ-ḳu-rat šú-a-ti (15) Ur-(ilu) Engur i-pu-šú-ma (16) la u-šak-li-lu-uš (17) (m, ilu) Dun-gi mari-šu ši-pir-šu (18) u-šak-lil (19) i-na-an-ni ziḳ-ḳu-rat šú-a-tú (20) la-ba-ri-iš il-lik-ma (21) e-li te-me-en-na la-bi-ri (22) ša (m)Ur (ilu) Engur ù

Dungi, (23) his son, had built, I undertook the reconstruction (24) of this temple tower, (25) as of old, (26, 27) with bitumen and burned brick, (28) and for Sin, the lord of the gods of heaven and earth, (29) the king of the gods, the gods of gods (30) that inhabit the great heavens, the lord of E-gish-shir-gal, which is (31) in Ur, my territories, [Column II] (1) I founded (2) and built it.

(3) O Sin, lord of the gods, (4) king of the gods of heaven and earth, (5) the god of gods, (6) that inhabits the great heavens, (7) when thou dost (8) joyfully enter into that house, may the (9) good done to Esagila, (10) Ezida and E-gisshir-gal (11) the temples of thy great godhead (12) be upon thy lips, (13) and the fear of thy (14) great godhead do thou (15) implant in the heart of its people, let them not sin (16) against thy great godhead, (17) like the heavens let their foundations (18) stand fast.

(19) As for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, (20) save me from sinning against (21) thy great godhead. (22) A life of far days as a gift (23) grant unto me.

(24) And as for Belshazzar, (25) the first-born son, (26) the issue of my body, (27) do thou implant in his heart (28) the fear of thy great divinity. (29) Let him not turn (30) unto sinning. (31) Let him be satisfied with fullness of life.

(ilu) Dun-gi (23) mari-šu i-pu-šú (24) ziḳ-ḳu-rat šu-a-ti (25) ki-ma la-bi-ri-im-ma (26) i-na ku-up-ri ù a-gur-ri (27) ba-ta-ak-šu aṣ-bat-ma (28) a-na (ilu) Sin bel ilâni ša šami-e u irṣi-tim (29) šar ilâni ilâni[1] ša ilâni (30) a-ši-ib šamê-e rabûti bel È-giš-šir-gal (31) ša ḳi-rib Ur(ki) beli-ia. [Column II] (1) uš-ši-iš-ma (2) e-pu-uš

(3) (ilu) Sin be-lí ilâni (4) šar ilâni ša šamê-e u irṣi-tim (5) ilâni ša ilâni (6) a-ši-ib šamê-e rabûti (7) a-na bîti šú-a-ti (8) ḫa-di-iš i-na e-ri-bi-ka (9) damḳâti É-sag-ila (10) E-zi-da E-giš-šir-gal (11) bîtâti ilu-ú-ti-ka rabî-(ti) (12) liš-ša-ki-in šap-tuk-ka (13) ù pu-luḫ-ti ilu-ú-ti-ka (14) rabî-ti lib-bi nišê-šu (15) šú-uš-kin-ma la i-ḫaṭ-ṭu-ú (16) a-na ilu-ú-ti-ka rabî-ti(ti) (17) ki-ma šamê-e iš-da-šú-nu (18) li-ku-nu (19) ia(-a-)ti (ilu) Nabû-na'id šar Bâbili(ki) (20) i-na ḫi-ṭu ilu-ú-ti-ka (21) rabîti(ti) šu-zib-an-ni-ma (22) ba-la-ṭu û-mu ru-ḳu-ti (23) a-na ši-riḳ-ti šur-ḳam (24) ù ša (m, ilu) Bel-šar-uṣur (25) mâru reš-tu-u (26) ṣi-it lib-bi-ia (27) pu-luḫ-ti ilu-ú-ti-ka rabî-ti (28) lib-bu-uš šú-uš-kin-ma (29) ai ir-ša-a (30) ḫi-ti-ti (31) la-li-e balâṭi liš-bi

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[1] Word repeated by mistake of the scribe.

2. THE CYLINDER OF CYRUS[1]

(1) . . . . . his troops (2) . . . quarters of the world (3) . . . a weakling was established in rule over the land (4) *and* . . . a similar one he appointed over them, (5) like E-saggil he made . . . to Ur and the rest of the cities, (6) a command dishonoring them . . . he planned daily and in enmity, (7) he caused the daily offering to cease; he appointed . . . he established within the city. The worship of Marduk, king of the gods . . . (8) he showed hostility toward his city daily . . . his *people* he brought all of them to ruin through servitude without rest. (9) On account of their complaints the lord of the gods became furiously angry and *left* their land; the gods, who dwelt among them, left their homes, (10) in anger over his bringing into Babylon. Marduk . . . to all the dwelling places, which had become ruins, (11) and the people of Sumer and Akkad, who were like corpses . . . he turned and granted

[1] Published V R., Plate 35 (London, 1880), 2d edition, 1910. Transliterated and translated by Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, 2, pp. 120ff. Transcribed and translated after a new collation of the text by O. E. Hagen, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 208ff. (1891). Transliterated and translated anew by Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achmäeniden* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek), pp. 2ff.

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(1) . . . . . -ni-šu (2) [. . . . . -ki]-ib-ra-tim (3) . . . . . -ka gal ma-tu-ú iš-šak-na a-na e-nu-tu ma-ti-šu (4) ši-[. . . . . ta-am]-ši-li ú-ša-aš-ki-na ṣi-ru-šu-un (5) ta-am-ši-li É-sag-ila i-te-[. . . . . -ti]m a-na Uri(ki) ù si-it-ta-tim ma-ḫa-za (6) pa-ra-aṣ la si-ma-a-ti-šu-nu ta-[. . . . . -l]i û-mi-šá-am-ma id-di-ni-ib-bu-ub ù ana na-ak-ri-tim (7) sat-tuk-ku ù-šab-ṭi-li ú-ad-[di . . . . . iš]-tak-ka-an ki-rib ma-ḫa-zi pa-la-ḫa (ilu) Marduk šar ilâni [šá]-ḳi-še a-šu-uš-šú (8) li-mu-ut-ti ali-šú [i-te]-ni-ip-pu-uš û-mi-šá-am-ma na-[. . . . niše] i-na ab-ša-a-ni la ta-ap-šú-úḫ-tim ú-ḫal-li-iḳ kul-lat-si-in (9) a-na ta-zi-im-ti-ši-na (ilu) Ellil (lil) ilani iz-zi-iš i-gu-ug-ma . . . ki-su-úr-šú-un ilâni a-ši-ib lib-bi-šú-nu i-zi-bu ad-ma-an-šú-un (10) i-na ug-ga-ti šá ú-še-ri-bi a-na ki-rib Babili (ilu) Marduk ti- . . . li-sa-aḫ-ra a-na nap-ḫar da-ád-mi šá in-na-du-ú šú-bat-su-un (11) ù niše mât Šú-me-ri ù Akkadi(ki) ša i-mu-ú ša-lam-ta-aš ú-sa-aḫ-ḫi-ir ka- . . . -ši ir-ta-ši ta-a-a-ra kul-lat ma-ta-a-ta ka-li-ši-na i-ḫi-iṭ ib-ri-e-

mercy. In all lands everywhere (12) he searched, he looked through them and sought a righteous prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. Cyrus, king of Anshan, he called by name, to lordship over the whole world he appointed him. (13) The land of Qutu, all the Umman-manda, he cast down at his feet. The black-headed people, whom he gave his hands to conquer, (14) he took them in justice and righteousness. Marduk, the great lord, looked joyously on the caring for his people, on his pious works and his righteous heart. (15) To his city Babylon he caused him to go, he made him take the road to Babylon, going as a friend and companion at his side. (16) His numerous troops, in number unknown, like the waters of a river, marched armed at his side. (17) Without battle and conflict he permitted him to enter Babylon. He spared his city Babylon a calamity. Nabonidus, the king, who did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. (18) All the people of Babylon, of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors, fell down before him and kissed his feet. They rejoiced in his sovereignty, their faces shone. (19) The lord, who by his power brings the dead to life, who amid *destruction* and *injury* had protected them, they blessed him joyously, honoring his name.

šu (12) iš-te-'-e-ma ma-al-ki i-ša-ru bi-bil lib-bi šá it-ta-ma-aḫ ḳa-tuš-šú (m)Ku-ra-aš šar ali An-šá-an it-ta-bi ni-bi-it-su a-na ma-liku-tim kul-la-ta nap-ḫar iz-zak-ra šú-[ma-šu] (13) mât Ḳu-ti-i gimir um-man Man-da ú-ka-an-ni-ša a-na še-pi-šu niše ṣal-mat ḳaḳḳadu(du) ša ú-šá-ak-ši-du ḳa-ta-a-šu (14) i-na ki-it-tim ú miša-ru iš-te-ni-'e-ši-na-a-tim (ilu) Marduk belu rabu ta-ru-ú niše-šu ip-še-e-ti šá dam-ḳa-a-ta ù lib-ba-šú i-šá-ra ḫa-di-iš ip-pa-al-li-is (15) a-na ali-šú Bab-ilani(ki) a-la-ak-šú ik-bi ú-ša-aṣ-bi-it-su-ma ḫar-ra-nu Babili ki-ma ib-ri ù tap-pi-e it-tal-la-ka i-da-a-šu (16) umma-ni-šu rap-ša-a-tim šá ki-ma me-e nari la ú-ta-ad-du-ú ni-ba-šúun ḳakke-šú-nu ṣa-an-du-ma i-šá-ad-di-ḫa i-da-a-šú (17) ba-lu ḳab-li ù ta-ḫa-zi ú-še-ri-ba-aš ki-rib Babili ala-šú Bab-ilani(ki) i-ṭi-ir i-na šap-šá-ki (m, ilu) Nabu-na'id šarru la pa-li-ḫi-šú ú-ma-al-la-a ḳa-tuuš-šu (18) niše Babili ka-li-šú-nu nap-ḫar mât Šú-me-ri u Akkadi(ki) ru-bi-e ù šak-ka-nak-ka šá-pal-šú ik-mi-sa ú-na-aš-ši-ḳu še-pu-uš-šu iḫ-du-ú a-na šarru-ú-ti-šu im-mi-ru pa-nu-uš-šu-un (19) be-lu šá i-na tu-kul-ti-šá ú-bal-li-ṭu mi-tu-ta-an i-na bu-ta-ḳu ù pa-ki-e ig-mi-lu

(20) I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world, (21) son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anshan; great-grandson of Teïspes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan; (22) eternal seed of royalty whose rule Bel and Nabu love, whose government they rejoice in in their heart. When I made my triumphal entrance into Babylon, (23) with joy and rejoicing I took up my lordly residence in the royal palace, Marduk, the great lord, moved the noble heart of the inhabitants of Babylon to me, while I gave daily care to his worship. (24) My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon. In all Sumer and Akkad I permitted no enemy to enter. (25) The needs of Babylon and of all its cities I gladly took heed to. The people of Babylon [and . . .], and the dishonoring yoke was removed from them. Their dwellings, (26) which had fallen, I restored. I cleared out their ruins. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced in my pious deeds, and (27) graciously blessed me, Cyrus, the king who worships him, and Cambyses, my own son, and all my troops, (28) while we, before him, joyously praised

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kul-la-ta-an ṭa-bi-iš ik-ta-ar-ra-bu-šu iš-tam-ma-ru zi-ki-ir-šú (20) a-na-ku (m)Ku-ra-aš šar kiš-šat šarru rabu šarru dan-nu šar Babili šar mât Šú-me-ri ù Ak-ka-di šar kib-ra-a-ti ir-bit-tim (21) mar (m)Ka-am-bu-zi-ia šarru rabu šar alu An-šá-an mar mari (m)Ku-ra-aš šarru rabu šar alu An-šá-an ŠA.BAL.BAL (m)Ši-iš-pi-iš šarru rabu šar alu An-ša-an (22) ziru da-ru-ú ša šarru-ú-tu ša (ilu) Bel u (ilu) Nabu ir-a-mu pa-la-a-šu a-na ṭu-ub lib-bi-šu-nu iḫ-ši-ḫa šarru-ut-su e-nu-ma a-na ki-rib Babili e-ru-bu sa-li-mi-iš (23) i-na ul-ṣi ù ri-šá-a-tim i-na ekal ma-al-ki ar-ma-a šú-bat be-lu-tim (ilu) Marduk belu rabu lib-bi ri-it-pa-šu šá mare Babili ù . . . an-ni-ma û-mi-šam a-še-'-a pa-la-aḫ-šu (24) um-ma-ni-ia rap-ša-tim i-na ki-rib Babili i-šá-ad-di-ḫa šú-ul-ma-niš nap-ḫar mat [Šu-me-ri] ù Akkadi(ki) mu-gal-[l]i-tim ul ú-šar-ši (25) dannat Babili ù kul-lat ma-ḫa-zi-šu i-na šà-li-im-tim aš-te-'-e mare Babi[li . . .] ki ma-la lib-[. . .]-ma ab-ša-a-ni la si-ma-ti-šu-nu šú-bat-su-un (26) an-ḫu-ut-su-un ú-pa-aš-ši-ḫa ú-šá-ap-ṭi-ir sa-ar-ba-šu-nu a-na ip-še-e-ti-[ia] (ilu) Marduk belu rabuú-iḫ-di-e-ma (27) a-na ia-a-ti (m)Ku-ra-aš šarru pa-li-iḫ-šu ù (m)Ka-am-bu-zi-ia mari ṣi-it lib-bi-[ia ù a]-na nap-ḫar um-ma-ni-ia (28) da-am-ki-iš ik-ru-ub-ma i-na ša-lim-tim ma-ḫar-ša ṭa-bi-iš ni-

his exalted godhead. All the kings dwelling in palaces, (29) of all the quarters of the earth, from the Upper to the Lower sea dwelling . . . all the kings of the West-land dwelling in tents (30) brought me their heavy tribute, and in Babylon kissed my feet. From . . . to Asshur and Susa, (31) Agade, Eshnunak, Zamban, Meturnu, Deri, with the territory of the land of Gutium, the cities on the other side of the Tigris, whose sites were of ancient foundation—(32) the gods, who dwelt in them, I brought them back to their places, and caused them to dwell in a habitation for all time. All their inhabitants I collected and restored them to their dwelling places. (33) And the gods of Shumer and Akkad, whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon, by command of Marduk, the great lord, (34) I caused them peacefully to take up their dwelling in habitations that rejoiced the heart. May all the gods, whom I brought into their cities, (35) pray daily before Bel and Nabu for long life for me, and may they speak a gracious word for me and say to Marduk, my lord, "May Cyrus, the king who worships thee, and Cambyses, his son, (36) their . . . I permitted all to dwell in peace . . .

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it-ta-['-id i-lu-ti-šu] ṣir-ti nap-ḫar šarri a-ši-ib parakke (29) ša ka-li-iš kib-ra-a-ta iš-tu tam-tim e-li-tim a-di tam-tim šap-li-tim a-ši-ib kul-[. . .] šarrani mati A-mur-ri-i a-ši-ib kuš-ta-ri ka-li-šu-un (30) bi-lat-su-nu ka-bi-it-tim ú-bi-lu-nim-ma ki-ir-ba Babili ú-na-aš-ši-ku še-pu-ú-a iš-tu [. . .] a-di alu Aššur(ki) ù Šušan(ki) (31) A-ga-de(ki) mâtu Eš-nu-nak (alu) Za-am-ba-an (alu) Me-túr-nu, Deri(ki) a-di pa-aṭ mât Ḳu-ti-i ma-ḫa-za [šá e-bir]-ti (nâru) Diḳlat šá iš-tu ap-na-ma na-du-ú šú-bat-su-un (32) ilâni a-ši-ib lib-bi-šu-nu a-na aš-ri-šú-nu ú-tir-ma ú-šar-ma-a šú-bat da-er-a-ta kul-lat niše-šu-nu ú-pa-aḫ-ḫi-ra-am-ma ú-te-ir da-ád-mi-šu-un (33) ù ilâni mât Šú-me-ri ù Akkadi(ki) šá (m, ilu) Nabu-na'id a-na ug-ga-tim bel ilâni ú-še-ri-bi a-na ki-rib Babili i-na ki-bi-ti (ilu) Marduk belu rabû i-na šá-li-im-tim (34) i-na maš-ta-ki-šu-nu ú-še-ši-ib šú-ba-at ṭu-ub lib-bi kul-la-ta ilâni ša ú-še-ri-bi a-na ki-ir-bi ma-ḫa-zi-šu-un (35) û-mi-ša-am ma-ḫar (ilu) Bel ù (ilu) Nabu ša a-ra-ku ume-ia li-ta-mu-ú lit-taš-ka-ru a-ma-a-ta du-un-ki-ia ù a-na (ilu) Marduk beli-ia li-ik-bu-ú ša (m)Ku-ra-aš šarri pa-li-ḫi-ka u (m)Ka-am-bu-zi-ia mari-šu (36) da . . . ib-šú-nu lu-ú . . . ka-li-ši-na šú-ub-ti ni-iḫ-tim

. . . . . .

birds and doves (?)

. . . . . .

his . . . I made strong . . .

. . . . . .

[The remainder of the tablet affords only about nine separated words which yield no connected meaning.]

ú-še-ši-ib [. . .] paspase u TU.KIR.ḪU (38) [. . . ad-m]a-na-šu du-un-nu-nim aš-te-'-e-ma

LEGAL TEXTS

I. A KUDURRU, OR BOUNDARY STONE

THE name of this stone: "Ninib and Nusku establish the boundary" is its name.[1]

XXII (gur) 170 (ka) of seedfield, $\frac{1}{18}$ gan (*reckoned*) at 30 ka of seed, *equivalent* to a large cubit.

	IV USH, upper length, west, adjoining			
River Tigris	I USH, lower width, south adjoining the bank of the Tigris	Bît-Ṣir-appil	Royal Canal	II USH, X GAR upper width, north, adjoining (*the property of*) the lord of countries
	III USH, LV GAR (lower length) east, *adjoining* Bît-Suḫur-Gal-du			

COLUMN I:

Ellil,—the exalted lord, ruler of heaven and earth,
Prince, lord of all
King of the great gods, who in heaven and earth

[1] Published in transliteration and translation by W. J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur* (1907), pp. 142ff.

Šum (abnu) narî an-ni-i (ilu) NIN-IBU (ilu) Nusku-mu-kin-kudur-ri-šum-šu
XXII (gur) 170 (ḳa) (sheu) zêru $\frac{1}{18}$ GAN 30 ḳa I ammatu rabîtu

	IV UŠ šiddu elû amurrû UŠ.SA.DU			
nâru Idiḳlat	I UŠ pûtu šaplu šutu kišad (nâru) Idiḳlat	Bît (m, ilu) Ṣir-ap-pi-li	nâr šarri	II UŠ X GAR pûtu elû iltânu UŠ.SA.DU bêl mâtâti
	III UŠ LV GAR (šiddu šaplû) šadû UŠ.SA.DU Bit-(m)Su-ḫur-Gal-du			

COLUMN I:

(ilu) En-lil bêl ša-ḳu-u-ú e-til šamê(e) u irṣiti
rubû bêl gim-ri
šar ilâni rabûti ša ina šamê(e) u irṣiti

(4) has not his equal (5) upon the giving of whose command the Igigi (6) prostrate themselves upon their faces, do homage reverently, (7) and to his decision the Anunnaki (8) wait submissively, stand humbly, (9) the lord of lords, the word of whose mouth (10) no god can annul, (11) the ruler of the Anunnaki, the lord of the black-headed *people*, (12) dominator of lands, ruler of kingdoms, (13) the god, whose splendor is overwhelming (?) and full of brilliance, (14) with whose glory the whole extent of heaven, (15) all habitations, and all dwellings are clothed, (16) with whose majesty the lands are covered, (17) whose rule is beyond compare, whose divinity cannot be equaled, (18) whose decision is weighty, whose command is exalted, (19) whose law is first, whose ways are wonderful, (20) who rules heaven and earth, who sustains the lands, (21) who calls the faithful shepherd, who appoints the governor of earth (22) forever, with the light of his gracious countenance, with his shining face (23) upon Nebuchadrezzar the prince, his favorite, (24) who is devoted to his sanctuaries, he looked faithfully, and [Column II] (1) that he might shepherd Shumer and Akkad, (2) that he might restore the sanctuaries of the city of dwellings (3) and regulate the tithes of Ekur and Nippur, (4) the weapon of his enemy he broke and (5) the sceptre of

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(4) la i-ba-aš-šu-ú ilu ša-nin-šu (5) šá a-na na-dan ur-ti-šú (ilu) I-gí-gí (6) ap-pa i-lab-bi-nu ú-taḳ-ku-ú pal-ḫiš (7) ù a-na ši-tul-ti-šú (ilu) A-nun-na-ku (8) aš-riš šú-ḫar-ru-ru na-zu-uz-zu šá-aḫ-ṭíš (9) be-el ša i-piš pî-šú la ú-šam-sa-ku (10) ilu ai-um-ma (11) ra-šub-bi (ilu) A-nun-na-ku be-el ṣal-mat ḳaḳḳadi (12) ka-bit mâtâti mut-tar-ru-ú ba-'-ú-la-ti (13) ilu šá melammi-šú saḫ (?)-pu-ú nam-ri-ir-ri ṣa-'-nu (14) šá-ru-ru-šú ka-la si-ḫi-ip ša-ma-me (15) nap-ḫar ḳi-ni-e u kal da-ad-me lit-bu-uš-ma (16) ša ḳum-mat-su mâtâti ka-at-ma (17) be-lut-su la iš-ša-na-nu la um-daš-ša-lu ilu-su (18) par (?)-su-šú šit-ru-ḫu billudû-šu ṣiru šak-ku-šú riš-tu-ú al-ka-ka-tu-šu nak-la (20) mu-ma-'-ir šame(e) u irṣiti mu-kil mâtâti (21) na-bu-ú rê'û ki-nu mu-ad-du-ú ša-kan irṣiti (22) a-na šat-ti ina nûr pânû-šu damḳuti ina bu-ni-šu nam-rù-ti (23) (ilu) Nabû-kudurri-uṣur rubû me-gir-šú (24) muš-te-'-ú aš-ra-ti-šu ki-niš ip-pa-is-ma [Column II] (1) a-na (m)rê- û-ut (mâtu) Šú-me-ri u Akkadi(ki) (2) a-na ud-du-uš eš-rit ma-ḫa-az da-[a]d-me (3) ù sa-dar satuk E-kur u Nippur(ki) (iṣu) kakku na-ki-ri-šu ú-šib-bir-ma (5) ṣir-rit (m)nakri-

his enemy he placed in his hand, (6) a life of eternal days he granted him, and (7) above any king, that went before him, he magnified his name. (8) Because of the regulation of the tithes of Ekur, because of the magnificent sacrifices, (9) because of the rich gifts and the treasures before Ellil, (10) because of the prostrations before the lord and the son of the lord, (11) with which to Ellil and Ninib he paid reverent homage, (12) because of the utterance of supplications, because of the word of the king, the priest, (13) Nusku-ibni, son of Upakhkhir-Nusku, priest of Ellil, (14) the . . . of Nusku, the chief of Duranki, (15) to the king, the faithful shepherd, the prince, the favorite of Ellil, (16) because of his supplication, he looked faithfully, and (17) Bau-shum-iddina, the son of Khunna, the friend of his lord, (18) who stood before the king, the servant whose word (19) was always weighty and respected before the (20) governor of Babylon, the controller of Bit-Sin-sheme, (21) the prince, his favorite, he sent and (22) upon the command of the king of uprightness (23) Nebuchadrezzar, the king of the world, (24) who laid the foundation of the land, (25) XXII (gur) 170 (ḳa) of seedfield, arable land, (26) which had been exposed to flooding, (27) a field of the town of Mâr-Akhattua, (28) on the bank of the Tigris, in the district of Bit-Sin-sheme, (29) where since

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šú ḳa-tu-uš-šu it-muḫ (6) balâṭ ûmê da-ru-ú-ti iš-ruḳ-šum-ma (7) eli šarri a-lik maḫ-ri ú-ša-tir šùm-šu (8) Ina sa-dar satuk E-kur ina niḳê šum-du-li (9) ina igisê ḫab-ṣu-ú-ti ina na-kín-ti maḫ-ri (ilu) En-lil (10) ina li-bi-en ap-pi ša a-na bêli u mâr bêli (11) šá ana (ilu) En-lil u (ilu) NIN.IB pal-ḫi-iš ú-taḳ-ḳu-ú (12) ina zu-ru-ub ZI-ŠAG. GAL-li ina amât šarri nisakki (13) (m, ilu) Nusku-ibni mâr (m)Upaḫḫir-Nusku nisak (ilu) En-lil (14) [UḪ.ME].ZU.AB (ilu) Nusku laputtû DUR.AN.KI (15) [a]-na šarri rê'î ki-ni rubû me-gir (ilu) En-lil (16) ina ut-ni-ni-šu ki-niš ippalis-su-ma (17) (m, ilu) Ba-ú-šùm-iddina(na) mâr (m)Ḫu-un-na i-bir beli-šu (18) na-an-za-az maḫ-ḫar šarri ki-zu-ú ša ultu ul-la (19) at-mu-šú na-as-ḳu-ma šú-zu-uz-zu ina maḫ-ri (20) šakkanak Bâbili(ki) ša-kìn Bît-(m, ilu)Sin-še-me (21) rubû me-gir-šu ú-ma-ir-ma (22) ina ḳa-bi-e šar me-ša-ri (23) (ilu) Nabû-kudurri-uṣur šar kiššati (24) mu-kin iš-di ma-a-ti (25) XXII (gur) 170 (ḳa) (sheu) zêru eḳlu ḳi-ru-ba-a (26) šá a-na bu-tuḳ-ti šaknu(nu) (27) ugâr âli ša Mâr (m)Aḫ-at-tu-ú-a (28) ina kišâd (nâru) Idiḳlat ina piḫât Bît (m, ilu) Sin-še-me (29) ša ultu

former days no ditch had been dug, (30) no vegetation had grown up, and which under cultivation (31) had not been brought, but had been exposed to the inroads of the water,—namely (32) I[V] UŠ, upper length, west, adjoining [Column III] (1) Bit-Sir-appili and the district of Bit-Sin-sheme (2) III USH, LV GAR, lower length, east, (3) adjoining Bit-Sukhur-Gal-du (4) II USH, X GAR, upper width, north, adjoining (5) Bit-Ushbula, which had been given to the Lord of countries, (6) I USH, lower width, south, on the bank of the Tigris, (7) in all XXII (gur) 168⅔ (ḳa) 5 (gin) of seedfield, $\frac{1}{18}$ GAN (reckoned) at 30 ḳa of seed, (equivalent) to a large cubit, (8) a field of the town of Mâr-Akhattua, in the district of Bit-Sin-sheme, (9) Bau-shum-iddina, the governor of Bit-Sin-sheme, (10) measured and to Nusku-ibni, son of Upakh-khia-Nusku, (11) the priest of Ellil, the UKH.ME.ZU.AB of Nusku, (12) the magistrate of Nippur, his servant, forever (13) granted. The surveyors of this field were Nabû-zêr-lîshir, (14) son of Itti-Marduk-balâtu, a descendant of Ardi-Ea, (15) and Nabunna, son of Akhi, the commander (16) of Bit-Sin-sheme. (17) Whenever, for all days to come (18) for the future of human habitations, (19) be it shepherd or governor, or agent or regent, (20) levy master or magistrate, *who* overthrows the

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ûmi(mi) pa-na i-ku la šap-ku (30) abšênu la šú-zu-za-at-ma a-na me-riš-ti (31) la šú-lu-ku-ú-ma a-na me-ti-iḳ mê šaknu(nu) [Column III] (1) Bît (m, ilu) Ṣir-ap-pi-li u piḫât Bît (m, ilu) Sin-še-me (2) III UŠ LV GAR šiddu šaplû šadû (3) US.SA.DU Bît-(m)Su-ḫur-Gal-du (4) II UŠ X GAR pûtu elû iltânu UŠ.SA.DU (5) Bît-(m)Uš-bu-la ša a-na bêl mâtâti nadu(nu) (6) I UŠ pûtu šaplû šûtu kišad (naru) Idiḳlat (7) napḫar XXII (gur) 168⅔ (ḳa) V (gin) (sheu) zêru $\frac{1}{18}$ GAN XXX ḳa I ammatu rabîtu (8) ugâr âli ša Mâr-(m)Aḫ-at-tu-ú-a piḫat Bît-(m, ilu)Sin-še-me (m, ilu) Ba-ú-šum-iddina(na) ša-kîn Bît-(m)Sin-še-me (10) im-šú-uḫ-ma (m, ilu) Nusku-ib-ni mâr (m)Upaḫḫir-(ilu)Nusku (11) (m)nisak (ilu) En-lil UH.ME.ZU.AB (ilu) Nusku (12) ḫa-za-an (âlu) Nippur(ki) arad-su ana ûmê(me) ṣa-a-ti (13) i-ri-im pa-lik eḳlu šú-a-tu (m, ilu) Nabû-zêr-lîšir (14) mâr (m)Itti-(ilu)Marduk-balâṭu ŠÀ.BAL (m)Ardi-(ilu)Ea (15) u (m, ilu) Nabû-un-na mâr (m)A-ḫi (m)ša-kin ṭe-me (16) ša Bît-(m, ilu)Sin-še-me (17) Ma-tî-ma ana ûmê(me) da-ru-ú-ti (18) a-na aḫ-rat niše a-pa-ti (19) lu-ú rê'û lu-u šakkanakku lu ak-lu lu ša-pi-ru (20) lu ri-du-ú lu ḫa-za-an-nu ša-ar-ḳi eḳlu šú-a-tu

grant (21) of this field and for the pasture land (22) sends some one and (23) with evil purpose causes it to be seized, (24) stretches out his finger unto evil, (25) under any levy seizes a canal digger, (26) cuts down the plants of an official of canal or land, (27) who *makes a claim* and takes (28) that field, *who gives it away* or returns it to the governor (29) and *says* it is not remaining (30) or [Bau-shum-iddina, the governor of Bit-Sin-sheme,] (31) has not [given it to Nusku-ibni, son of Upakhkhir-Nusku,] (32) magistrate of Nippur . . . (33) *says* that field has not been measured,] [Column IV] (1) has not been presented, not given, (2) has not been received,—(3) may Anu, the king, the father of the gods, angrily overthrow him (4) and destroy his life, (5) Ellil, the exalted lord, who decrees (6) the fate of the gods, an evil fate (7) decree for him that calamity, misfortune, (8) and the word of men may oppress him. (9) Ea, king of the ocean, lord of wisdom, (10) take away from him gladness of heart, happiness of mind, (11) abundance and fullness, that (12) lamentation may seize him. (13) Sin, the lord of the crown of splendor, (14) darken his face, that he have no merriment (?). (15) Shamash and Ramman, the mighty gods, (16) the exalted judges, give him (17) evil plans, and with a judgment of justice (18) and upright-

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(21) i-nam-du-ma a-na i-ki-li ri-'-ti (22) ú-ma-'-a-ru ša-nam-ma (23) ina lim-ni-ti ú-šá-ḫa-zu (24) ubâni-šú a-na limutti(ti) i-tar-ra-ṣu (25) ina il-ki di-ku-ti ṣa-bat amêlu ḫi-ri-e nâra (26) ba-ḳa-an šam-mi kal-li-e nâri u ta-ba-li (27) uš-aš-šú-u ú[šad-ba-bu (?)]-ma eḳlu šú-a-t[u] (28) ik-ki-mu ú[-ša-aš-ra-ḳu (?) a-na] pihâti i-t[u-ur-ru] (29) ul ri-ḫu (30) u (m, ilu) Ba-[ú-šùm-iddina(na) ša-kîn Bit-(m, ilu) Sin-še-me (31) a-na (m, ilu) [Nusku-ib-ni mâr (m)Upaḫḫir-Nusku . . .] (32) ḫa-za[-an âlu Nippur(ki) ul i-ri-im-šu i-ḳab-bu-ú (?)] (33) eḳlu [šú-a-tu ul ma-ši-iḫ (?)] [Column IV] (1) ul ša-ri-iḳ ul na-di-in (2) ul ma-ḫi-ir-mi i-ḳab-bu-ú (3) (ilu) A-nu šarru abi ilâni ag-giš li-tal-lik-šu-ma (4) nap-šá-tuš li-bal-li (5) (ilu) En-lil bêl ša-ḳu-ú mu-šim (6) ši-mat ilâni ši-mat ma-ru-uš-ti (7) li-šim-šú-ma lu-ub-na ni-el-me-na (8) a-mat niše li-gi-sa-šú (9) (ilu) E-a šàr apsî bêl ta-šim-ti (10) nu-gu ka-bit-ti nu-mur libbi na-ḫa-ša (11) ḫa-ba-ṣa li-kim-šú-ma (12) ni-is-sa-tu li-ilḳi-šú (13) (ilu) Sin bêl agê na-me-ru-ti (14) bu-ni-šu liṭ-ṭe-šu-ma lil-li ai îši (15) (ilu) Šamaš u (ilu) Rammân ilâni ga-aš-ru-tu (16) daanê ṣirûti lu mu-lam-me-nu (17) i-gir-ri-šu šú-nu-ma di-in kit-ti (18) u me-ša-ri ai i-di-nu-šu

ness may they not judge him. (19) Ninib, lord of boundaries and boundary-stones, tear out his boundary stone. (20) Gula, great lady, put lingering illness (21) into his body, that dark and light red blood he may pour out like water. (22) Ishtar, lady of countries, whose fury is a flood, (23) reveal difficulties to him, that (24) he escape not from misfortune. (25) Nusku, mighty lord, powerful burner, (26) the god, my creator, be his evil demon (27) and may he burn his root. (28) Whoever *removes* this stone, in the dust (29) hides it, [Column V] (1) burns it with fire, casts it into water, (2) shuts it up in an enclosure, causes a fool, (3) a deaf man, an idiot to take it, (4) places it in an invisible place, (5) may the great gods, who upon this stone (6) are mentioned by their names, curse him (7) with an evil curse, tear out his foundation and destroy his seed. (8) At the sealing of this tablet (9) Shamash-naṣir, the *shuppar-shak* of Sin-sheme, (10) Kububu, the gatekeeper of the palace of Bit-Sin-sheme, (11) Shi-tariba, the dignitary of Bit-Sin-sheme, (12) Takishu, son of Kin-pi-Shamash, (13) administrator of the property of Bit-Sin-sheme, (14) Atu'u, son of Kidish, seer of Bit-Sin-sheme, (15) Rimut-Gula, governor of Bit-Sin-sheme, (16) Nabunna, son of Akhi,

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(19) NIN.IB bêl me-iṣ-ri u kudurri kudurra-šu lissuḫ(uh) (20) (ilu) Gu-la bêltu rabîtu si-im-ma la-az-za (21) ina zumri-šu liškun-ma dâma u šarḳa kîma mê li-ir-muk (22) (ilu) Iš-tar bêlit mâtâti ša ru-ub-ša a-bu-bu (23) nam-ra-ṣa li-kal-lim-šu-ma ai ú-ṣi (24) ina ú-ša-ki (25) (ilu) Nusku bêl ga-aš-rum a-ri-rum ka-ru-bu (26) [ilu] ban-nu-ú-a lu rabiṣu limutti-šu šú-ma (27) li-ḳa-am-me šur-ši-sú (28) [ša (abnu)] narâ an-na-a (29) . . . ŠIM.MEŠ ina e-pi-ri (30) i-tam-me-ru. [Column V] (1) ina išâti i-ḳal-lu-ú a-na mê inamdû(u) (2) ina (iṣu) lipitti i-pi-ḫu-ú sa-ak-la (3) sa-ak-la lâ šêmâ ú-ša-aš-šú-ma (4) a-šar la a-ma-ri i-ša-ka-nu (5) ilâni rabûti ma-la ina (abnu) narî (6) an-ni-i šùm-šu-nu zakrû ar-rat limutti (7) li-ru-ru-šu išid-su lissuḫu(ḫu) u zêri-šu liḫalliḳu (8) i-na ka-nak li-ú šú-a-tu (9) (m, ilu) Šamaš-nâṣir (m)šaḳ-šup-par (m, ilu) Sin-še-me (10) (m)Ku-bu-bu amel bâb ekalli Bît-(m, ilu) Sin-še-me (11) (m)Ši-ta-ri-ba (m)šaḳ Bît-(m, ilu) Sin-še-me (12) (m)Ta-ki-šu mâr (m)Ki-in-pî-(ilu) Šamaš (13) (m)ša-kin bu-ši Bît (m, ilu) Sin-še-me (14) (m)A-tu-'-ú mâr (m)Ki-diš (daš) (m)bârû Bît-(m, ilu) Sin-še-me (15) (m)Ri-mut-(ilu) Gu-la bêl paḫâti Bît-(m, ilu) Sin-še-me (16) (m, ilu) Nabû-un-na (mâr) (m)A-ḫi

commander (17) of Dur-Rim-Sin in Bit-Sin-sheme, (18) Kasshu, the scribe, the priest of Bit-Sin-sheme, (19) Sin-zer-ibni, magistrate of Dur-Rim-Sin (20) in Bit-Sin-sheme, Pirsha, prefect of Bit-Sin-sheme, (21) Amel-Ishin, son of Khunna, (22) Kashshu, son of Khunna, (23) Gula-zêr-iḳisha, son of Khunna, (24) also Nabu-zer-lishir, son of Ardi-Ea, (25) were present. (26) The sixteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar.

(m)ša-kin (17) ṭe-me (âlu) Dûr-Rîm-(ilu) Sin Bît-(m,ilu) Sin-še-me (18) (m)Kaš-šu-u (amêlu) dup-šar šangu Bît-(m,ilu) Sin-še-me (19) (m, ilu) Sin-zêr-ib-ni ḫa-za-an (âlu) Dûr-Rîm-Sin (20) Bît-(m, ilu) Sin-še-me (m)Pir-šá (m)nâgir Bît-(m, ilu) Sin-še-me (21) (m)Amel-(âlu) I-ši-in mâr (m)Ḫu-un-na (22) (m)Kaš-šu-ú mâr (m)Ḫu-un-na (23) (m, ilu) Gu-la-zêr-ikiša(ša) mâr (m)Ḫu-un-na (24) u (m, ilu) Nabû-zêr-lîšir mâr (m)Ardi-(ilu) E-a (25) iz-za-zu (26) šattu XVI (kan) (ilu) Nabû-kudurri-uṣur šarru

II. A CERTIFICATE OF ADOPTION[1]

(1) Ina-Uruk-rishat, daughter of [. . . mu] shallim (?), (2) had no daughter, and therefore (3, 4) she adopted Etirtu, daughter of Ninib-mushallim, as her daughter. (5) Seven shekels of gold she gave. (6) She may give her to a husband, (7) she may appoint her a temple slave,[2] (8) *but* she may not make her a servant. (9) If she do make her a servant, (10) Etirtu shall go to her father's house. (11) As long as Ina-Uruk-rishat lives (12) Etirtu shall pay her reverence. (13) When Ina-Uruk-rishat dies (14) Etirtu, as her daughter, (15) shall offer the water libation. (16) If Ina-Uruk-

[1] Published by Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur, Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers* (1906), Series A, vol. xiv, No. 40, Plate 19. It is transliterated and translated by Ungnad, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (1906), col. 533ff., and again translated by the same in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 139.

[2] That is, a hierodule, or sacred harlot.

[(1) (sal) I-na-Uruk(ki)-r]i-š[at] mâr[at(m) . . . .mu-š]allim (?) (2) [mâr]ta (?) ul i-šu-ma (3) [(sal) E-ṭ]i-ir-tum mârat (m, ilu) NIN.IB-mu-šal-lim (4) [a]-na ma-ru-ti ilkiši (5) VII šiḳil ḫurâṣi id-di-in (6) šum-ma a-na mu-tim i-nam-din-ši (7) šum-ma ḫa-ri-mu-ta ip-pu-us-si (8) amat-sa u-ul i-ša-ka-an (9) amat-sa i-ša-ak-ka-an-ma (10) a-na bît abišâ uṣ-si (11) a-di (sal) I-na-Uruk(ki) ri-šat ba-al-ṭa-tu (12) (sal) E-ti-ir-tum i-pa-al-la-aḫ-ši (13) (sal) I-na-U-ru-uk-ri-šat i-ma-at-ma (14) (sal) E-ṭi-ir-tum mârat-sa (15) me-e i-na-

rishat should say, (17) "Thou art not my daughter," (18) she shall lose[1] the gold which she has paid (?). (19) If Etirtu should say, "*Thou art* not my mother," (20) she shall become a servant. (21) There shall no claim be made.[2] (22) Before Ellil, Ninib, Nusku, (23) and King Kurigalzu (24) they have made oath together.

(25) Before Damkum, her uncle on the mother's side. (26) Before Raba-sha-Ninib. (27) Before Ellil-ibni, son of Ellil-ishu. (28) Before Etel-pi-Azagshug (?), son of Amel-Marduk; (29) before Rish-Marduk, son of Ba'il-Nusku; (30) before Arad-Belit, the scribe, son of Ninib-mushallim. (31) The fifth day of Shebat (?), the twenty-first year (32) of Kurigalzu, king of the world.

[1] Literally, "be free of."
[2] Kurigalzu II ruled about 1350 B. C. See Table of Chronology.

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ak-ki-ši (16) (sal) I-na-Uruk(ki)-ri-šat (17) u-ul mar-ti i-ga-ab-bi-ma (18) i-na ḫurâṣi-ša ga-as-sa il-li (19) (*sal*) E-ṭi-ir-[t]um ul um-mi i-ga-ab-bi-ma (20) a-mu-ut-sa iš-ša-ak-ka-an (21) ul iraggumu(u) ul itar(ru) (22) niš (ilu) Bêl (ilu) NIN.IB (23) (ilu) Nusku u Ku-ri-gal-zu šarri (24) ište-niš itmû

(25) maḫar (m)Dam-ḳum aḫ ummiša (26) mâr Raba-a-ša-(ilu) NIN.IB (27) maḫar (m, ilu) Bêl-ib-ni mâr (ilu) Bel-ni-šu (28) maḫar (m)E-tel-pî (ilu) AZAG.ŠUD mâr Amêl-(ilu) Marduk (29) maḫar (m)Ri-iš-(ilu) Marduk mâr Ba-il-(ilu) Nusku (30) maḫar (m)Ardu-Bêlit tupšarru mâr (ilu) NIN.IB-mu-šal-lim (31) [(arḫu) ša]baṭu (?) ûmu V (kam) šattu XXI (kam) (32) [Ku-ri-gal-z]u (?) šar kiššati [(33) . . .]

III. A MARRIAGE CONTRACT[1]

(1) In the second year of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, (2) spoke Nabu-zer-kit-lishir, son of Bel-ikisha, son of . . . (3) to Bel-ikisha, son of Kudurru, son of . . . (4) as follows: "I have no child,[2] (5) I wish a child,

[1] Published by Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königliche Museem zu Berlin*, vi, No. 3. Transliterated and translated by the same in Beihefte zur *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, ii, p. 19. Compare also Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 139.
[2] He was already married; see below, line 11. For a marriage of this sort compare also Hammurapi Code, §§145.

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(1) attu II (Škam) (m, ilu) Nabû-ablu-uṣur šar Bâbili(ki) (2) (m, ilu) Nabû-zêr-kit-lîšir abil-šu ša (m)Bêl-iḳîša ša abil [. . .] pi (3) a-na (m, ilu) Bêl-ikîša ša abil-šu ša (m)Kudurru abil (amêlu) [. . .] (4) ki-a-a iḳ-bi um-ma mâru-ú-[a] (5) ia-a-nu mâru ú-ba-'i

Kulla, (6) thy daughter, give me as wife." (7) Bel-ikisha hearkened to Nabu-zer-kit-lishir (8) and Kulla, his daughter, (9) a virgin, he gave him in marriage. (10) In the day that Esagila-banata, (11) his first wife, shall bear a child (12) two thirds of the estate shall be for her. (13) In the day that Kulla shall bear a child (14) one third of the estate of Nabu-zer-kit-lishir (15) shall be for her. In the day that (16) Esagila-banata (17) *childless* (18) *dies*, while Kulla (19) has *children*, the entire estate (20) of Nabu-zer-kit-lishir, (21) in city and country, whatever there is, (22) shall be for Kulla and her children.

(23) Witnesses: Asharidu, son of Piru, (24) son of Shanishishu, (25) Marduk-zer-ibni, son of Sukhaa. (26) Document scribe: Mushezib-Marduk, (27) son of Rabâ-ša-Addu. Babylon, month of Iyyar, (28) fourteenth day, second year of Nabopolassar, (29) king of Babylon.

(sal) Kul-la-a (6) mârat-ka bi-nam-ma lu-ú aššatû-a (7) ši-i (m, ilu) Bêl-ikîša ša (m, ilu) Nabu-zêr-kit-lîšir (8) iš-me-e-ma (sal) Kul-la-a mârat-su (9) ba-ṭul-la-tum a-na aššu (šu)-tu id-da-aš-šu (10) ina ûmu(mu) (sal) Ê-sag-ila-ba-na-ta (11) aššat-su maḫ-ri-tum mâru ta-at-tal-da (12) II ta kâtâti II meš nikasi pa-ni-šu id-dag-gal (13) ina ûmu(mu) (sal) Kul-la-a mâru ta-at-tal-da (14) šal-šu ina nikasi ša (m, ilu) Nabu-zer-[ki]t-lîšir (15) pa-ni-šu id-dag-gal ina ûmu(mu) (16) (sal) Ê-sag-ila-ba-na-ta (17) [. . .] (18) [. . .] ša (sal) Kul-la-a (19) [mârê (meš) ir-ta-]aš-šú-ú nikasu (20) [gab-bi-ša] (m, ilu) Nabû-zêr-kit-lîšir (21) ša ali u ṣêri ma-la ba-šu-ú (22) pa-ni (sal) Kul-la-a u mârê-šu id-dag-gal

(23) (amêl) mu-kin-nu (m)A-ša-ri-du abil-šu ša Pir-'u (24) abil (m)Ša-na-ši-šu (25) (m, ilu) Marduk-zêr-ibni abil (m)Su-ḫa-a-a (26) [ša-]ṭir (aban) tuppi (m)Mu-še-zib-(ilu) Marduk (27) [abil (m)Rabâ]-ša (ilu) Addu Bâbili(ki) (araḫ) Âri (28) ûmu XIV (kam) šattu II (kam) Nabu-ablu-uṣur (29) šar Bâbili(ki)

IV. THE CODE OF HAMMURAPI

In December, 1901, and January, 1902, M. J. de Morgan, while excavating the acropolis of Susa, found among the debris three large fragments of a block of black diorite. They fitted perfectly together, and when joined formed a stele 2.25 meters high and tapering

from 1.90 to 1.65 meters. At the upper end of the front side was a bas-relief representing the seated sun god Shamash presenting the code of laws to Hammurapi. The bas-relief measures .65 meters in height by .60 meters in width, and is finely executed in the hard stone.

The inscription begins immediately below the relief and is the longest cuneiform Semitic inscription which has yet been recovered. The inscription is carried beltwise around the stele in parallel columns, and the reader was therefore required to turn his head downward and sidewise toward the left in order to read the inscription. On the front side there are still preserved sixteen columns, the lower five additional columns having been chiseled off and the stone repolished, evidently with the purpose of cutting another inscription upon it. On the reverse twenty-eight columns are preserved, with some slight breaks due to the chipping of the surface. When complete the entire inscription is estimated by Johns to have contained "forty-nine columns, four thousand lines, and about eight thousand words."

The stele was originally set up at Sippar, and was carried thence, probably as a trophy, to Susa, but by what Elamite monarch is not known to us. There was also found at Susa a large fragment of a duplicate.

The Hammurapi code exerted a great influence in the ancient Orient, and the scribes of Ashurbanapal made copies of the laws, either from the exemplar now recovered or from some one of its duplicates, and formed a series which they denominated *Dinâni ša Ḫammurapi*, that is, the judgments of Hammurapi. These copies have unfortunately not come down to us intact, but fragments of them were discovered before the code itself and were not immediately recognized. The first fragments brought to light were found in the British Mu-

seum and published by Dr. Bruno Meissner.[1] When he later published some old Babylonian Private Laws[2] he recognized that the Assyrian scribes had copied from some document or documents in the old Babylonian period. Meissner's texts were carefully reviewed and retranslated by Professor Delitzsch, who definitely applied to them the name Code of Hammurapi, a deduction which was splendidly verified in a few months by Morgan's discovery. When Professor Scheil worked over the code he recognized the sections of Meissner's copies as being a part of the original code, and showed that they give some assistance in the restoration of the five columns which the Elamites had chiseled off the stele.

[1] *Altbabylonische Gesetze,* in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie,* iii, pp. 493–523.
[2] *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht,* in *Assyriologische Bibliothek,* xi, Leipzig, 1893.

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Very important. The analysis of Professor Lyon has been chiefly followed in the subdivisions of the translation as here printed.

Arthur Ungnad, *Die Gesetze Hammurapis*. Translation and notes in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, i, pp. 140ff. 1909.

PROLOGUE[1]

[Column I] (1) When the exalted Anu, the king of the Anunaki, (and) Ellil, the lord of heaven (5) and earth, who determines the destiny of the land, committed unto Marduk, firstborn (10) son of Ea, the dominion over all mankind, (and) made him great (15) among the Igigi; when they named the lofty name of Babylon, and made it great in the quarters of the earth, and erected for him (Marduk) (20) therein an everlasting kingdom, whose

[1] In comparing translation and transliteration the numbering of the lines is to be taken merely as generally indicative of location, and not as exact. The order of words in Babylonian is so different from that of English that to make an exact correspondence would have produced a strangely pedantic effect. It is hoped that the numeration will serve its practical purpose.

(1) E-nu Anum ṣi-ru-um (2) šar (ilu) A-nun-na-ki (3) (ilu) Ellil (4) be-el šá-me-e (5) ù ir-ṣi-tim (6) šá-i-im (7) si-ma-at mâtim (8) a-na (ilu) Marduk (9) mârim ri-eš-ti-im (10) ša (ilu) Enki (11) (ilu) illilu-ut (12) kiššat ni-še (13) i-ši-mu-šum (14) in I-gi-gi (15) ú-šar-be-ù-šu (16) Bâbili(ki) (17) šum-šú ṣi-ra-am ib-bi-ù (18) in ki-ib-ra-tim (19) ú-šá-te-ru-šu (20) in-a li-ib-bi-šṇ (21) šar-ru-tam dâ-rî-tam (22) šá ki-ma šá-me-e (23) ù ir-ṣi-tim

foundations are (25) established like heaven and earth, then did Anu and Bel call (me) Hammurapi by name, the exalted (30) prince, who honors the gods, to bring justice to prevail in the land, (35) to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong may not injure the weak, (40) that I may arise like Shamash over the black-headed men, to enlighten the land (45) and to further the welfare of men. (50) Hammurapi, the shepherd, called of Ellil, am I, who heaps up (55) plenty and abundance, who made everything possible in completeness for Nippur and Durilu, (60) the exalted supporter of Ekur, the powerful king, who restored Eridu, (65) and set up the [Column II] (1) worship of E-apsu, who fought against the four quarters of earth, (5) who made great the name of Babylon, rejoiced the heart of Marduk, his lord, (10) who served daily in Esagila, the royal seed whom Sin (15) created, who made Ur rich, the contrite, the obedient, (20) who brought riches unto E-gish-shir-gal, the wise king favorite of Shamash, the judge, who laid again (25) the foundations of Sippar, who covered again with green the shrines (?) of Aia, who made (30) E-Babbar great which is like the heavenly dwelling, the warrior who de-

(24) iš-da-šá (25) šú-úr-šú-da (26) ú-ki-in-nu-šum (27) i-nu-mi-šú (28) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (29) ru-ba-am (30) na-'i-dam (31) pa-li-iḫ eli ia-ti (32) mi-ša-ra-am (33) i-na ma-tim (34) a-na šu-pe-i-im (35) ra-ga-am ù ṣi-nam (36) a-na ḫu-ul-lu-ḳi-im (37) dan-nu-um (38) en-ša-am (39) a-na la ḫa-ba-li-im (40) ki-ma (ilu) Šamaš (41) a-na salmât ḳaḳḳadim (42) wa-si-e-im-ma (43) ma-tim (44) nu-wu-ri-im (45) Anum (46) u (ilu) Ellil (47) a-na ši-ir ni-ši (48) tu-ub-bi-im (49) šú-mi ib-bu-ú (50) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi (51) ri-ia-um (52) ni-bi-it (53) (ilu) Ellil a-na-ku (54) mu-kam-me-ir (55) nu-úḫ-ši-im (56) ù tu-úḫ-di-im (57) mu-šá-ak-li-il (58) mi-im-ma šum-šú (59) a-na Nippurim(ki) rikis šamê ersetim (60) za-ni-nu-um (61) na-'-du-um (62) ša Ê-kurrim (63) šarrum li-ia-um (64) mu-te-ir âl Eridim(ki) (65) a-na áš-ri-šu (66) mu-ub-bi-ib [Column II] (1) šú-luḫ É-abzu (2) ti-i-ib (3) ki-ib-ra-at (4) ir-bi-tim (5) mu-šar-bi zi-ik-ru (6) Babili(ki) (7) mu-ti-ib (8) li-ib-bi (ilu) Marduk (9) be-li-šu (10) šá ûmi(mi)-šú (11) iz-za-zu (12) a-na É-sag-ila (13) zêr šar-ru-tim (14) šá (ilu)Sin (15) ib-ni-ù-šú (16) mu-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš (17) âl Urim(ki) (18) wa-áš-ru-um (19) mu-uš-te-mi-ḳum (20) ba-bíl ḫegallim (21) a-na É-kiš-šír-gál (22) šar ta-ši-im-tim (23) še-mu (ilu) Šamaš da-núm (24) mu-ki-in (25) išdi Sipparim (26) mu-šà-al-bi-iš (27) wa-ar-ki-im (28) gi-gu-ne-e (ilu) A-a (29) mu-ṣi-ir (30) bît

fended Larsa, renewed E-Babbar (35) for Shamash, his helper; the lord, who gave life unto the city of Uruk, who supplied water in (40) abundance unto its inhabitants, who made the turrets of E-anna lofty, (45) who heaped up riches for Anu and Ishtar; the shadow (protection) of the land; (50) who brought together again the scattered inhabitants of Isin, who covered E-gal-mah richly; (55) the majestic city king, the brother of the god Zamama, who established the settlements of Kish, (60) who surrounded E-me-te-ur-sag with splendor; who enclosed the great shrines of (65) Ishtar; who cares for the temple of E-khar-sag-kalama; the grave (?) of enemies, (70) to whom one successfully prays for help; [Column III] (1) who increased Cutha; (5) who made everything great for Mishlam; the mighty bull, who gores his enemy; (10) the beloved of Tutu; who made Borsippa to rejoice; the exalted; who is untiring (15) for Ezida; the divine city king; the wise, the prudent; who increased the agriculture (*lit.*, plantings) (20) of Dilbat; heaped up grain for the mighty Urash; the lord, to whom (25) scepter and crown belong, which fulfill the wish of Mama created, (30) who established the temple confines of

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Ebarrim (31) šá ki šú-ba-at ša-ma-i (32) ḳarradum ga-mi-il (33) Larsam(ki) (34) mu-ud-di-iš Êbarrim (35) a-na (ilu) Šamaš (36) ri-ṣi-šú (37) be-lum mu-bal-li-iṭ (38) Uruk(ki) (39) šá-ki-in me-e (40) nu-úḫ-ši-im (41) a-na ni-ši-šú (42) mu-ul-li (43) ri-eš Ê-an-na (44) mu-kam-me-ir (45) ḫi-iṣ-bi-im (46) a-na Anim(nim) (47) ù (ilu) Ištar (48) ṣulûl ma-tim (49) mu-pa-aḫ-ḫi-ir (50) ni-ši šá-ap-ḫa-tim (51) ša I-si-in(ki) (52) mu-ṭa-aḫ-ḫi-id (53) nu-úḫ-ši-im (54) bît Ê-gal-maḫ (55) ušumgal šarri(ri) (56) ta-li-im (57) (ilu) Za-mà-mà (58) mu-šar-ši-id (59) šú-ba-at âl Kiš(ki) (60) mu-uš-ta-aš-ḫi-ir (61) me-li-im-mi (62) Ê-me-te-ur-sag (63) mu-uš-te-iṣ-bi (64) pa-ar-zi ra-bu-ú-tim (65) ša (ilu) Ištar (66) pa-ki-id bi-tim (67) Ḫar-sag-kalamma (68) (bît) kisal na-ki-ri (69) ša Ûr-ra ru-šú (70) ú-ša-ak-ši-du [Column III] (1) ni-is-ma-zu (2) mu-ša-te-ir (3) âl Kutîm(ki) (4) mu-ra-ap-pi-iš (5) mi-im-ma šum-šú (6) a-na Miš-lam (7) ri-mu-um (8) ka-ad-ru-um (9) mu-na-ak-ki-ip za-i-ri (10) na-ra-am Tu-tu (11) mu-ri-iš (12) âl Bar-zi-ḫa(ki) (13) na-'i-du-um (14) la mu-up-pa-ar-ku-ú-um (15) a-na Ê-zi-da (16) i-lu šarri(ri) (17) mu-di ḫasîsim(im) (18) mu-šá-ad-di-il (19) me-ri-eš-tim (20) šá Dil-bat(ki) (21) mu-ga-ar-ri-in karê (22) a-na (ilu) Uraš (23) ga-áš-ri-im (24) be-lum zi-ma-at (25) ḫa-aṭ-ṭi-im (26) ù a-gi-im (27) šâ ú-šá-ak-li-lu-šú (28) e-ri-iš-tim (29) (ilu) Ma-ma (30) mu-ki-in (31) u-zu-ra-tim

Kish; who made sumptuous the sacred banquets (35) for Nintu; the wise, the prudent; who gave pasture and (40) watering places for Lagash and Girsu; who provided (45) great offerings for the temple of the Fifty; who seizes the enemy; the favorite of Telitim[1]; (50) who executed the command (of the oracle) of Aleppo; who rejoices the heart of Anunit; (55) the pure prince; whose prayer Ramman recognizes; who pacifies the heart of Ramman, (60) the warrior in Karkar; who reëstablished the cultus-appointments in Eugalgal; (65) the king who gave life to the city of Adab; the benefactor of the temple E-makh, (70) the lord of kings; the resistless warrior; [Column IV] (1) who presented life to the city of Mashkan-Shabri; who poured out (5) prosperity over Mishlam; the wise, the energetic; who attained (10) every plan; who covered the people of Malgi in misfortune; who established (15) their dwelling in riches; who determined forever pure offerings for Ea and Damgal-nunna, who had extended his dominion; the prince of kings; who subdued (25) the settlements on the Euphrates (?); the warrior of Dagan, his creator; who

[1] Telitim is an epithet of Ishtar, who has a shrine at Aleppo.

(32) ša Kêš(ki) (33) mu-di-eš-ši (34) ma-ka-li el-lu-tim (35) a-na (ilu) Nin-tu (36) mu-uš-ta-lum (37) gi-it-ma-lum (38) šá-i-im (39) mi-ri-tim (40) ù ma-áš-ki-tim (41) a-na Lagaš(ki) (42) ù Girsu(ki) (43) mu-ki-il (44) ni-in-da-bi-e (45) ra-bu-tim (46) a-na Ê-ninnû (47) mu-tam-me-iḫ a-a-bi (48) mi-ge-ir (49) te-li-tim (50) mu-ša-ak-li-îl (51) te-ri-tim (52) šá Ḫallabim(ki) (53) mu-ḫa-ad-di (54) li-ib-bi Ištar (55) ru-bu-um el-lum (56) ša ni-iš ga-ti-šú (57) (ilu) Rammânum i-du-ú (58) mu-ne-iḫ (59) li-ib-bi (ilu) Rammânim (60) ku-ra-di-im (61) i-na âl Bît-karkara(ki) (62) mu-uš-ta-aḳ-ki-in (63) zi-ma-tim (64) i-na Ê-û-gal-gal (65) šarrum na-di-in (66) na-pi-iš-tim (67) a-na Adab(ki) (68) a-še-ir (69) bît E-maḫ (70) e-te-el šarrî(ri) (71) ga-ba-al (72) la ma-ḫa-ri-im [Column IV] (1) šú i-ki-šú (2) na-ap-šá-tam (3) a-na âl Maš-kan-šabrîm(ki) (4) mu-še-eš-ki (5) nu-úḫ-ši-im (6) a-na Miš-lam (7) im-ḳum (8) mu-tab-bi-lum (9) šú ik-šú-du (10) na-ga-ab úr-ši-im (11) mu-uš-pa-az-zi-ir (12) ni-ši Malgîm (ki) (13) in ka-ra-ši-im (14) mu-šar-ši-du (15) šú-ba-ti-ši-in (16) in nu-úḫ-ši-in (17) a-na (ilu) En-ki (18) ù (ilu) Dam-gal-nun-na (19) mu-šar-bu-ú (20) šar-ru-ti-šú (21) da-ri-iš i-ši-mu (22) zi-bi el-lu-tim (23) a-šá-ri-id šarrî(ri) (24) mu-ka-an-ni-iš (25) da-ad-mi (26) (nâr) Purattim (?) (27) lí-tum (ilu) Da-gan (28) ba-ni-šú

protected (30) the inhabitants of Mera and Tutul; the exalted prince, (35) who makes the face of Ishtar to shine; who established sacred banquets for Nin-a-zu; who helps his people in time of need; (40) who establishes in security their property in Babylon; (45) the shepherd of his subjects; whose deeds are pleasing to Ishtar; who installed Ishtar (Anunit) in E-ul-mash, (50) in the suburbs of Akkad; who caused justice to prevail, and established law; (55) who returned to the city of Asshur its gracious protecting deity, who cast down the . . . (60) the king who in Nineveh, in E-mish-mish made the name of Ishtar to shine; the exalted one; (65) who humbles himself before the great gods; the descendant of Sumu-la-ilu, the powerful son (70) of Sin-muballit; [Column V] (1) the abiding seed of royalty; the powerful king; the sun god (5) of Babylon, who caused light to stream over the land of Sumer and Akkad; (10) the king, who holds in obedience the four quarters of the world; the favorite of Ishtar am I.

When (15) Marduk sent me to rule men, and to promulgate justice, (20) I put justice and righteousness into the language of the land, and promoted the welfare of the people. (25) At that time (I ordered)

(29) šú ig-mi-lu (30) ni-ši Me-ra(ki) (31) ù Tu-tu-ul(ki) (32) ru-bu-um (33) na-'i-du-um (34) mu-na-wi-ir (35) pa-ni (ilu) Ištar (36) šá-ki-in ma-ka-li el-lu-tim (37) a-na (ilu) Nin-a-zu (38) šá-ti-ip ni-ši-šú (39) in pu-uš-ki-im (40) mu-ki-in-nu (41) iš-di-ši-in (42) ḳir-bu-um (43) Bâbili(ki) (44) šú-ul-ma-ni-iš (45) rê-û ni-šî (46) šá ip-še-tu-šú (47) e-li Ištar ṭa-ba (48) mu-ki-in-ni Ištar (49) i-na E-ul-maš (50) ḳir-bu-um (51) Akkadîm(ki) (52) ri-bi-tim (53) mu-še-pí ki-na-tim (54) mu-šú-še-ir am-mi (55) mu-te-ir (56) (ilu) lamassi-šú (57) da-mi-iḳ-tim (58) a-na âl Aššurim(ki) (59) mu-še-ib-bi na-pí-ḫi (60) šarrum šá i-na Ni-nu-a(ki) (61) i-na È-miš-miš (62) ú-šú-pí-u (63) me-e (ilu) Ištar (64) na-'i-du-um (65) mu-uš-te-mi-ḳum (66) a-na ilî rabûtim (67) li-ib-li-ib-bi (68) šá Su-mu-la-ilu (69) aplum da-núm (70) šá (ilu) Sin-mu-ba-lí-iṭ [Column V] (1) zêrum da-ri-um (2) šá šar-ru-tim (3) šarrum da-núm (4) (ilu) Šamšu(šu) (5) Bâbili(ki) mu-še-zi nu-ri-im (7) a-na ma-at (8) Šú-me-ri-im (9) u Ak-ka-di-im (10) šarrum mu-uš-te-eš-mi (11) ki-ib-ra-at (12) ar-ba-im (13) mi-ge-ir (ilu) Ištar a-na-ku (14) i-nu-ma (15) (ilu) Marduk (16) a-na šú-te-šú-ur ni-ši (17) mâtim ú-si-im (18) šú-ḫu-zi-im (19) ú-wa-e-ra-an-ni (20) ki-it-tam (21) ù mi-šá-ra-am (22) i-na pí ma-tim (23) áš-ku-un (24) ši-ir ni-ši ú-ṭi-ib (25) i-nu-mi-šú

THE CODE

I. INTRODUCTION: EVIDENCE AND DECISION (§§ 1–5)

§ 1. (26) If a man have accused a man and laid a capital charge upon him and (30) have not justified it, he that accused him shall be put to death.

§ 2. If a man have laid (35) suspicion of sorcery upon a man and have not justified it, he upon whom the charge of sorcery is laid shall go to the river-god, (40) he shall plunge into the river-god, and if the river-god overcome him, he who accused him (45) shall take to himself his house. If the river-god have declared that man to be innocent and have saved him, (50) he who accused him shall be put to death. He who plunged into the river-god shall take to himself (55) the house of him who accused him.[1]

§ 3. If a man in a case (pending judgment) have come forward as a witness, (60) concerning a crime, and have not justified the word that he has spoken, (65) if that case be a capital suit that man shall be put to death.

§ 4. If as witness [Column VI] (1) to corn or money he have lied, (5) he shall himself bear the sentence of that case.

[1] This was a form of ordeal—a method of detecting criminals widely spread in antiquity. See, for example, Potter, *Greek Antiquities*, i, p. 352, and Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Bohn, iii, 351.

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§ 1. (26) šum-ma a-wi-lum a-wi-lam (27) ú-ub-bi-ir-ma (28) ne-ir-tam e-li-šú (29) id-di-ma (30) la uk-ti-in-šú (31) mu-ub-bi-ir-šú (32) id-da-ak

§ 2. (33) šum-ma a-wi-lum (34) ki-iš-pí (35) e-li a-wi-lum id-di-ma (36) la uk-ti-in-šú (37) šá e-li-šú (38) ki-iš-pu na-du-ú (39) a-na (ilu) Narîm (40) i-il-la-ak (41) (ilu) Nâram i-šá-al-li-a-am-ma (42) šum-ma (ilu) Nârum (43) ik-ta-šá-zu (44) mu-ub-bi-ir-šú (45) bît-zu[1] i-tab-ba-al (46) šum-ma a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (47) (ilu) Nârum (48) ú-te-ib-bi-ba-áš-šú-ma (49) iš-ta-al-ma-am (50) šá e-li-šú (51) ki-iš-pí id-du-ú (52) id-da-ak (53) šá (ilu) Nâram (54) iš-li-a-am (55) bît mu-ub-bi-ri-šú (56) i-tab-ba-al

§ 3. (57) šum-ma a-wi-lum (58) i-na di-nim (59) a-na ši-bu-ut (60) ṣa-ar-ra-tim (61) ú-zi-a-am-ma (62) a-wa-at iḳ-bu-ú (63) la uk-ti-in (64) šum-ma di-nu-um šú-ú (65) di-in na-piš-tim (66) a-wi-lum šú-ú (67) id-da-ak

§ 4. (68) šum-ma a-na ši-bu-ut [Column VI] (1) še'im ù kaspim (2) ú-zi-a-am (3) a-ra-an (4) di-nim šú-a-ti (5) it-ta-na-áš-ši

[1] Scheil reads *su*.

§ 5. If a judge have judged a judgment, decided a decision, (10) granted a sealed sentence, and afterward have altered his judgment, they shall call that judge to account for the alteration (15) of the judgment that he judged, and he (20) shall pay twelvefold the penalty which was in the said judgment. Further, in the assembly they shall expel him from his (25) judgment seat, and he shall not return, and with the judges at a judgment (30) he shall not take his seat.

II. PROPERTY (§§ 6–126)

A. Personal (§§ 6–25)

1. *Theft* (§§ 6–13)

§ 6. If a man have stolen the goods of a god or palace, (35) that man shall be put to death. Further, he who has received the stolen thing from his hand (40) shall be put to death.

§ 7. If a man have bought silver, gold, manservant or maidservant, (45) ox or sheep or ass or anything whatever its name, from the hand of a gentleman's son, or of a gentleman's slave, (50) without witness or contract, or if he receive (the same) in trust, (55) that man has played the thief, he shall be put to death.

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§ 5. šum-ma da-a-a-nu-um di-nam i-di-in pu-ru-za-am (9) ip-ru-uš (10) ku-nu-uk-kam (11) ú-še-zi-ib (12) wa-ar-ka-nu-um-ma (13) di-in-šú i-te-ni (14) da-a-a-nam šú-a-ti (15) i-na di-in i-di-nu (16) e-ne-im (17) ú-ka-an-nu-šú-ma (18) ru-gu-um-ma-am (19) šá i-na di-nim šú-a-ti (20) ib-ba-áš-šú-ú (21) a-du (?) XII-šú (22) i-na-ad-di-in (23) ù i-na pu-úḫ-ri-im (24) i-na (iṣu) kussî (25) da-a-a-nu-ti-šu (26) ú-še-it-bu-ú-šú-ma (27) ú-ul i-ta-ar-ma (28) it-ti da-a-a-ni (29) i-na di-nim (30) ú-ul uš-šá-ab

§ 6. (31) šum-ma a-wi-lim (32) namkur ilim (33) ù êkallim (34) iš-ri-iḳ (35) a-wi-lim šú-ú (36) id-da-ak (37) ù šá šú-úr-ga-am (38) i-na ga-ti-šú (39) im-ḫu-ru (40) id-da-ak

§ 7. (41) šum-ma a-wi-lim (42) lu kaspam (43) lu ḫurâṣam (44) lu wardam lu amtam (45) lu alpam lu immeram (46) lu imêram (47) ù lu mi-im-ma šum-šú (48) i-na ga-at mâr a-wi-lum (49) ù lu warad a-wi-lim (50) ba-lum ši-bi (51) ù ri-ik-sa-tim (52) iš-ta-am (53) ù lu a-na ma-ṣa-ru-tim (54) im-ḫu-ur (55) a-wi-lum šú-ú (56) šar-ra-aḳ id-da-ak

§ 8. If a man have stolen ox or sheep or ass or pig or (60) ship, whether it belonged to a god or a palace he shall restore thirty fold; (65) if it belonged to a freedman he shall render ten fold. If the thief have not wherewith to pay he shall be put to death.

§ 9. (70) If a man, [Column VII] (1) who has lost anything, have found that which was lost in the possession (5) of another man; and the man in whose hands the lost property is found say: "A seller sold it to me, I bought it in the (10) presence of witnesses," and the owner of the lost property say: "I will bring witnesses that know (15) my lost property"; if the purchaser (20) have brought the seller who sold it to him and the witnesses in whose presence he purchased it, and the owner of the lost property bring (25) witnesses who know his lost property, the judges shall consider their evidence. (30) The witnesses in whose presence the purchase was made and the witnesses who know the lost property shall (35) give testimony in the presence of the god. The seller shall be put to death as a thief; (40) the owner of the lost property shall receive his property; the purchaser shall take the money (45) he paid from the estate of the seller.

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§ 8. (57) šum-ma a-wi-lum (58) lu alpam lu immeram lu imêram lu šaḫâm (59) ù lu elippam (60) iš-ri-iḳ (61) šum-ma šá i-lim (62) šum-ma šá êkallim (63) a-du XXX-šú (64) i-na-ad-di-in (65) šum-ma ša muškênim (66) a-du X-šú i-ri-a-ab (67) šum-ma šar-ra-ga-nu-um (68) šá na-da-nim la i-šú (69) id-da-ak

§ 9. (70) šum-ma a-wi-lum [Column VII] (1) šá mi-im-mu-šú ḫal-ku (2) mi-im-ma-šu (3) ḫal-ga-am (4) i-na ga-ti a-wi-lim (5) iṣ-ṣa-ba-at (6) a-wi-lum šá ḫu-ul-ḳum (7) i-na ga-ti-šú (8) ṣa-ab-tu (9) na-di-na-nu-um-mi id-di-nam (10) ma-ḫar ši-bi-mi (11) a-šá-am (12) iḳ-ta-bi (13) ù be-el ḫu-ul-ki-im (14) ši-bi mu-di (15) ḫu-ul-ki-ia-mi (16) lu-ub-lam (17) iḳ-ta-bi (18) šá-a-ma-nu-um (19) na-di-in (20) id-di-nu-šum (21) ù ši-bi (22) šá i-na maḫ-ri-šu-nu (23) i-šá-mu it-ba-lam (24) ù be-el ḫu-ul-ki-im (25) ši-bi mu-di ḫu-ul-ki-šu (26) it-ba-lam (27) da-a-a-nu (28) a-wa-a-ti-šú-nu (29) i-im-ma-ru-ma (30) ši-bu šá maḫ-ri-šú-nu (31) ši-mu-um (32) iš-šá-mu (33) ù ši-bu mu-di (34) ḫu-ul-ki-im (35) mu-du-zu-nu (36) ma-ḫar i-lim (37) i-ga-ab-bu-ma (38) na-di-na-nu-um (39) šar-ra-aḳ id-da-ak (40) be-el ḫu-ul-ki-im (41) ḫu-lu-uḳ-šú (42) i-li-ki (43) šá-a-a-ma-nu-um (44) i-na bi-it (45) na-di-na-nim (46) kasap iš-ku-lu (47) i-li-ki

§ 10. If the purchaser have not brought the seller (50) who sold it to him, and the witnesses in whose presence he purchased it; and if the owner of the lost property bring (55) witnesses who know his lost property, the purchaser shall be put to death as a thief; the owner of the lost property shall (60) receive his property.

§ 11. If the owner of the lost property do not produce witnesses (65) who know his property [Column VIII] (1) he is a malefactor, he has stirred up strife, he shall be put to death.

§ 12. If the seller have gone (5) to his fate (i. e., have died) the purchaser shall take five fold from (10) the estate of the seller as damages.

§ 13. If the witnesses (15) be not at hand, the judges shall set him a fixed time, up to six months, and if within six months he do not bring (20) his witnesses that man is a malefactor, he shall himself bear the penalty of that case.

2. *Kidnapping* (§ 14)

§ 14. (25) If a man have stolen a minor son of a gentleman he shall be put to death.

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§ 10. (48) šum-ma šá-a-ma-nu-um (49) na-di-in (50) id-di-nu-šum (51) ù ši-bi šá i-na maḫ-ri-šú-nu (52) i-šá-mu (53) la it-ba-lam (54) be-el ḫu-ul-ki-im-ma (55) ši-bi mu-di (56) ḫu-ul-ki-šú it-ba-lam (57) šá-a-ma-nu-um (58) šar-ra-aḳ id-da-ak (59) be-el ḫu-ul-ki-im (60) ḫu-ul-uḳ-šú (61) i-li-ki

§ 11. (62) šum-ma be-el ḫu-ul-ki-im (63) ši-bi mu-di (64) ḫu-ul-ki-šú (65) la it-ba-lam [Column VIII] (1) ṣa-ar (2) tu-uš-šá-am-ma id-ki (3) id-da-ak

§ 12. (4) šum-ma na-di-na-nu-um (5) a-na ši-im-tim (6) it-ta-la-ak (7) šá-a-ma-nu-um (8) i-na bi-it (9) na-di-na-nim (10) ru-gu-um-me-e (11) di-nim šú-a-ti (12) a-du V-šú (13) i-li-ki

§ 13. (14) šum-ma a-wi-lum šú-ú (15) ši-bu-šú la ḳir-bu (16) da-a-nu a-da-nam (17) a-na warḫim VI kam (18) i-šá-ak-ka-nu-šum-ma (19) šum-ma i-na warḫim VI kam (20) ši-bi-šú la ir-di-a-am (21) a-wi-lum šú-ú (22) ṣa-ar (23) a-ra-an di-nim šú-a-ti (24) it-ta-na-aš-ši

§ 14. (25) šum-ma a-wi-lum (26) mâr a-wi-lim (27) ṣi-iḫ-ra-am (28) iš-ta-ri-iḳ (29) id-da-ak

3. *Fugitive Slaves* (§§ 15–20)

§ 15. (30) If a man bring a male or female slave of the palace, or a male or female slave of a freedman, through (35) the city gate (i. e., aid him to escape) he shall be put to death.

§ 16. If a man receive into his house a male or female slave who has fled (40) from the palace, or from a freedman, and bring him not forth at the demand (45) of the commandant, the owner of that house shall be put to death.

§ 17. If a man seize (50) a male or female slave, a fugitive, in the field and (55) bring him back to his owner, the owner of the slave shall pay him two shekels of silver.

§ 18. If that slave will not name (60) his owner, he shall bring him to the palace and they shall (65) inquire into his antecedents and they shall return him to his owner.

§ 19. If he keep that slave (70) in his house and later the slave [Column IX] (1) be found in his hands, that man shall be put to death.

§ 20. (5) If a slave escape from the hand of his captor, that man shall swear by the god (10) to the owner of the slave, and shall go free.

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§ 15. (30) šum-ma a-wi-lum (31) lu warad êkallim (32) lu amat êkallim (33) lu warad muškênim (34) lu amat muškênim (35) abullam uš-te-zi (36) id-da-ak

§ 16. (37) šum-ma a-wi-lum (38) lu wardam lu amtam (39) ḫal-ga-am (40) ša êkallim (41) ù lu muškênim (42) i-na bi-it-šú (43) ir-ta-ki-ma (44) a-na ši-si-it (45) na-gi-ri-im (46) la uš-te-zi-a-am (47) be-el bîtim šú-ú (48) id-da-ak

§ 17. (49) šum-ma a-wi-lum (50) lu wardam lu amtam (51) ḫal-ga-am (52) i-na ṣi-ri-im (53) iṣ-ba-at-ma (54) a-na be-li-šú (55) ir-te-di-á-áš-šú (56) II šikil kaspim (57) be-el wardim (58) i-na-ad-di-iš-šum

§ 18. (59) šum-ma wardum šú-ú (60) be-el-šú (61) la iz-za-kar (62) a-na êkallim (63) i-ri-id-di-šú (64) wa-ar-ka-zu (65) ip-pa-ar-ra-aš-ma (66) a-na be-li-šú (67) ú-ta-ar-ru-šú

§ 19. (68) šum-ma wardam (69) šú-a-ti (70) i-na bi-ti-šú (71) ik-ta-la-šú (72) wa-ar-ka wardum [Column IX] (1) i-na ga-ti-šú (2) it-ta-aṣ-ba-at (3) a-wi-lum šú-ú id-da-ak

§ 20. (5) šum-ma wardum (6) i-na ga-at (7) ṣa-bi-ta-ni-šú (8) iḫ-ta-li-iḳ (9) a-wi-lum šú-ú (10) a-na be-el wardim (11) ni-iš i-lim (12) i-za-kar-ma (13) ú-ta-áš-šar

4. *Burglary and Robbery* (§§ 21–25)

§ 21. If a man have broken into (15) a house, they shall (20) put him to death before the breach and thrust him into it.

§ 22. If a man have carried on brigandage and (25) have been captured, that man shall be put to death.

§ 23. If the brigand be not captured, (30) the man who has been robbed shall, before (35) the god, recount what he has lost, and the city and governor in whose land and (40) district the robbery took place (45) shall recompense him for whatever was lost.

§ 24. If it was life, the city and governor shall pay one mina of silver (50) to his people.

§ 25. If a fire break out in a man's house, and a man who has come (55) to extinguish the fire have lifted up his eyes to (60) the property of the owner of the house, that man (65) shall be thrown into that fire.

B. Real Estate (§§ 26–J)

1. *State Lands* (§§ 26–41)

§ 26. If either a soldier or a constable, who is [Column X] (1) ordered to go on an errand of the king, do not go,

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§ 21. (14) šum-ma a-wi-lum (15) bi-tam (16) ip-lu-uš (17) i-na pa-ni (18) pí-il-ši-im (19) šú-a-ti (20) i-du-uk-ku-šú-ma (21) i-ḫa-al-la-lu-šú

§ 22. (22) šum-ma a-wi-lum (23) ḫu-ub-tam (24) iḫ-bu-ut-ma (25) it-ta-aṣ-ba-at (26) a-wi-lum šú-ú (27) id-da-ak

§ 23. (28) šum-ma ḫa-ab-ba-tum (29) la it-ta-aṣ-ba-at (30) a-wi-lum (31) ḫa-ab-tum (32) mi-im-ma-šú (33) ḫal-ga-am (34) ma-ḫa-ar (35) i-lim (36) ú-ba-ar-ma (37) âlum (38) ù ra-bi-a-nu-um (39) šá i-na ir-ṣi-ti-šú-nu (40) ù pa-ṭi-šú-nu (41) ḫu-ub-tum (42) iḫ-ḫa-ab-tu (43) mi-im-ma-šú (44) ḫal-ga-am (45) i-ri-a-ab-bu-šum

§ 24. (46) šum-ma na-pí-iš-tum (47) âlum ù ra-bi-a-nu-um (48) I manê kaspim (49) a-na ni-ši-šú (50) i-šá-ga-lu

§ 25. (51) šum-ma i-na bit a-wi-lim (52) i-šá-tum (53) in-na-pí-iḫ-ma (54) a-wi-lum (55) šá a-na bu-ul-li-im (56) il-li-ku (57) a-na nu-ma-at (58) be-el bîtim (59) i-in-šú iš-ši-ma (60) nu-ma-at (61) be-el bîtim (62) il-te-ki[1] (63) a-wi-lum šú-ú (64) a-na i-šá-tim šú-a-ti (65) in-na-ad-di

§ 26. (66) šum-ma lu rêdûm (67) ù lu bâ'irum (68) šá a-na ḫar-ra-an šar-ri-im (69) a-la-ak-šú [Column X] (1) ga-bu-ú (2) la il-li-ik

[1] Original has *di*, an error of the scribe.

but hire a substitute and send him (5) in place of himself, that soldier or constable shall be put to death; (10) his hireling shall take to himself his (the officer's) house.

§ 27. If a soldier or a constable, who is stationed (15) in a garrison[1] of the king, be captured, and afterward they give his field and garden (20) to another and he conduct his affairs—if the former return and arrive (25) in his city, they shall restore to him his field and garden and he shall conduct his own affairs.

§ 28. (30) If a soldier or a constable, who is stationed in a garrison of the king, be captured (35) and his son be able to carry on his affairs, they shall give to him the field and garden and he shall (40) conduct his father's affairs.

§ 29. If his son be young and not able to carry on (45) his father's affairs, they shall give one third of the field and garden to his mother, and his mother shall (50) rear him.

§ 30. If a soldier or a constable, from the beginning of his affairs, (55) neglect his field, his garden, and his

[1] The Babylonian word is of very doubtful meaning. Ungnad translates, "Not, Niederlage." This signification is derived wholly from the context. I prefer to hold to the etymological signification. The root is the same as *dannum*, strong.

(3) ù lu (awilu) agram (4) i-gur-ma (5) pu-úḫ-šú (6) iṭ-ṭa-ra-ad (7) lu rêdûm (8) ù lu bâ'irum šú-ú (9) id-da-ak (10) mu-na-ag-gi-ir-šú (11) bît-zu (12) i-tab-ba-al

§ 27. (13) šum-ma lu rêdûm (14) ù lu-ú bâ'irum (15) šá i-na dan-na-at (16) šar-ri-im (17) tu-úr-r[u] (18) wa-ar-[k]i-šú (19) eḳil-šú û kirâ-šú (20) a-na šá-ni-im (21) id-di-nu-ma (22) i-li-ik-šú (23) it-ta-la-ak (24) šum-ma it-tu-ra-am-ma (25) âl-šú ik-ta-aš-dam (26) eḳil-šú u kirâ-šú (27) ú-ta-ar-ru-šum-ma (28) šú-ma i-li-ik-šú (29) i-il-la-ak

§ 28. (30) šum-ma lu rêdûm (31) ù lu-ú bâ'irum (32) šá i-na dan-ra-at (33) šar-ri-im (34) tu-úr-ru (35) mâr-šú il-kam (36) a-la-kam i-li-i (37) eḳlum ù kirûm (38) in-na-ad-di-iš-šu[m]-ma (39) i-li-i[k a]-bi-šú (40) i-il-[la]-ak

§ 29. (41) šum-ma mâr-šú (42) ṣi-ḫi-ir-ma (43) i-li-ik a-bi-šú (44) a-la-kam (45) la i-li-i (46) šá-lu-uš-ti eḳlim ù kirim (47) a-na um-mi-šú (48) in-na-ad-di-in-ma (49) um-ma-šú (50) ú-ra-ab-ba-šú

§ 30. (51) šum-ma lu rêdûm (52) ù lu bâ'irum (53) eḳil-šú kirâ-šú ù bît-zu (54) i-na pa-ni il-ki-im (55) id-di-ma (56) ud-da-ap-pí-ir

house and leave them lie waste, and another after him take his field, his garden, and (60) his house, and conduct his affairs for three years; (65) if the former return and desire his field, his garden, and his house, they shall not give them to him [Column XI] (1) he who has taken them and carried on his affairs shall continue in them.

§ 31. (5) If he leave them for one year only, and have returned, they shall (10) give him his field, his garden, and his house, and he himself shall carry on his affairs.

§ 32. If a soldier or a constable has been captured (15) on an errand of the king, and a merchant ransom him and cause him to regain his city, (20) if there be in his own house means for his ransom, he shall ransom himself; (25) if there be not sufficient means for the ransom in his house, he shall be ransomed from the temple of the god of his city; (30) if there be not sufficient ransom in the temple of the god of his city, the palace shall ransom him. In no case shall (35) his field or garden or his house be given for his ransom.

§ 33. If a governor or a (40) magistrate take possession of the men of a levy, or have accepted and sent a

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(57) šá-nu-um (58) wa-ar-ki-šú (59) eḳil-šú kira-šú (60) ù bît-zu (61) iṣ-ba-at-ma (62) šattam III kam (63) i-li-ik-šú (64) it-ta-la-ak (65) šum-ma it-tu-ra-am-ma (66) eḳil-šú kirâ-šú ù bît-zu (67) i-ir-ri-iš (68) ú-ul in-na-ad-di-iš-šum [Column XI] (1) šá iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-ma (2) i-li-ik-šú (3) it-ta-al-ku (4) šú-ma i-il-la-ak

§ 31. (5) šum-ma šá-at-tam (6) iš-ti-a-at-ma (7) ud-da-ap-pí-ir ma (8) it-tu-ra-am (9) eḳil-šú kirû-šú û bît-zu (10) in-na-ad-di-iš-šum-ma (11) šú-ma i-li-ik-šú (12) i-il-la-a[k]

§ 32. (13) [šum]-ma lu rêdûm (14) ù lu bâ'irum (15) ša i-na ḫar-ra-an (16) šar-ri-im (17) tu-úr-ru (18) tamḳarum ip-tu-ra-áš-šú-ma (19) âl-šú uš-ta-ak-ši-da-áš-šú (20) šum-ma i-na bi-ti-šú (21) šá pa-ṭa-ri-im (22) i-ba-áš-ši (23) šú-ma ra-ma-an-šú (24) i-pa-aṭ-ṭa-ar (25) šum-ma i-na bi-ti-šú (26) šá pa-ṭa-ri-šú (27) la i-ba-aš-ši (28) i-na bît ili âli-šú (29) ip-pa-aṭ-ṭar (30) šum-ma i-na bît (31) ili âli-šú (32) šá pa-ṭa-ri-šú (33) la i-ba-áš-ši (34) êkallum i-pa-aṭ-ṭa-ar-šú (35) eḳil-šú kirû-šu (36) ù bît-zu (37) a-na ip-te-ri-šú (38) ú-ul in-na-ad-di-in

§ 33. (39) šum-ma lu dêkûm (?)[1] (40) ù lu-ú lubuttûm (41) sâb ni-is-ḫa-tim (42) ir-ta-ši (43) ù lu a-na ḫarrân (44) šar-ri-im

[1] PA-PA.

hired (45) substitute on an errand of the king, that governor or magistrate shall (50) be put to death.

§ 34. If a governor or a magistrate have taken the property of a soldier, have plundered a soldier, (55) let a soldier on hire, have defrauded a soldier in a judgment (?) have taken the gift which the king (60) has given a soldier, that governor or magistrate shall be put to death.

§ 35. (65) If a man buy [Column XII] (1) from a soldier the cattle or sheep which the king has given to that soldier, he shall forfeit his money.

§ 36. (5) The field or garden or house of a soldier, constable, or tribute man (tax gatherer) they shall not sell for money.

§ 37. (10) If a man purchase the field or garden or house of a soldier, constable, or tribute man, (15) his tablet shall be broken and he shall forfeit his money, and he shall return the field, garden, or house (20) to its owner.

§ 38. A soldier, constable, or tribute man shall not make over to his wife or daughter the field, garden, or house (25) of his benefice (i. e., which is his as a part of the emoluments of his office), nor shall he (30) assign them for debt.

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(45) (awîlu) agram pu-ḫa-am (46) im-ḫu-ur-ma (47) ir-te-di (48) lu dêkûm (?) (49) ù lu lubuttûm šú-ú (50) id-da-ak

§ 34. (51) šum-ma lu dêkûm (?) (52) ù lu lubuttûm (53) nu-ma-at rêdîm il-te-ki (54) rêdâm iḫ-ta-ba-al (55) rêdâm a-na ig-ri-im (56) it-ta-di-in (57) rêdâm i-na di-nim (58) a-na dan-nim iš-ta-ra-ak (59) ki-iš-ti šar-ru-um (60) [a]-na rêdîm id-di-nu (61) il-te-ki (62) lu dêkûm (63) ù lu lubuttûm šú-ú (64) id-da-ak

§ 35. (65) šum-ma a-wi-lum (66) alpî (zun) (67) ù ṣêni (zun) (68) šá šar-ru-um (69) a-na rêdîm (70) id-di-nu [Column XII] (1) i-na ga-ti rêdîm (2) iš-ta-am (3) i-na kaspi-šú (4) i-te-el-li

§ 36. (5) eḳlum(um) kirûm u bîtum (6) šá rêdîm bâ'irim (7) ù na-ši bi-il-tim (8) a-na kaspim (9) ù-ul i-na-ad-di-in

§ 37. (10) šum-ma a-wi-lum (11) eḳlam kirâm ù bîtam (12) šá rêdîm bâ'irim (13) ù na-ši biltim (14) iš-ta-am (15) tup-pa-šú (16) iḫ-ḫe-ip-pi (17) ù i-na kaspi-šú (18) i-te-el-li (19) eḳlum kirûm ù bîtum (20) a-na be-lí-šú (21) i-ta-ar

§ 38. (22) rêdûm bâ'irum (23) ù na-ši biltim (24) i-na eḳlim kirîm ù bîtim (25) šá il-ki-šú (26) a-na áš-šá-ti-šú (27) ù mârti-šú (28) ú-ul i-šá-aṭ-ṭa-ar (29) ù a-na i-il-ti-šú (30) ú-ul i-na-ad-di-in

§ 39. From the field, garden, or house which he has purchased and acquired he may make over to his wife, or (35) his daughter, or he may assign them for debt.

§ 40. A nun (?),[1] a merchant,[2] or another vassal[3] may sell his field, his garden, or his house for money. The purchaser shall fulfill the duties which are attached to the field, garden, or house.

§ 41. If a man have received in exchange the field, garden, or house of a soldier, a constable, or a tribute man, and have made payment[4] besides, and if the soldier, constable, or tribute man return to his field, garden, or house, he shall keep the additional payment which was made to him.

[1] Doubtful, suggested by Ungnad.
[2] Doubtless an employee of the king or of the palace, who made purchases for royal use.
[3] That is, a man who is in any way beholden to a noble, or a man who holds a fief.
[4] Because the property was more valuable than his own which he exchanged for it. This law (viz., § 41) is somewhat obscure, and I am by no means sure that its meaning is yet fully made out.

2. *Private Realty* (§§ 42–J)

§ 42. If a man (65) have taken a field for cultivation, and have not produced grain on the field, [Column XIII] (1) they shall call him to account because he has not done the work on the field, and he shall give to the owner of the field grain on (5) the basis of the neighboring (fields).

§ 39. (31) i-na eḳlim kirîm ù bîtim (32) šá i-šá-am-mu-ma (33) i-na-áš-šú-ú (34) a-na áš-šá-ti-šú (35) ù mârti-šú (36) i-šá-aṭ-ṭar (37) ù a-na e-'i-il-ti-šú (38) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 40. (39) išippatum (?) tamḳarum (40) ù il-kum a-ḫu-ú-um (41) eḳil-šú kirâ-šú (42) ù bît-zu a-na kaspim (43) i-na-ad-di-in (44) šá-a-ma-nu-um (45) i-li-ik eḳlim (46) kirîm ù bîtim (47) šá i-šá-am-mu (48) i-il-la-ak

§ 41. (49) šum-ma a-wi-lum (50) eḳlam kirâm ù bîtam (51) šá rêdîm bâ'irim (52) ù na-ši bi-il-tim (53) ú-pí-iḫ (54) ù ni-ip-la-tim (55) id-di-in (56) rêdûm bâ'irum (57) ù na-ši bi-il-tim (58) a-na eḳli-šú kirî-šú ù bîti-šú (59) i-ta-ar (60) ù ni-ip-la-tim (61) šá in-na-ad-nu-šum (62) i-tab-ba-al

§ 42. (63) šum-ma a-wi-lum (64) eḳlam a-na ir-ri-šú-tim (65) ú-še-ṣi-ma (66) i-na eḳlim še'am la uš-tab-ši (67) i-na eḳlim ši-ip-ri-im [Column XIII] (1) la e-pí-ši-im (2) ú-ka-an-nu-šú-ma (3) še'am ki-ma i-te-šú (4) a-na be-el eḳlim (5) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 43. If he have not cultivated the field, and have left it to itself, he shall (10) give to the owner of the field grain on the basis of the adjacent fields; and the field which he has left to itself he shall break up with hoes, he shall hoe it and harrow it and return it to (15) the owner of the field.

§ 44. If a man have taken an unreclaimed field for three years (20) to cultivate it, and have left it to itself and have not cultivated it, (25) in the fourth year he shall break up the field with hoes, he shall hoe it and harrow it, and return it (30) to the owner of the field. Further, he shall measure out ten GUR of grain per GAN.

§ 45. (35) If a man have given his field for produce to a tenant, and have received (40) the produce of his field (i. e., his share as rent), and later Ramman (god of storms) ravage the field and carry away the (remaining) produce, (45) the loss is the tenant's.

§ 46. If he have not received the produce of his field, or have given the field or either one half or (50) one third (of the grain) the tenant and the (55) owner of the field shall share (the grain) according to the contract.

§ 47. If the tenant have given the cultivation of the field into the charge of another—because in a (60) former year he has not won a maintenance—the owner of the

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§ 43. (6) šum-ma eḳlam(am) la i-ri-iš-ma (7) it-ta-di (8) še'am ki-ma i-te-šú (9) a-na be-el eḳlim (10) i-na-ad-di-in (11) ù eḳlam šá id-du-ú (12) ma-a-a-ri (13) i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-aṣ (14) i-šá-ak-ka-ak-ma (15) a-na be-el eḳlim (16) ú-ta-ar

§ 44. (17) šum-ma a-wi-lum (18) eḳil nidûtim (19) a-na šattim III (kam) (20) a-na te-ip-ti-tim (21) ú-še-ṣi-ma (22) a-aḫ-šú id-di-ma (23) eḳlam la ip-te-te (24) i-na ri-bu-tim (25) šá-at-tim (26) eḳlam ma-a-a-ri (27) i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-aṣ (28) i-mar-ra-ar (29) ù i-šá-ak-ka-ak-ma (30) a-na be-el eḳlim (31) ú-ta-ar (32) ù 1 GAN. E (33) X kur še'im (34) i-ma-ad-da-ad

§ 45. (35) šum-ma a-wi-lum (36) eḳil-šú a-na biltim (37) a-na ir-ri-ši-im (38) id-di-in-ma (39) ù bilat eḳli-šú (40) im-ta-ḫa-ar (41) wa-ar-ka eḳlam (42) (ilu) Rammânum ir-ta-ḫi-iṣ (43) ù lu bi-ib-bu-lum (44) it-ba-al (45) bi-ti-iḳ-tum (46) šá ir-ri-ši-im-ma

§ 46. (47) šum-ma bilat eḳli-šú (48) la im-ta-ḫar (49) ù lu a-na mi-iš-la-ni (50) ù lu a-na šá-lu-uš (51) eḳlam id-di-in (52) še'am šá i-na eḳlim (53) ib-ba-áš-šú-ú (54) ir-ri-šum (55) ù be-el eḳlim (56) a-na ap-ši-te-im (57) i-zu-uz-zu

§ 47. (58) šum-ma ir-ri-šum (59) áš-šum i-na šá-at-tim (60) maḫ-ri-tim (61) ma-na-ḫa-ti-šú (62) la il-ku-ú (63) eḳlam e-ri-šá-am iḳ-

field shall (65) not interfere. Nay, rather, his field has been cultivated, and at the time of harvest he shall receive (70) grain according to the contracts.

§ 48. If a man owe a debt [Column XIV] (1) and Ramman ravage his field and (5) carry away the produce, or if grain have not grown through lack of water, in that year (10) he shall not make any return of grain to the creditor, he shall alter (*lit.*, wet, so as to rewrite) his tablet. Further, (15) he shall not pay the interest for that year.

§ 49. If a man have borrowed money of a merchant, and (20) have given (as security) to the merchant a field to be planted with grain and sesame, and have said to him, "Cultivate the field and reap and take for thyself (25) the grain and sesame which is in the field." If the cultivator have raised (30) grain and sesame in the field, at the time of reaping (35) the owner of the field shall receive the grain and sesame which is in the field, and he shall (40) give to the merchant grain for the loan which he had received and for the interest and for the maintenance of the cultivator.

§ 50. (45) If he give (as security) a field planted with [grain], or a field planted with sesame, the owner of the

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ta-bi (64) be-el eḳlim (65) ú-ul ú-up-pa-as (66) ir-ri-su-ma (67) eḳil-šú i-ir-ri-iš-ma (68) i-na ebûrim (69) ki-ma ri-ik-sa-ti-šú (70) še'am i-li-ki

§ 48. (71) šum-ma a-wi-lum (72) ḫu-bu-ul-lum (73) e-li-šú [Column XIV] (1) i-ba-áš-ši-ma (2) eḳil-šú (3) (ilu) Rammânum (4) ir-ta-ḫi-iṣ (5) ù lu-ú bi-ib-bu-lum (6) it-ba-al (7) ù lu-ú i-na la me-e (8) še'um i-na eḳlim (9) la it-tab-ši (10) i-na šá-at-tim šú-a-ti (11) še'am a-na b[e-e]l ḫu-bu-ul-[li-š]ú (12) ú-ul ú-ta-ar (13) tup-pa-šú (14) ú-ra-aṭ-ṭa-ab (15) ù ṣi-ib-tam (16) šá šá-at-tim šú-a-ti (17) ú-ul i-na-ad-di-in

§ 49. (18) šum-ma a-wi-lum (19) kaspam it-ti tamḳarim (20) il-ki-ma (21) eḳil ip-še-tim (22) šá še'im ù lu šamaššammim (23) a-na tamḳarim id-di-in (24) eḳlam e-ri-iš-ma (25) še'am ù lu-ú šamaššammam (26) šá ib-ba-áš-šú-ú (27) e-si-ip ta-ba-al (28) iḳ-bi-šum (29) šum-ma ir-ri-šum (30) i-na eḳlim še'am (31) ù lu šammaššammam (32) uš-tab-ši (33) i-na ebûrim še'am ù šamaššammam (34) šá i-na eḳlim ib-ba-áš-šú-ú (35) be-el eḳlim-ma (36) i-li-ki-ma (37) še'am šá kaspi-šú (38) ù ṣi-ba-zu (39) šá it-ti tamḳarim (40) il-ku-ú (41) ù ma-na-ḫa-at (42) e-ri-ši-im (43) a-na tamḳarim (44) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 50. (45) šum-ma eḳlam ir-šá-am (46) ù lu-ú (47) eḳil šamaššam-

field shall receive the grain or the sesame (50) which is in the field and he shall return the loan and its interest (55) to the merchant.

§ 51. If he have not money to return, he shall give to the merchant grain or sesame, (60) at their market value as fixed by (65) the king, for the loan and its interest, which he has obtained from the merchant.

§ 52. [Column XV] (1) If the cultivator have not secured a crop of grain or sesame in his field, (5) his contract shall not be made void.

§ 53. If a man have neglected (10) to strengthen his dike, and have not strengthened it, and a break have been made in his dike, and the water carry away the meadow, the man in whose dike the break has been made shall restore the grain which (20) he has caused to be lost.

§ 54. If he be not able to restore the grain, they shall sell him and his goods (25) for money, and the people of the meadow whose grain was carried away (30) shall share it.

§ 55. If a man have opened his canal for irrigation and neglect it, and the water have carried away an (35) adjacent field, he shall measure out grain on the basis of the adjacent fields.

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mim (48) ir-šá-am id-di-in (49) še'am ù lu šamaššammam (50) šá i-na eḳlim (51) ib-ba-áš-šú-ú (52) be-el eḳlim-ma (53) i-li-ki-ma (54) kaspam ù ṣi-ba-zu (55) a-na tamḳarim ú-ta-ar

§ 51. (56) šum-ma kaspam (57) a-na tu-úr-ri-im (58) la i-šú (59) šamaššammam[1] (60) a-na ma-ḫi-ra-ti-šú-nu (61) šá kaspi-šú (62) ù ṣi-ib-ti-šú (63) šá it-ti tamḳarim il-ku-ú (64) a-na pî ṣi-im-da-at (65) šar-ri-im (66) a-na tamḳarim i-na-ad-di-in

§ 52. [Column XV] (1) šum-ma ir-ri-šum (2) i-na eklim še'am(am) (3) ù lu šamaššammam (4) la uš-tab-ši (5) ri-ik-sa-ti-šú (6) ú-ul in-ni

§ 53. (7) šum-ma a-wi-lum (8) a-na kâr eḳli šú (9) du-un-nu-nim (10) a-aḫ-šú id-di-ma (11) kâr-šú (12) la ú-dan-ni-in-ma (13) i-na kâri-šú (14) pí-tum it-te-ip-te (15) ù ugaram me-e uš-ta-bíl (16) a-wi-lum (17) šá i-na kâri-šú (18) pí-tum ip-pí-tu-ú (19) še'am šá ú-ḫal-li-ku (20) i-ri-a-ab

§ 54. (21) šum-ma še'am ri-a-ba-am (22) la i-li-i (23) šú-a-ti (24) ù bi-šá-šú (25) a-na kaspim (26) i-na-ad-di-nu-ma (27) mâr ugarim (28) šá še'u-šú-nu (29) mu-ú ub-lu (30) i-zu-uz-zu

§ 55. (31) šum-ma a-wi-lum (32) a-tap-pa-šú (33) a-na ši-ki-tim ip-te (34) a-aḫ-šú id-di-ma (35) eḳil i-te-šú (36) me-e uš-ta-bíl (37) še'am ki-ma i-te-šú (38) i-ma-ad-da-ad

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[1] Read at the beginning of this line probably *še'am ù lu*. So Ungnad.

§ 56. If a man (40) have opened up the waters, and caused the water to overflow the field of his neighbor, he shall (45) pay ten GUR of grain per GAN.

§ 57. If a shepherd have caused the sheep to pasture on the grass, and have not come to an agreement with the owner of the field, but without the consent of the owner (50) have pastured the sheep on the grass, the owner of the field shall (55) reap his field, and the shepherd who pastured the sheep on the field without the owner's consent shall give (60) over and above twenty GUR of corn per GAN to the owner of the field.

§ 58. (65) If, after the sheep have gone up from the meadow, and have been closed within (70) the gate, a shepherd have turned the sheep into the field, and have pastured the sheep on the field, (75) the shepherd who had made them feed off the field shall keep it, and at harvest he shall measure out [Column XVI] (1) sixty GUR of grain per GAN to the owner of the field.

§ 59. If a man, (5) without the consent of the owner of an orchard, shall cut down a tree in a man's orchard he shall pay one half mina of silver.

§ 60. (10) If a man give a field to a gardener to plant a garden and the gardener plant the garden, and four

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§ 56. (39) šum-ma a-wi-lum (40) me-e ip-te-ma (41) ip-še-tim šá eḳil i-te-šú (42) me-e uš-ta-bíl (43) 1 GAN. E (44) X kur še'im (45) i-ma-ad-da-ad

§ 57. (46) šum-ma rê'ûm (47) a-na šá-am-mi (48) ṣênî šú-ku-lim (49) it-ti be-el eḳlim (50) la im-ta-gar-ma (51) ba-lum be-el eḳlim (52) eḳlam ṣênî (53) uš-ta-ki-il (54) be-el eḳlim eḳil-šú (55) i-iṣ-ṣi-id (56) rê'ûm šá i-na ba-lum (57) be-el eḳlim (58) eḳlam ṣênî (59) ú-šá-ki-lu (60) e-li-nu-um-ma (61) 1 GAN. E (62) XX kur še'im (63) a-na be-el eḳlim (64) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 58. (65) šum-ma iš-tu ṣênù (66) i-na ugarim (67) i-te-li-a-nim (68) ka-an-nu ga-ma-ar-tim (69) i-na abullim (70) it-ta-aḫ-la-lu (71) rê'ûm ṣênî (72) a-na eḳlim id-di-ma (73) eḳlam ṣênî (74) uš-ta-ki-il (75) rê'ûm eḳil ú-šá-ki-lu (76) i-na-ṣa-ar-ma (77) ina ebûrim (78) 1 GAN. E [Column XVI] (1) LX kur še'im (2) a-na be-el eḳlim (3) i-ma-ad-da-ad

§ 59. (4) šum-ma a-wi-lum (5) ba-lum be-el kirîm (6) i-na kirî a-wi-lim (7) i-ṣa-am ik-ki-is (8) mišil manê kaspim (9) i-šá-ḳal

§ 60. (10) šum-ma a-wi-lum (11) eḳlam a-na kirîm [z]a-ga-pí-im (12) [a-n]a šâkinim id-di-in (13) šâkinum (14) kirâm iz-ku-up

years have he cared for the garden, (15) in the fifth year the owner of the garden and (20) the gardener shall share equally. The owner shall (25) mark off his share and take it.

§ 61. If the gardener have not planted the whole field, but (30) left a waste place, they shall assign the waste space to his portion.

§ 62. If he have not planted as a garden the field (35) that was given him, if it was arable land, the gardener shall measure out to the owner of the field, for the years during (40) which it was neglected, on the basis of the adjacent fields. Further, he shall perform (45) the required work on the field and he shall restore it to the owner of the field.

§ 63. If the field were unreclaimed land, he shall (50) perform the required work on the field and he shall restore it to the owner of the field. Further, he shall measure out ten GUR of grain per GAN (55) for each year.

§ 64. If a man have given his garden to (60) a gardener to manage, the gardener shall give to the owner of the garden two thirds (65) of the produce of the garden as long as he holds the garden; he himself shall (70) take one third.

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(15) šattam IV (kam) (16) kirâm ú-ra-ab-ba (17) i-na ḫa-mu-uš-tim (18) šá-at-tim (19) be-el kirîm (20) ù šâkinum (21) mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš (22) i-zu-zu (23) be-el kirîm (24) zitta-šú (25) i-na-za-aḳ-ma (26) i-li-ki

§ 61. (27) šum-ma šâkinum (28) eḳlam i-na za-ga-pí-im (29) la ig-mur-ma (30) ni-di-tam i-zi-ib (31) ni-di-tam (32) a-na li-ib-bi zitti-šú (33) i-šá-ka-nu-šum

§ 62. (34) šum-ma eḳlam (35) šá in-na-ad-nu-šum (36) a-na kirîm la iz-ku-up (37) šum-ma abšênum (38) bilat eḳlim (39) šá šá-na-tim (40) šá in-na-du-ú (41) šâkinum (42) a-na be-el eḳlim (43) ki-ma i-te-šú (44) i-ma-ad-da-ad (45) ù eḳlam ši-ip-ra-am (46) i-ip-pí-eš-ma (47) a-na be-el eḳlim ú-ta-a-ar

§ 63. (48) šum-ma eḳil nidûtim (49) eḳlam ši-ip-ra-am (50) i-ip-pí-eš-ma (51) a-na be-el eḳlim (52) ú-ta-a-ar (53) ù 1 GAN.E (54) X kur še'im (55) šá šá-at-tim (56) iš-ti-a-at (57) i-ma-ad-da-ad

§ 64. (58) šum-ma a-wi-lum (59) kirâ-šú (60) a-na šâkinim (61) a-na ru-ku-bi-im (62) id-di-in (63) šâkinum (64) a-di kirâm ṣa-ab-tu (65) i-na bi-la-at kir[îm] (66) ši-it-ti-in (67) a-na be-el kirîm (68) i-na-ad-di-in (69) šá-lu-uš-tam (70) šú-ú i-li-ki

§ 65. If the gardener have not properly tilled the garden, and have diminished the produce, he shall measure out the (75) produce of the garden on the basis of the [Column XVII] (1) adjacent gardens.

At this point five columns of the text have been erased (see above, p. 396), only the beginnings of column XVII being now visible. Scheil estimates the portion lost at about thirty-five sections, and this is probably approximately correct. The sections omitted contained the further enactments concerning gardening, concerning houses let to tenants, and concerning the relations of merchants and tenants, which continue on the obverse of the monument. The missing portions may be partially restored from some duplicate fragments and from the later Assyrian copies. The numbering of them is, however, extremely doubtful. I have marked them simply by the letters of the alphabet, and have begun again with § 100 when the original begins. The number 100 is, of course, doubtful, though it is surely approximately correct.

§ A. If a man have borrowed money from a merchant, (and) his creditor had warned him (5) to pay; and he had nought to give, and he had (10) given over his garden already cultivated, and then had said, "All the dates, which are produced in this garden, take for thy money," (15) that merchant shall not assent. The dates, which are produced in the garden, only the possessor of the garden (20) may take; then shall he pay the merchant

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§ 65. (71) šum-ma šâkinum (72) kirâm la ú-ra-ak-ki-ib-ma (73) bi-il-tam um-ta-ṭi (74) šâkinum (75) bi-la-at kirîm (76) a-na i-te-šú [Column XVII] (1) [i-ma-ad-da-ad]

§ A. (2) šum-ma a-wi-lum (3) kaspam it-ti tamḳarim il-ki-ma (4) tamḳar-šú (5) i-si-ir-šú-ma (6) mi-im-ma šá na-da-nim (7) la i-ba-áš-ši-šum (8) kirâ-šú iš-tu tar-ki-ib-tim (9) a-na tamḳarim (10) id-di-in-ma (11) suluppî ma-la i-na kirîm (12) ib-ba-áš-šú-ú (13) a-na kaspi-ka (14) ta-ba-al iḳ-bi-šum (15) tamḳarum šú-ú (16) ú-ul im-ma-gar (17) suluppî šá i-na kirîm (18) ib-ba-áš-šú-ú (19) be-el kirîm-ma (20) i-li-ki-ma (21) kaspam ù ṣibat-zu (22) ša

the money, including the interest, in accordance with his account, (and) the remaining dates, (25) which are produced in the garden, shall the possessor of the garden take.

§ B. If a man purpose to build a (30) house, (and) his neighboring (?) property (?) [. . .]

§ C. [(Column XVIII ?) . . .] he shall give him.

§ D. If a man (5) give produce, silver, or movable goods for a house, with the vassalage obligation, and adjoining the house of his neighbor, he shall lose all that he has paid; the (10) house shall return to its (owner). If the house be not bound by vassalage obligation, he may buy it; produce, silver, or movable goods he may give.

§ E. (15) If a man would make (?) an [. . .] without the permission of (his) neighbor, he may do it upon his own (?) lot, but (20) upon his neighbor's lot (he may do no injury).

§ F. [(35) . . .] the possessor [of the house . . .] [. . .] the possessor [of the house] shall replace that [which . . .]

§ G. If . . .

§ H.[1] (Beginning wanting.) "Thy stolen possession strengthen (?) if one take it away from thy house" (?)

[1] No clear meaning has yet been secured from this law. The portion here provisionally translated depends chiefly upon Ungnad.

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pî tup-pí-šú (23) tamḳaram i-ip-pa-al-ma (24) suluppî wa-at-ru-tim (25) šá i-na kirîm (26) ib-ba-áš-šú-ú (27) be-el kirîm-ma (28) i-l[i-ki]

§ B. (29) šum-ma a-[wi-lum] (30) bîtam i-ip[-pí-eš-ma] (31) te-ḫu-šu [. . .] (32) šá . . .

§ C. [Column XVIII] . . . [. . . i-na]-di-[iš] šum

§ D. (1) šum-ma še'am kaspam ù bi-šá-am (2) a-na bît il-ki-im (3) šá bît i-te-šú (4) šá i-šá-am-mu (5) i-na-ad-di-in (6) i-na mi-im-ma (7) šá id-di-nu (8) i-te-el-li (9) bîtum a-na [be-lí]-šú i-ta-ar (10) šum-ma bîtum šú-ú (11) il-kam la i-šú (12) i-šá-am (13) a-na bîtim šú-a-ti (14) še'am kaspam ù bi-šá-am i-na-ad-di-[in]

§ E. (15) šum-ma a-wi-[lum] (16) ni-[. . .] (17) ba-lum i-[te-šú (?)] i-te-[pu-uš] (?) (18) i-na bît [ra-ma-ni-šú (?)] (19) i-te-[ip-pu-uš] (20) a-na [bît i-te-šú] (?) (21) [ú-ul . . .]

§ F. [. . .] (36) be-el [bîtim . . .] (37) šum-ma bi- . . . (38) be-el [bîtim] (39) mi-im-ma [ša . . .] (40) i-r[i-a-ab]

§ G. šum-ma

§ H. (50) . . . (51) na-ba-al-ka-at (?)-ka (52) da (?)-ni-in

(55) . . . the owner of the portion uncultivated: "Cultivate thy uncultivated portion; from (?) thy uncultivated portion, some one may break into my [house] (?) (60) . . . with the stolen portion [. . .]

§ J. [Column XIX] [. . .] (25) If a man who is a tenant has paid his rent complete for the year to the owner (30) [of the house] [and thereupon] the owner of the house have given notice to the tenant to remove, before the expiration of the lease, (35) the owner of the house shall forfeit (40) the money which the tenant has given him because he caused the tenant to remove from his house before the expiration of his time.

[Here follows a space not yet supplied.]

C. Trade and Business (§§ K–126)

1. *Merchant and Peddler* (§§ K–107)

§ K. [Column XXIII] If a man should pay produce or [silver], but have neither produce nor silver (10) to pay, but have chattels, he shall, in the presence of witnesses, give his creditor whatever he have at hand (15) as he has brought it. That creditor may on no account [refuse it], but (20) shall receive it.

§ 100. . . . the interest of the money as much as

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(53) iš (?)-tu bi-ti-ka (54) uš (?)-ba-la-ka-tu-nim (55) [a]-na be-e[l ni]-di-tim (56) [n]i-di-it-ka e-pu-uš (57) [iš-t]u ni-di-ti-ka (58) [bi (?)]-ti i-pa-al-la-šú-nim (59) [. . .]-am (60) [. . .]-am iš-ku-un (61) [. . .] i-na na-ba-[al-]ka-tim (62) [. . .]-kum (63) [kasp] am(?)

§ J. [Column XIX] . . . (25) a-wi-lum áš-bu-u[m] (26) kasap kiṣri-[šú] (27) ga-am-ra-[am] (28) šá šá-na-[at] (29) a-na be-el [bîtim] (30) id-di-[in-ma] (31) be-el bîtim a-na wa-[áš-šá-bi-im] (32) i-na ûmi(mi)[-šú] (33) la ma-lu-tim wa-ṣ[a-am] (34) iḳ-ta-[bi] (35) be-el bîtim á[š-šum] (36) wa-áš-šá-[ba-am] (37) i-na ûmi[(mi)-šú] (38) la ma-lu-[tim] (39) i-na bîti-šú ú-[še-zu-ú] (40) i-na kaspim šá wa-áš-šá [-bu-um] (41) id-di-[nu-šum] (42) [i-te-el-li]

§ K. [Column XXIII] [šum-ma a-wi-lum] (7) [še'am] ù [kaspam] a-na (8) [. . .]-ma (9) še'am [ù] kaspam (10) a-na [. . .] la i-šú (11) bi-šá-am-ma i-šú (12) mi-im-ma šá (?) ga-ti-šú (13) i-ba-áš-šú-ú (14) ma-ḫa-ar ši-bi (15) ki-ma ub-ba (?)-lum (?) (16) a-na tamḳari [-šú] (17) i-na-ad-di-[in] (18) tamḳarum [šú-ú] (19) ul up-[pa-as-ma] (20) i-maḫ-[ḫa-ar]

§ 100. [Column I, r.] (1) ṣi-ba-a-at kaspim (2) ma-la il-ku-ú (3)

he took he shall write down, and he shall reckon on a day and (5) shall make returns to the merchant.

§ 101. If he have not (10) met with success where he goes, the agent shall double the amount of money he took and give it to the merchant.

§ 102. (15) If a merchant have given money to an agent as a favor, and the latter met with (20) a reverse where he has gone, he shall return the principal of the money to the merchant.

§ 103. If, when he have (25) gone on a journey, an enemy has robbed him of whatever he was carrying, the agent shall (30) swear by the name of the god, and shall go free.

§ 104. If a merchant have given to an agent grain, wool, oil, or (35) goods of any kind to traffic in, the agent shall write down the price and hand over (the money) (40) to the merchant. The agent shall take a sealed memorandum for the money which (45) he has given to the merchant.

§ 105. If an agent have forgotten, and have not taken a sealed memorandum of the money which (50) he has given to the merchant, the money not receipted for shall not be placed to his account.

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i-sa-aṭ-ṭar-ma (4) ûmi(mi)-šú (5) i-ma-an-nu-ú-ma (6) tamḳar-šú (7) i-ip-pa-al

§ 101. (8) šum-ma a-šar il-li-ku (9) ne-me-lam (10) la i-ta-mar (11) kasap il-ku-ú (12) uš-ta-šá-na-ma (13) šamallûm a-na tamḳarim (14) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 102. (15) šum-ma tamḳarum (16) a-na šamallîm (17) kaspam a-na ta-ad-mi-iḳ-tim (18) it-ta-di-in-ma (19) a-šar il-li-ku (20) bi-ti-iḳ-tam (21) i-ta-mar (22) ga-ga-ad kaspim (23) a-na tamḳarim ú-ta-ar

§ 103. (24) šum-ma ḫar-ra-nam (25) i-na a-la-ki-šú (26) na-ak-ru-um (27) mi-im-ma šá na-šú-ú (28) uš-ta-ad-di-šú (29) šamallûm ni-iš i-lim (30) i-za-kar-ma (31) ú-ta-áš-šar

§ 104. (32) šum-ma tamḳarum (33) a-na šamallîm (34) še'am šipâtam šamnam (35) ù mi-im-ma bi-šá-am (36) a-na pa-šá-ri-im (37) id-di-in (38) šamallûm kaspam (39) i-sa-aṭ-ṭar-ma (40) a-na tamḳarim (41) ú-ta-ar (42) šamallûm ka-ni-ik kaspim (43) šá a-na tamḳarim (44) i-na-ad-di-nu (45) i-li-ki

§ 105. (46) šum-ma šamallûm (47) i-te-gi-ma (48) ka-ni-ik kaspim (49) šá a-na tamḳarim (50) id-di-nu (51) la il-te-ki (52) kasap la ka-ni-ki-im (53) a-na ni-ik-ka-az-zi-im (54) ú-ul iš-šá-ak-ka-an

§ 106. (55) If an agent have taken money from a merchant, and have a dispute with the merchant, (60) that merchant shall bring the agent to account before the god and witnesses for the money obtained, and the agent shall give to the merchant three fold the money (65) that he has taken.

§ 107. If a merchant have wronged an agent, and (70) the agent has returned to his merchant whatever the merchant has [Column II, r.] (1) given him, but the merchant (5) have denied what the agent has given him, that agent shall bring the merchant to account before the god and witnesses, and the merchant, because (10) he disputed with his agent, shall give to him six fold the amount which he obtained.

2. *Wine Selling* (§§ 108–111)

§ 108. (15) If a wine merchant[1] have not received grain as the price of drink, but if she receive money by the great stone (i. e., weight), or make the (20) measure for drink smaller than the measure for corn, they shall call that wine seller to account, and they shall throw her into the water.[2]

[1] The word for "wine merchant" is feminine.

[2] Ungnad expresses doubt as to the meaning of § 108. The translation here given seems to me reasonably sure.

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§ 106. (55) šum-ma šamallûm (56) kaspam it-ti tamḳarim (57) il-ki-ma (58) tamḳar-šú (59) it-ta-ki-ir (60) tamḳarum šú-ú (61) i-na ma-ḫar i-lim ù ši-bi (62) i-na kaspim li-ki-im (63) šamallâm ú-ka-an-ma (64) šamallûm kaspam (65) ma-la il-ku-ú (66) a-du III-šú a-na tamḳarim (67) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 107. (68) šum-ma tamḳarum (69) šamallâm i-ki-ip-ma (70) šamallûm mi-im-ma (71) šá tamḳarum id-di-nu-šum (72) a-na tamḳari-šú [Column II, r.] (1) ut-te-ir (2) tamḳarum mi-im-ma (3) šá šamallûm (4) id-di-nu-šum (5) it-ta-ki-ir-šú (6) šamallûm šú-ú (7) i-na ma-ḫar i-lim ù ši-bi (8) tamḳaram ú-ka-an-ma (9) tamḳarum áš-šum šamallâ-šú (10) ik-ki-ru (11) mi-im-ma šá il-ku-ú (12) a-du VI-šú (13) a-na šamallîm (14) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 108. (15) šum-ma sinnišat kurunnim (?) (16) a-na šîm šikarim (17) še'am la im-ta-ḫar (18) i-na abnim ra-bi-tim (19) kaspam im-ta-ḫar (20) ù maḫîr šikarim (21) a-na maḫîr še'im um-ta-ṭi (22) sinnišat kurunnim šú-a-ti (23) ú-ka-an-nu-ši-ma (24) a-na me-e (25) i-na-[ad-d]u-ú-ši

§ 109. If outlaws have gathered in the house of a wine merchant, and she do not arrest (30) these outlaws and bring them to the palace, that wine seller shall be (35) put to death.

§ 110. If a female votary, who is not living in a convent, have opened a wine shop, or (40) have entered a wine shop for drink, they shall burn that woman.

§ 111. (45) If a wine seller have given 60 KA of drink at harvest time on credit, she shall receive 50 KA of grain.

3. *Transport of Goods* (§ 112)

§ 112. (50) If a man be away on a journey, and he give silver, gold, stones, or portable property (55) to a man, and have caused him to take them for transport, and if that man (60) do not deliver that which was to be transported where it was to be transported, but take it to himself, the owner of the goods to be transported shall call (65) that man to account for the goods to be transported which he did not deliver, and (70) that man shall deliver to the owner of the transported goods five fold the amount which was given to him.

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§ 109. (26) šum-[m]a sinnišat kurunnim (27) ṣa-ar-ru-tum (28) i-na bîti-šá (29) it-tar-ka-su-ma (30) ṣa-ar-ru-tim šú-nu-ti (31) la iṣ-ṣa-ab-tam-ma (32) a-na êkallim (33) la ir-di-a-am (34) sinnišat kurunnim ši-i (35) id-da-ak

§ 110. (36) šum-ma išippatum entum (37) šá i-na gâgîm (38) la wa-áš-ba-at (39) bît kurunnim ip-te-te (40) ù lu a-na šikarim (41) a-na bît kurunnim (42) i-te-ru-ub (43) a-wi-il-tam šú-a-ti (44) i-ḳal-lu-ú-ši

§ 111. (45) šum-ma sinnišat kurunnim (46) 60 ḳâ pîḫim (47) a-na ki-ip-tim id-di-in (48) i-na ebûrim (49) 50 ḳâ še'im i-li-ki

§ 112. (50) šum-ma a-wi-lum (51) i-na ḫar-ra-nim (52) wa-ši-ib-ma (53) kaspam ḫurâṣam abnam (54) ù bi-iš ga-ti-šú (55) a-na a-wi-lim (56) id-di-in-ma (57) a-na ši-bu-ul-tim (58) ú-šá-bíl-šú (59) a-wi-lum šú-ú (60) mi-im-ma šá šú-bu-lu (61) a-šar šú-bu-lu (62) la id(-di)-in-ma (63) it-ba-al (64) be-el ši-bu-ul-tim (65) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (66) i-na mi-im-ma (67) šá šú-bu-lu-ma (68) la id-di-nu (69) ú-ka-an-nu-šú-ma (70) a-wi-lum šú-ú (71) a-du V-šú mi-im-ma (72) šá in-na-ad-nu-šum (73) a-na be-el ši-bu-ul-tim (74) i-na-ad-di-in

4. *Debt* (§§ 113–119)

§ 113. (75) If a man have a [debt] of grain or money against a man, [Column III, r.] (1) and if he take grain without the consent of the owner from the heap or from the (5) store, they shall call that man to account for taking the grain, without the consent of the owner, from the heap or from the (10) store, and he shall restore as much grain as he took, and he shall forfeit (15) all that he has lent, whatever it be.

§ 114. If a man do not have a (debt) of grain or money against (20) a man, and if he seize him for debt, for each seizure he shall pay one third of a (25) mina of silver.

§ 115. If a man have a (debt) of grain or money against a man, and (30) he seize him for debt, and the one seized die a natural death in the house of him who seized him, (35) no case lies.

§ 116. If the one seized die in the house of him who seized him (40) of blows or of want, the owner of the one seized shall (45) call the merchant to account; and if it be a son of a freedman (that died) they shall put his son to death; if it be a man's servant (that has died) (50) he shall pay one third of a mina of silver and he shall forfeit whatever amount he had lent.

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§ 113. (75) šum-ma a-wi-lum (76) e-li a-wi-lim [Column III, r.] (1) še'am ù kaspam i-šú-ma (2) i-na ba-lum be-el še'im (3) i-na na-áš-pa-ki-im (4) ù lu i-na ma-áš-ka-nim (5) še'am il-te-ki (6) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (7) i-na ba-lum be-el še'im (8) i-na na-áš-pa-ki-im (9) ù lu i-na maškanim (10) i-na še'im li-ki-im (11) ú-ka-an-nu-šú-ma (12) še'am ma-la il-ku-ú (13) ú-ta-ar (14) ù i-na mi-im-ma šum-šú (15) ma-la id-di-nu (16) i-te-el-li

§ 114. (17) šum-ma a-wi-lum (18) e-li a-wi-lim (19) še'am ù kaspam (20) la i-šú-ma (21) ni-pu-zu it-te-pí (22) a-na ni-pu-tim (23) iš-ti-a-at (24) ⅓ manê kaspim (25) i-šá-ḳal

§ 115. (26) šum-ma a-wi-lum (27) e-li a-wi-lim (28) še'am ù kaspam (29) i-šú-ma (30) ni-pu-zu ip-pí-ma (31) ni-pu-tum (32) i-na bît ne-pí-šá (33) i-na ši-ma-ti-šá (34) im-tu-ut (35) di-nu-um šú-ú (36) ru-gu-um-ma-am (37) ú-ul i-šú

§ 116. (38) šum-ma ni-pu-tum (39) i-na bît ne-pí-šú (40) i-na ma-ḫa-zi-im (41) ù lu i-na uš-šú-ši-im (42) im-tu-ut (43) be-el ni-pu-tim (44) tamḳar-šú (45) ú-ka-an-ma (46) šum-ma mâr a-wi-lim (47) mâr-šú i-du-uk-ku (48) šum-ma warad a-wi-lim (49) ⅓ manê kaspim (50) i-šá-ḳal (51) ù i-na mi-im-ma šum-šú (52) ma-la id-di-nu (53) i-te-el-li

§ 117. If a man be (55) in debt, and sell his wife, his son, or his daughter for the money, or has handed them over (60) to service, for three years they shall work in the house of their purchaser or exploiter; in the fourth (65) year they shall be set at liberty.

§ 118. If he have handed over a male or female slave (70) to service, and if the merchant transfer or sell such a slave, no case lies.

§ 119. If a man be (75) in debt, and he have handed over for the money a female slave who has borne him children, the owner of the slave (i. e., the man in debt) [Column IV, r.] (1) shall repay the money which the merchant paid him, and he shall ransom his female slave.

5. *Storage and Deposit* (§§ 120–126)

§ 120. If a man have heaped up (5) his grain, for storage, in the house of a man, and an accident happen to the granary, or the (10) owner of the house has opened the granary and taken grain, or has disputed as to (15) the amount of grain that was heaped up in his house, the owner of the grain shall declare his grain in the presence of the god, and the owner of the house shall double the (20) amount of grain which he took and restore it to the owner of the grain.

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§ 117. (54) šum-ma a-wi-lam (55) e-'i-il-tum (56) iṣ-ba-zu-ma (57) aššat-zu mâr-šú ù mârat-zu (58) a-na kaspim id-di-in (59) ù lu a-na ki-iš-šá-a-tim (60) it-ta-an-di-in (61) šattam ... (kam) (62) bît šá-a-a-ma-ni-šú-nu (63) ù ka-ši-ši-šú-nu (64) i-ip-pí-šú i-na ri-bu-tim (65) šá-at-tim (66) an-du-ra-ar-šú-nu (67) iš-šá-ak-ka-an

§ 118 (68) šum-ma wardam ù lu amtam (69) a-na ki-iš-šá-tim (70) it-ta-an-di-in (71) tamḳarum ú-še-te-iḳ (72) a-na kaspim i-na-ad-din (73) ú-ul ib-ba-gar

§ 119. (74) šum-ma a-wi-lam (75) e-'i-il-tum (76) iṣ-ba-zu-ma (77) amat-zu šá mârî ul-du-šum (78) a-na kaspim it-ta-din [Column IV, r.] (1) kasap tamḳarum iš-ku-lu (2) be-el amtim i-šá-ḳal-ma (3) amat-zu i-pa-ṭar

§ 120. (4) šum-ma a-wi-lum (5) še'a-šú a-na na-áš-pa-ku-tim (6) i-na bît a-wi-lim (7) iš-pu-uk-ma (8) i-na ga-ri-tim (9) i-ib-bu-ú-um it-tab-ši (10) ù lu be-el bîtim (11) na-áš-pa-kam ip-te-ma (12) še'am il-ki (13) ù lu še'am šá i-na bîti-šú (14) iš-šá-ap-ku (15) a-na ga-am-ri-im (16) it-ta-ki-ir (17) be-el še'im ma-ḫar i-lim (18) še'a-šú ú-ba-ar-ma (19) be-el bîtim (20) še'am šá il-ku-ú (21) uš-ta-šá-na-ma (22) a-na be-el še'im (23) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 121. If a man have heaped up grain (25) in the house of another, he shall give as the price of storage five KA of grain per GUR (30) per year.

§ 122. If a man have given to another (35) on deposit silver, gold, or anything whatever, whatever he gives he shall show to witnesses and fix (40) the contract and (then) make the deposit.

§ 123. If a man have given on deposit without witnesses or (45) contract, and at the place of deposit they dispute with him, (50) no case lies.

§ 124. If a man have given to another on deposit (55) silver, gold, or anything whatever in the presence of witnesses, and the latter (60) dispute with him (i. e., deny it), they shall call that man to account, and whatever he has disputed he shall make up and (65) repay double.

§ 125. If a man have given anything of his on deposit, and at the place of deposit, (70) either by burglary or pillage, something of his has been lost along with something (75) of the owner of the house, the owner of the house who has been negligent and has lost what was given him on deposit shall make good (the loss) and

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§ 121. (24) šum-ma a-wi-lum (25) i-na bît a-wi-lim (26) še'am iš-pu-uk (27) i-na šá-na-at (28) a-na I kur še'im V ḳâ še'im (29) idi na-áš-pa-ki-im (30) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 122. (31) šum-ma a-wi-lum (32) a-na a-wi-lim (33) kaspam ḫurâṣam (34) ù mi-im-ma šum-šú (35) a-na ma-ṣa-ru-tim (36) i-na-ad-di-in (37) mi-im-ma ma-la (38) i-na-ad-di-nu (39) ši-bi ú-kál-lam (40) ri-ik-sa-tim (41) i-šá-ak-ka-an-ma (42) a-na ma-ṣa-ru-tim (43) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 123. (44) šum-ma ba-lum ši-bi (45) ù ri-ik-sa-tim (46) a-na ma-ṣa-ru-tim (47) id-di-in-ma (48) a-šar id-di-nu (49) it-ta-ak-ru-šú (50) di-nu-um šú-ú (51) ru-gu-um-ma-am (52) ú-ul i-šú

§ 124. (53) šum-ma a-wi-lum (54) a-na a-wi-lim (55) kaspam ḫurâṣam (56) ù mi-im-ma šum-šú (57) ma-ḫar ši-bi (58) a-na ma-ṣa-ru-tim (59) id-di-in-ma (60) it-ta-ki-ir-šú (61) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (62) ú-ka-an-nu-šú-ma (63) mi-im-ma šá ik-ki-ru (64) uš-ta-šá-na-ma (65) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 125. (66) šum-ma a-wi-lum (67) mi-im-ma-šú (68) a-na ma-ṣa-ru-tim id-di-in-ma (69) a-šar id-di-nu (70) ù lu i-na pí-il-ši-im (71) ù lu i-na na-ba- (72) al-ka-at-tim (73) mi-im-mu-šú (74) it-ti mi-im-me-e (75) be-el bîtim iḫ-ta-li-iḳ be-el bîtim šá i-gu-ma (76) mi-im-ma šá a-na (77) ma-ṣa-ru-tim id-di-nu-šum-ma (78) ú-

restore it [Column V, r.] (1) to the owner of the goods. The owner of the house (5) shall seek out whatever has been lost and shall take it from the thief.

§ 126. If a man have lost (10) nothing of his, but say that he has lost something, (15) he shall declare his (alleged) loss before the god, and (20) whatever he has claimed he shall pay as a forfeit double his claim.

III. PERSON (§§ 127–282)

A. The Family (§§ 127–195)

1. *Man and Wife* (§§ 127–164)

§ 127. (25) If a man have caused the finger to be pointed against a votary or against the wife of another, and have not justified himself, they shall bring (30) that man before the judge and cut the hair from his temples.

§ 128. (35) If a man have taken a wife, and have not arranged with her the (marriage) contracts, (40) that woman is not a (legal) wife.

§ 129. If the wife of a man be taken (45) lying with another man, they shall bind them and throw them into the water. If the (50) husband of the woman would save his wife, so also may the king save his male servant.

ḫal-li-ku (79) ú-šá-lam-ma [Column V, r.] (1) a-na be-el namkurim (2) i-ri-a-ab (3) be-el bîtim (4) mi-im-ma-šú ḫal-ga-am (5) iš-te-ne-i-ma (6) [it]-ti šar-ra-g[a]-ni-šú (7) i-li-ki

§ 126. (8) šum-ma [a]-wi-lum (9) mi-im-mu-šú (10) la ḫa-li-i[ḳ-m]a (11) mi-im-[mu-ú-a] (12) ḫa-li-iḳ iḳ-ta-bi (13) ba-ab-ta-šú (14) ú-te-ib-bi-ir (15) ki-ma mi-im-mu-šú (16) la ḫal-ku (17) ba-ab-ta-šú (18) i-na ma-ḫar i-lim (19) ú-ba-ar-šú-ma (20) mi-im-ma (21) šá ir-gu-mu (22) uš-ta-šá-na-ma (23) a-na ba-ab-ti-šú (24) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 127. (25) šum-ma a-wi-lum (26) e-li entim (27) ù áš-šá-at a-wi-lim (28) ú-ba-nam ú-šá-at-ri-iṣ-ma (29) la uk-ti-in (30) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (31) ma-ḫar da-a-a-ni (32) i-na-ad-du-ú-šú (33) ù mu-ut-ta-zu (34) ú-gal-la-bu

§ 128. (35) šum-ma a-wi-lum (36) áš-šá-tam (37) i-ḫu-uz-ma (38) ri-ik-sa-ti-šá (39) la iš-ku-un (40) sinništum ši-i (41) ú-ul áš-šá-at

§ 129. (42) šum-ma áš-šá-at a-wi-lim (43) it-ti zi-ka-ri-im (44) šá-ni-im (45) i-na i-tu-lim (46) it-ta-aṣ-bat (47) i-ka-zu-šú-nu-ti-ma (48) a-na me-e (49) i-na-ad-du-ú-šú-nu-ti (50) šum-ma be-el áš-šá-tim (51) áš-šá-zu ú-ba-la-aṭ (52) ù šar-ru-um (53) warad-zu ú-ba-la-aṭ

§ 130. If a man have forced the (betrothed) (55) wife of another who has not known a male and is dwelling in her father's house, and (60) has lain in her bosom and they have caught him, that man shall be (65) put to death and that woman shall go free.

§ 131. If a man have accused (70) his wife, and she has not been taken lying with another man, she shall take (75) an oath in the name of the god and she shall return to her house.

§ 132. If the finger have been pointed (80) at a man's wife on account of another man, and she have not been taken [Column VI, r.] (1) lying with another man, for her husband's sake she shall plunge (5) into the holy river (lit., river-god).

§ 133a. If a man have been taken prisoner, yet there (10) be still food in his house, his [wife] her [husband (?)] . . . She shall [(15) take care of] her [possessions]; into another house she may not enter.

§ 133b. If that woman have not (20) taken care of her possessions, but have entered another house, that woman they shall convict, (25) and cast her into the water.

§ 134. If a man have been taken prisoner, and there

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§ 130. (54) šum-ma a-wi-lum (55) áš-šá-at a-wi-lim (56) šá zi-ka-ra-am (57) la i-du-ú-ma (58) i-na bît a-bi-šá (59) wa-áš-ba-at (60) ú-kab-bíl-ši-ma (61) i-na su-ni-šá (62) it-ta-ti-il-ma (63) iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-šú (64) a-wi-lum šú-ú (65) id-da-ak (66) sinništum ši-i (67) ú-taáš-šar

§ 131. (68) šum-ma áš-šá-at (69) a-wi-lim (70) mu-za ú-ub-bi-ir-ši-ma (71) it-ti zi-ka-ri-im šá-ni-im (72) i-na ú-tu-lim (73) la iṣ-ṣa-bi-it (74) ni-iš i-lim (75) i-za-kar-ma (76) a-na bîti-šá i-ta-ar

§ 132. (77) šum-ma áš-šá-at (78) a-wi-lim (79) áš-šum zi-ka-ri-im šá-ni-im (80) ú-ba-nu-um (81) e-li-šá (82) it-ta-ri-iṣ-ma (83) it-ti zi-ka-ri-im [Column VI, r.] (1) šá-ni-im (2) i-na ú-tu-lim (3) la it-taaṣ-ba-at (4) a-na mu-ti-šá (5) (ilu) Nâram (6) i-šá-al-li

§ 133a. (7) šum-ma a-wi-lum (8) iš-šá-li-il-ma (9) i-na bîti-šú (10) šá a-ka-lim (11) i-bá-aš-ši (12) [áš-šá]-zu (13) [. . .]-za [. . .]-at (14) [ù namkur (?)-š]á (15) [i-na-ṣa-a]r (16) [a-na bîtim šá-ni-i]m (17) [ú-ul i-ir-r]u-ub

§ 133b. (18) š[um-m]a sinništum ši-i (19) [nam]kur-šá (20) la iṣ-ṣur-ma (21) a-na bîtim šá-ni-im (22) i-te-ru-ub (23) sinništam šú-a-ti (24) ú-ka-an-nu-ši-ma (25) a-na me-e (26) i-na-ad-du-ú-ši

§ 134. (27) šum-ma a-wi-lum (28) iš-šá-li-il-ma (29) i-na bîti-šú

be no (30) food in his house, and his wife enter into another house, (35) that woman has no blame.

§ 135. If a man have been taken prisoner, and there be no (40) food in his house, and (45) his wife have entered into the house of another and have borne children, if later her husband have returned and (50) regained his city, that woman shall return to her first husband. The children shall follow (55) their father.

§ 136. If a man have left his city and fled, and (60) afterward his wife have entered into another house, if that man (65) have returned and would (70) take his wife, the wife of the truant shall not return to her husband because he hated his city and fled.

§ 137. If a man have set his face (75) to put away a concubine who has borne him children or a wife who has presented (80) him with children, he shall return to that woman her marriage portion. Further, he shall give to her the usufruct of (85) field, garden, and goods, [Column VII, r.] (1) and she shall bring up her children; from the time that her children (5) are grown up, from whatever is given to her children they shall give to her

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(30) šá a-ka-li-im (31) la i-ba-áš-ši (32) áš-šá-zu (33) a-na bîtim šá-ni-im (34) i-ir-ru-ub (35) sinništum ši-i (36) ar-nam ú-ul i-šú

§ 135. (37) šum-ma a-wi-lum (38) iš-šá-li-il-ma (39) i-na bîti-šú (40) šá a-ka-li-im (41) la i-ba-áš-ši (42) a-na pa-ni-šú (43) áš-šá-zu (44) a-na bîtim šá-ni-im (45) i-te-ru-ub-ma (46) mârî it-ta-la-ad (47) i-na wa-ar-ka (48) mu-za it-tu-ra-am-ma (49) âl-šú (50) ik-ta-aš-dam (51) sinništum ši-i (52) a-na ḫa-wi-ri-šá (53) i-ta-ar (54) mârù wa-ar-ki (55) a-bi-šú-nu (56) i-il-la-ku

§ 136. (57) šum-ma a-wi-lum (58) âl-šú id-di-ma (59) it-ta-bi-it (60) wa-ar-ki-šú (61) áš-šá-zu (62) a-na bîtim šá-ni-im (63) i-te-ru-ub (64) šum-ma a-wi-lum šú-ú (65) it-tu-ra-am-ma (66) áš-šá-zu (67) iṣ-ṣa-ba-at (68) áš-šum âl-šú (69) i-zi-ru-ma (70) in-na-bi-tu (71) áš-šá-at mu-na-ab-tim (72) a-na mu-ti-šá (73) ú-ul i-ta-ar

§ 137. (74) šum-ma a-wi-lum (75) a-na (sinnišat) ŠÚ. GE-tim (76) šá mârî ul-du-šum ù lu aššatim šá mârî (77) ú-šar-šú-šú (78) e-ṣi-bi-im (79) pa-ni-šú (80) iš-ta-ka-an (81) a-na sinništim šú-a-ti (82) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (83) ú-ta-ar-ru-ši-im (84) ù mu-ut-ta-at (85) eḳlim kirîm ù bi-ši-im [Column VII, r.] (1) i-na-ad-di-nu-ši-im-ma (2) mârî-šá (3) ú-ra-ab-ba (4) iš-tu mârî-šá (5) úr-ta-ab-bu-ú (6) i-na mi-im-ma (7) šá a-na mârî-šá (8) in-na-ad-nu (9) ṣi-it-tam

a portion (10) like that of one son, and the man of her choice may marry her.

§ 138. If a man would put away (15) his wife who has not borne him children he shall give her money (20) to the amount of her bride-price. Further, he shall make good to her the marriage portion which she brought from her father's house and (then) may put her away.

§ 139. (25) If there were no bride-price he shall give to her one mina of silver for a divorce.

§ 140. (30) If he be a freedman he shall give her one third of a mina of silver.

§ 141. If the wife of a man who is (35) living in his house have set her face to go out, and has acted the fool, has neglected her house, (40) has belittled her husband, they shall call her to account; if her husband say, (45) "I have put her away," he shall put her away and she shall go her way; he shall not give her (50) anything for divorce. If her husband say, "I have not put her away," her husband (55) may marry another woman. The first woman as a maidservant shall dwell in the house of her husband.

§ 142. (60) If a woman hate her husband and say, "Thou

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(10) ki-ma ab-lim iš-te-en (11) i-na-ad-di-nu-ši-im-ma (12) mu-tu li-ib-bi-šá (13) i-iḫ-ḫa-az-zi

§ 138. (14) šum-ma a-wi-lum (15) ḫi-ir-ta-šú (16) šá mârî la ul-du-šum (17) i-iz-zi-ib (18) kaspam ma-la (19) tir-ḫa-ti-šá (20) i-na-ad-di-iš-ši-im (21) ù še-ri-iḳ-tam (22) šá iš-tu bît a-bi-šá ub-lam (23) ú-šá-lam-ši-im-ma (24) i-iz-zi-ib-ši

§ 139. (25) šum-ma tir-ḫa-tum (26) la i-ba-áš-ši (27) I manê kaspim (28) a-na u-zu-ub-bi-im (29) i-na-ad-di-iš-ši-im

§ 140. (30) šum-ma muškênum (31) ⅓ manê kaspim (32) i-na-ad-di-iš-ši-im

§ 141. (33) šum-ma áš-ša-at a-wi-lim (34) šá i-na bît a-wi-lim (35) wa-áš-ba-at (36) a-na wa-ṣi-im (37) pa-ni-šá (38) iš-ta-ka-an-ma (39) zi-ki-il-tam (40) i-za-ak-ki-il (41) bît-za ú-za-ap-pa-aḫ (42) mu-za ú-šá-am-ṭa (43) ú-ka-an-nu-ši-ma (44) šum-ma mu-za (45) e-ṣi-ib-šá (46) iḳ-ta-bi (47) i-iz-zi-ib-ši (48) ḫa-ra-an-šá (49) ú-zu-ub-bu-šá (50) mi-im-ma (51) ú-ul in-na-ad-di-iš-ši-im (52) šum-ma mu-za (53) la e-ṣi-ib-šá iḳ-ta-bi (54) mu-za sinništam šá-ni-tam (55) i-iḫ-ḫa-az (56) sinništum ši-i (57) ki-ma amtim (58) i-na bît mu-ti-šá (59) uš-šá-ab

§ 142. (60) šum-ma sinništum mu-za i-zi-ir-ma (61) ú-ul ta-aḫ-

shalt not have me," they shall (65) inquire into her past as to what is her lack, and if she have been economical and without reproach, and her husband have gone out and (70) greatly belittled her, that woman [Column VIII, r.] (1) has no blame. She shall take her marriage portion and (5) shall go to her father's house.

§ 143. If she have not been economical, but a goer about, have neglected her house, have belittled her husband, they shall throw (10) that woman into the waters.

§ 144. If a man have taken a wife, and (15) that wife have given a maidservant to her husband and she have borne children, but that man set his face (20) to take a concubine, they shall (25) not countenance that man, he shall not take a concubine.

§ 145. If a man have taken a wife, and (30) she have not presented him with children, and he set his face to take a concubine, (35) that man may take a concubine and bring her into his house. (40) That concubine shall not rank with his wife.

§ 146. If a man have taken a wife and she have given a (45) maidservant to her husband, and afterwards that

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ḫa-za-an-ni (62) iḳ-ta-bi (63) wa-ar-ka-za (64) i-na ba-ab-ti-šá (65) ip-pa-ar-ra-aš-ma (66) šum-ma na-aṣ-ra-at-ma (67) ḫi-ṭi-tam (68) la i-šú (69) û mu-zá (70) wa-zi-ma (71) ma-ga-al (72) ú-šá-am-ṭa-ši (73) sinništum ši-i [Column VIII, r.] (1) ar-nam ú-ul i-šú (2) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (3) i-li-ki-ma (4) a-na bît a-bi-šá (5) it-ta-al-la-ak

§ 143. (6) šum-ma la na-aṣ-ra-at-ma (7) wa-zi-a-at (8) bi-za ú-za-ap-pa-aḫ (9) mu-za ú-šá-am-ṭa (10) sinništam šú-a-ti (11) a-na me-e (12) i-na-ad-du-ú-ši

§ 144. (13) šum-ma a-wi-lum (14) aššatam i-ḫu-uz-ma (15) aš-šatum ši-i (16) amtam a-na mu-ti-šá (17) id-di-in-ma (18) mârî uš-tab-ši (19) a-wi-lum šú-ú (20) a-na (sinnišat) ŠÚ. GE-tim (21) a-ḫa-zi-im (22) pa-ni-šú (23) iš-ta-ka-an (24) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (25) ú-ul i-ma-ag-ga-ru-šú (26) (sinnišat) ŠÚ. GE-tam (27) ú-ul i-iḫ-ḫa-az

§ 145. (28) šum-ma a-wi-lum (29) aššatam i-ḫu-uz-ma (30) mârî la ú-šar-ši-šú-ma (31) a-na (sinnišat) ŠÚ. GE-tim (32) a-ḫa-zi-im (33) pa-ni-šú (34) iš-ta-ka-an (35) a-wi-lum šú-ú (36) (sinnišat) ŠÚ. GE-tam (37) i-iḫ-ḫa-az (38) a-na bîti-šú (39) ú-še-ir-ri-ib-ši (40) (sinnišat) ŠÚ. GE-tum ši-i (41) it-ti aššatim (42) ú-ul uš-ta-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ar

§ 146. (43) šum-ma a-wi-lum (44) aššatam i-ḫu-uz-ma (45) amtam

maid has made herself equal (50) with her mistress, because she has borne children, her mistress (55) may not sell her for money, but she may put a mark upon her and count her among the maidservants.

§ 147. (60) If she have not borne children, her mistress may sell her for money.

§ 148. (65) If a man have married a wife and leprosy (?) have seized her, (70) and he have set his face to take another, he may, but (75) his wife who is stricken with leprosy (?) he shall not put away. In the house which he has built she (80) shall remain, and he shall maintain her as long as she lives.

§ 149. [Column IX, r.] (1) If that woman be not content to dwell in her husband's house, he shall pay her the (5) marriage portion which she brought from her father's house and she may go away.

§ 150. (10) If a man have given to his wife field, garden, house, or goods, and have left (15) her a sealed deed, after her husband's death her children shall not make claim upon her. The mother shall give (20) her estate to the child whom she loves, but to (her) brothers she (25) shall not give.

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a-na mu-ti-šá (46) id-di-in-ma (47) mârî it-ta-la-ad (48) wa-ar-ka-nu-um (49) amtum ši-i (50) it-ti be-el-ti-šá (51) uš-ta-tam-ḫi-ir (52) áš-šum mârî ul-du (53) be-li-za (54) a-na kaspim (55) ú-ul i-na-ad-di-iš-ši (56) ab-bu-ut-tam (57) i-šá-ak-ka-an-ši-ma (58) it-ti amâtim (59) i-ma-an-nu-ši

§ 147. (60) šum-ma mârî la ú-li-id be-li-za a-na kaspim i-na-ad-di-iš-ši

§ 148. (65) šum-ma a-wi-lum (66) áš-šá-tam (67) i-ḫu-uz-ma (68) la-aḫ-bu-um (69) iṣ-ṣa-ba-az-zi (70) a-na šá-ni-tim (71) a-ḫa-zi-im (72) pa-ni-šú (73) iš-ta-ka-an (74) i-iḫ-ḫa-az (75) áš-šá-zu (76) šá la-aḫ-bu-um (77) iṣ-ba-tu (78) ú-ul i-iz-zi-ib-ši (79) i-na bît i-pu-šú (80) uš-šá-am-ma (81) a-di ba-al-ṭa-at it-ta-na-áš-ši-ši

§ 149. [Column IX, r.] (1) šum-ma sinništum ši-i (2) i-na bît mu-ti-šá (3) wa-šá-ba-am (4) la im-ta-gar (5) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (6) šá iš-tu bît a-bi-šá (7) ub-lam (8) ú-šá-lam-šim-ma (9) it-ta-al-la-ak

§ 150. (10) šum-ma a-wi-lum (11) a-na áš-šá-ti-šú (12) eḳlam kirâm bîtam (13) ù bi-šá-am (14) iš-ru-uḳ-šim (15) ku-nu-uk-kam (16) i-zi-ib-ši-im (17) wa-ar-ki mu-ti-šá (18) mârù-šá ú-ul i-ba-ga-ru-ši (19) um-mu-um (20) wa-ar-ka-za (21) a-na mâri-šá (22) šá i-ra-am-mu (23) i-na-ad-di-in (24) a-na a-ḫi-im (25) ú-ul i-na-ad-di-in

§ 151. If a woman, who is dwelling in the house of a man, have bound (30) her husband that a creditor of his may not hold her (for the husband's debts) and have compelled him to deliver an agreement, (35) if that man were in debt (40) before he took that woman his creditor may not hold his wife, and if that woman were in debt (45) before she entered the house of the man (50) her creditor may not hold her husband.

§ 152. If they contract a debt after the woman (55) has entered the house of the man, both together shall be answerable (60) to the merchant.

§ 153. If a man's wife cause her husband to be killed for the sake of another man, they shall impale (65) that woman.

§ 154. If a man have known his daughter, they shall expel (70) that man from the city.

§ 155. If a man have betrothed a bride to his son, and (75) his son have known her, and if he (the father) afterward lie in her bosom, and they have caught him, they shall bind (80) that man and [Column X, r.] (1) cast him into the waters.

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§ 151. (26) šum-ma sinništum (27) šá i-na bît a-wi-lim (28) wa-áš-ba-at (29) áš-šum be-el ḫu-bu-ul-lim (30) šá mu-ti-šá (31) la ṣa-ba-ti-šá (32) mu-za úr-ta-ak-ki-is (33) tup-pa-am (34) uš-te-zi-ib (35) šum-ma a-wi-lum šú-ú (36) la-ma sinništam šú-a-ti (37) i-iḫ-ḫa-zu (38) ḫu-bu-ul-lum (39) e-li-šú (40) i-ba-áš-ši (41) be-el ḫu-bu-ul-li-šú (42) áš-šá-zu (43) ú-ul i-ṣa-ba-tu (44) ù šum-ma sinništum ši-i (45) la-ma a-na bît a-wi-lim (46) i-ir-ru-bu (47) ḫu-bu-ul-lum (48) e-li-šá (49) i-ba-áš-ši (50) be-el ḫu-bu-ul-li-šá (51) mu-za ú-ul i-ṣa-ba-tu

§ 152. (52) šum-ma iš-tu (53) sinništum ši-i (54) a-na bît a-wi-lim (55) i-ru-bu (56) e-li-šú-nu (57) ḫu-bu-ul-lum (58) it-tab-ši (59) ki-la-la-šú-nu (60) tamkaram i-ip-pa-lu

§ 153. (61) šum-ma áš-šá-at a-wi-lim (62) áš-šum zi-ka-ri-im (63) šá-ni-im (64) mu-za uš-di-ik (65) sinništam šú-a-ti i-na ga-ši-ši-im (66) i-šá-ak-ka-nu-ši

§ 154. (67) šum-ma a-wi-lum (68) mârat-zu (69) il-ta-ma-ad (70) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (71) âlam ú-še-iz-zu-ú-šú

§ 155. (72) šum-ma a-wi-lum (73) a-na mâri-šú (74) kallâtam i-ḫi-ir-ma (75) mâr-šú il-ma-zi (76) šú-ú wa-ar-ka-nu-um-ma (77) i-na zu-ni-šá (78) it-ta-ti-il-ma (79) iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-šú (80) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (81) i-ka-zu-šú-ma (82) a-na me-e [Column X, r.] (1) i-na-ad-du-ú-ši

§ 156. If a man have (5) betrothed a bride to his son, and his son have not known her, but he himself have lain in her bosom, he shall (10) pay her half a mina of silver and he shall (15) pay to her whatever she brought from the house of her father, and the man of her choice may marry her.

§ 157. If a man lie (20) in the bosom of his mother after (the death of) his father, they shall burn both of them.

§ 158. If a man, (25) after his father's death, have been caught in the bosom of the chief wife (of his father) who has borne children (30) that man shall be cut off from his father's house.

§ 159. If a man who has brought a (35) present to the house of his (prospective) father-in-law, and has given a bride-price, look with longing upon another woman and say to (40) his father-in-law, "I will not marry thy daughter," the father of the daughter shall take to himself (45) all that he brought him.

§ 160. If a man have brought a present to the house of his (50) father-in-law and have given a bride-price, and the father of the daughter (55) say, "I will not give thee my daughter," he (i. e., the father-in-law) shall return double everything that he brought him.

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§ 156. (2) šum-ma a-wi-lum (3) a-na mâri-šú (4) kallâtam (5) i-ḫi-ir-ma (6) mâr-šú la il-ma-zi-ma (7) šú-ú i-na zu-ni-šá (8) it-ta-ti-il (9) mišil manê kaspim (10) i-šá-ḳal-ši-im-ma (11) ù mi-im-ma (12) šá iš-tu (13) bît a-bi-šá (14) ub-lam (15) ú-šá-lam-ši-im-ma (16) mu-tu li-ib-bi-šá (17) i-iḫ-ḫa-az-zi

§ 157. (18) šum-ma a-wi-lum (19) wa-ar-ki a-bi-šú (20) i-na zu-un um-mi-šú (21) it-ta-ti-il (22) ki-la-li-šú-nu (23) i-ḳal-lu-ú-šú-nu-ti

§ 158. (24) šum-ma a-wi-lum (25) wa-ar-ki a-bi-šú (26) i-na zu-un (27) ra-bi-ti-šú (28) šá mârî wa-al-da-at (29) it-ta-aṣ-ba-at (30) a-wi-lum šú-ú (31) i-na bît abim (?) (32) in-na-az-za-aḫ

§ 159. (33) šum-ma a-wi-lum (34) šá a-na bît e-mi-šú (35) bi-ib-lam (36) ú-šá-bi-lu (37) tir-ḫa-tam id-di-nu (38) a-na sinništim šá-ni-tim (39) up-ta-al-li-is-ma (40) a-na e-mi-šú (41) mârat-ka (42) ú-ul a-ḫa-az iḳ-ta-bi (43) a-bi mârtim (44) mi-im-ma (45) šá ib-ba-ab-lu-šum (46) i-tab-ba-al

§ 160. (47) šum-ma a-wi-lum (48) a-na bît e-mi-im (49) bi-ib-lam (50) ú-šá-bi-il (51) tir-ḫa-tam (52) id-di-in-ma (53) a-bi mârtim (54) mârtî(i) ú-ul a-na-ad-di-ik-kum (55) iḳ-ta-bi (56) mi-im-ma ma-la (57) ib-ba-ab-lu-šum (58) uš-ta-šá-an-na-ma (59) ú-ta-ar

§ 161. (60) If a man have brought a present to the house of his father-in-law and have given a bride-price, and a comrade of his have (65) slandered him, and if his father-in-law (70) say to the claimant of the wife, "My daughter thou shalt not have," he shall return double everything that he brought him, but his comrade shall (75) not take his wife.

§ 162. If a man have (80) taken a wife, and she have borne him children, and that woman [Column XI, r.] (1) go to her fate, her father may not lay claim to her marriage portion, (5) her marriage portion belongs to her children.

§ 163. If a man have taken a wife, and she have not (10) presented him with children, and that woman have gone to her fate, if the father-in-law have returned to him (15) the bride-price that that man brought to the house of his father-in-law, her husband shall have no claim to the marriage portion (20) of that woman, her marriage portion belongs to the house of her father.

§ 164. If his father-in-law (25) have not returned to him the bride-price, he may deduct all the bride-price from her marriage settlement and (30) shall return her marriage settlement to the house of her father.

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§ 161. (60) šum-ma a-wi-lum (61) a-na bît e-mi-šú (62) bi-ib-lam ú-šá-bíl (63) tir-ḫa-tam (64) id-di-in-ma (65) i-bi-ir-šú (66) uk-tar-ri-zu (67) e-mu-šú (68) a-na be-el áš-šá-tim (69) mârtì(i) ú-ul ta-aḫ-ḫa-az (70) iḳ-ta-bi (71) mi-im-ma ma-la (72) ib-ba-ab-lu-šum (73) uš-ta-šá-an-na-ma (74) ú-ta-ar (75) ù áš-šá-zu (76) i-bi-ir-šú (77) ú-ul i-iḫ-ḫa-az

§ 162. (78) šum-ma a-wi-lum (79) áš-šá-tam (80) i-ḫu-uz (81) mârì ú-li-zum-ma (82) sinništum ši-i (83) a-na ši-im-tim [Column XI, r.] (1) it-ta-la-ak (2) a-na še-ri-iḳ-ti-šá (3) a-bu-šá (4) ú-ul i-ra-ag-gu-um (5) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (6) šá mârì-šá-ma

§ 163. (7) šum-ma a-wi-lum (8) áš-šá-tam (9) i-ḫu-uz-ma (10) mârì la ú-šar-ši-šú (11) sinništum ši-i (12) a-na ši-im-tim (13) it-ta-la-ak (14) šum-ma tir-ḫa-tam (15) šá a-wi-lum šú-ú (16) a-na bît e-mi-šú ub-lu (17) e-mu-šú (18) ut-te-ir-šum (19) a-na še-ri-iḳ-ti (20) sinništim šú-a-ti (21) mu-za ú-ul i-ra-ag-gu-um (22) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (23) šá bît a-bi-šá-ma

§ 164. (24) šum-ma e-mu-šú (25) tir-ḫa-tam (26) la ut-te-ir-šum (27) i-na še-ri-iḳ-ti-šá (28) ma-la tir-ḫa-ti-šá (29) i-ḫar-ra-as-ma (30) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (31) a-na bît a-bi-šá (32) ú-ta-ar

2. *Children and Widows* (§§ 165–195)

§ 165. If a man have apportioned to his son, (35) the first in his eyes, field, garden, or house, and have written him a sealed deed, after the father (40) has gone to his fate, when the brothers divide, the present his father (45) gave him he shall take, and over and above that they shall (50) divide the goods of their father's house equally.

§ 166. If a man have taken wives for the sons whom he possessed, and have not taken a wife for his (55) youngest son, after the father has (60) gone to his fate, when the brothers divide, they shall give from the goods of the father's house to their (65) youngest brother, who has not taken a wife, besides his share they shall assign him money as a (70) bride-price, and they shall enable him to take a wife.

§ 167. If a man have taken a (75) wife, and she have borne him children, and that woman have (80) gone to her fate, and after her he have taken to himself another woman, and she have borne him children, (85) after the father has gone to his fate, [Column XII, r.] (1) the children shall not share according to their mothers. They shall (5) take the marriage settlements of their respective mothers and they shall divide equally the goods of the house of their father.

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§ 165. (33) šum-ma a-wi-lum (34) a-na abli-šú (35) šá i-in-šú maḫ-ru (36) ekḫam kirâm ù bîtam (37) iš-ru-uḳ (38) ku-nu-kam iš-ṭur-šum (39) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (40) a-na ši-im-tim (41) it-ta-al-ku (42) i-nu-ma aḫ-ḫu (43) i-zu-uz-zu (44) ki-iš-ti a-bu-um (45) id-di-nu-šum (46) i-li-ki-ma (47) e-li-nu-um-ma (48) i-na namkur bît abim (?) (49) mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš (50) i-zu-uz-zu

§ 166. (51) šum-ma a-wi-lum (52) a-na mârî šá ir-šú-ú (53) áš-šá-tim i-ḫu-uz (54) a-na mâri-šú (55) ṣi-iḫ-ri-im (56) áš-šá-tam (57) la i-ḫu-uz (58) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (59) a-na ši-im-tim (60) it-ta-al-ku (61) i-nu-ma aḫ-ḫu (62) i-zu-uz-zu (63) i-na namkur bît abim (?) (64) a-na a-ḫi-šú-nu (65) ṣi-iḫ-ri-im (66) šá áš-šá-tam (67) la aḫ-zu (68) e-li-a-at (69) zi-it-ti-šú (70) kasap tir-ḫa-tim (71) i-šá-ak-ka-nu-šum-ma (72) áš-šá-tam (73) ú-šá-aḫ-ḫa-zu-šú

§ 167. (74) šum-ma a-wi-lum (75) áš-šá-tam (76) i-ḫu-uz-ma (77) mârî ú-li-zum (78) sinništum ši-i (79) a-na ši-im-tim (80) it-ta-la-ak (81) wa-ar-ki-šá (82) sinništam šá-ni-tam (83) i-ta-ḫa-az-ma (84) mârî it-ta-la-ad (85) wa-ar-ka-nu-um (86) a-bu-um a-na ši-im-tim (87) it-ta-al-ku [Column XII, r.] (1) mârî a-na um-ma-tim (2) ú-ul i-zu-uz-zu (3) še-ri-iḳ-ti (4) um-ma-ti-šú-nu (5) i-li-ku-ma (6) namkur bît abim (?) (7) mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš (8) i-zu-uz-zu

§ 168. If a man have set his face to cut off (10) his son and say to the judges, "I will cut off my son," (15) the judges shall inquire into his antecedents, and if the son have not committed a heavy crime which (20) cuts off sonship, the father shall not cut off his son from sonship.

§ 169. (25) If he have committed against his father a heavy crime which cuts off sonship, (30) for the first offense the judges shall reconcile them; if he have committed a heavy crime for the second time the father may (35) cut off his son from sonship.

§ 170. If a man's wife have borne him children and (40) his maidservant have borne him children, and the father during his lifetime (45) have said to the sons whom the maidservant has borne him "my sons," and has numbered them with the sons of his wife, after the father (50) has gone to his fate, the sons of the wife and the sons of the maidservant shall (55) divide the goods of their father's house equally. The sons that are sons of the wife at the sharing shall have the right of choosing and taking.

§ 171. (60) However, if the father during his lifetime have not said to the sons whom the maidservant bore

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§ 168. (9) šum-ma a-wi-lum (10) a-na mâri-šú (11) na-sa-ḫi-im (12) pa-nam iš-ta-ka-an (13) a-na da-a-a-ni (14) mâri(i) a-na-za-aḫ-ta-bi (15) da-a-a-nu (16) wa-ar-ka-zu (17) i-par-ra-su-ma (18) šum-ma mârum ar-nam kab-tam (19) šá i-na ab-lu-tim (20) na-sa-ḫi-im (21) la ub-lam (22) a-bu-um mâr-šú (23) i-na ab-lu-tim (24) ú-ul i-na-za-aḫ

§ 169. (25) šum-ma ar-nam kab-tam (26) šá i-na ab-lu-tim (27) na-sa-ḫi-im (28) a-na a-bi-šú (29) it-ba-lam (30) a-na iš-ti-iš-šú (31) pa-ni-šú ub-ba-lu (32) šum-ma ar-nam kab-tam (33) a-na ši-ni-šú it-ba-lam (34) a-bu-um mâr-šú (35) i-na ab-lu-tim (36) i-na-za-aḫ

§ 170. (37) šum-ma a-wi-lum (38) ḫi-ir-ta-šú (39) mârî ú-li-zum (40) ù amat-zu (41) mârî ú-li-zum (42) a-bu-um (43) i-na bu-ul-ti-šú (44) a-na mârî šá amtum ul-du-šum (45) mâru-ú-a iḳ-ta-bi (46) it-ti mârî ḫi-ir-tim (47) im-ta-nu-šú-nu-ti (48) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (49) a-na ši-im-tim (50) it-ta-al-ku (51) i-na namkur bît abim (?) (52) mâri ḫi-ir-tim (53) ù mâri amtim (54) mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš (55) i-zu-uz-zu (56) ablum mâr ḫi-ir-tim (57) i-na zi-it-tim (58) i-na-za-aḳ-ma (59) i-li-ki

§ 171. (60) ù šum-ma a-bu-um (61) i-na bu-ul-ti-šú (62) a-na mârî šá amtum ul-du-šum (63) mârù-ú-a la iḳ-ta-bi (64) wa-ar-ka

him, "My sons," after the father (65) has gone to his fate, the sons of the maidservant (70) shall not share in the goods of the father's house with the children of the wife. The maidservant and her sons shall receive their freedom, the sons of the wife shall have no claim on (75) the children of the maidservant for service. The wife shall take her marriage portion and (80) the settlement which her husband gave and (85) deeded to her on a tablet, and she may dwell in the house of her husband, [Column XIII, r.] (1) and enjoy it as long as she lives. She shall not give it for money, for after her it (5) is her sons'.

§ 172. If her husband did not give her a settlement, they shall (10) pay her her marriage portion, and from the goods of her husband's house a portion corresponding (15) to that of a son. If her sons worry her to leave the house, the judges shall inquire (20) into her antecedents, and if they find the sons in the wrong she shall not go (25) out of her husband's house. If that woman have (30) set her face to go out, she shall leave to her children the settlement which (35) her husband gave her, she shall take the marriage portion of her father's house and the husband of her choice (40) may take her.

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a-bu-um (65) a-na ši-im-tim (66) it-ta-al-ku (67) i-na namkur bît abim (?) (68) mârî amtim (69) it-ti mârî ḫi-ir-tim (70) ú-ul i-zu-uz-zu (71) an-du-ra-ar (72) amtim ù mârî-šá (73) iš-šá-ak-ka-an (74) mârî ḫi-ir-tim (75) a-na mârî amtim (76) a-na wa-ar-du-tim (77) ú-ul i-ra-ag-gu-mu (78) ḫi-ir-tum (79) še-ri-ik-ta-šá (80) ù nu-du-na-am (81) šá mu-za (82) id-di-nu-ši-im (83) i-na tup-pí-im (84) iš-tu-ru-ši-im (85) i-li-ki-ma (86) i-na šú-ba-at (87) mu-ti-šá uš-šá-ab [Column XIII, r.] (1) a-di ba-al-ṭa-at i-ik-ka-al (2) a-na kaspim (3) ú-ul i-na-ad-di-in (4) wa-ar-ka-za (5) šá mârî-šá-ma

§ 172. (6) šum-ma mu-za (7) nu-du-un-na-am (8) la id-di-iš-ši-im (9) še-ri-ik-ta-šá (10) ú-šá-la-mu-ši-im-ma (11) i-na namkur (12) bît mu-ti-šá (13) si-it-tam (14) ki-ma ablim iš-te-en (15) i-li-ki (16) šum-ma mârî-šá (17) áš-šum i-na bîtim šú-zi-im (18) ú-za-aḫ-ḫa-mu-ši (19) da-a-a-nu (20) wa-ar-ka-za (21) i-par-ra-su-ma (22) mârî ar-nam (23) i-im-mi-du (24) sinništum ši-i (25) i-na bît mu-ti-šá (26) ú-ul uz-zi (27) šum-ma sinništum ši-i (28) a-na wa-ṣi-im (29) pa-ni-šá (30) iš-ta-ka-an (31) nu-du-un-na-am (32) šá mu-za (33) id-di-nu-ši-im (34) a-na mârî-šá (35) i-iz-zi-ib (36) še-ri-ik-tam (37) šá bît a-bi-šá (38) i-li-ki-ma (39) mu-ut li-ib-bi-šá (40) i-iḫ-ḫa-az-zi

§ 173. If that woman where she has entered have borne (45) children to her later husband, after that woman has died the former and later sons (50) shall divide her marriage portion.

§ 174. If she have not borne children to her later husband, the sons (55) of her first husband shall divide her marriage portion.

§ 175. If either a slave of the palace or a slave of a freedman take the (60) daughter of a gentleman to wife, and she have borne sons, the owner of the slave may not lay claim (65) to the sons of the daughter of a gentleman for service.

§ 176. However, if a slave of the palace or a (70) slave of a freedman take the daughter of a gentleman to wife, and if when he married her she enter into the house of the slave of the palace or the slave of a freedman, (75) with a marriage portion; if from the time that (80) they join hands they build a house and acquire property, and if later the slave of the palace or (85) the slave of a freedman have gone to his fate, the daughter of the gentleman shall (90) take her marriage portion, and they shall divide into two parts whatever her husband and she had acquired [Column XIV, r.] (1) from the time when they had joined hands, and (5) the owner

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§ 173. (41) šum-ma sinništum ši-i (42) a-šar i-ru-bu (43) a-na mu-ti-šá (44) wa-ar-ki-im (45) mârì it-ta-la-ad (46) wa-ar-ka sinništum ši-i im-tu-ut (47) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (48) mârì maḫ-ru-tum (49) ù wa-ar-ku-tum (50) i-zu-uz-zu

§ 174. (51) šum-ma a-na mu-ti-šá (52) wa-ar-ki-im (53) mârì la it-ta-la-ad (54) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (55) mârì ḫa-wi-ri-šá-ma (56) i-li-ku-ú

§ 175. (57) šum-ma lu warad êkallim (58) ù lu warad (59) muškênim (60) mârat a-wi-lim (61) i-ḫu-uz-ma (62) mârì (63) it-ta-la-ad (64) be-el wardim (65) a-na mârì (66) mârat a-wi-lim (67) a-na wa-ar-du-tim (68) ú-ul i-ra-ag-gu-um

§ 176. (69) ù šum-ma warad êkallim (70) ù lu warad muškênim (71) mârat a-wi-lim (72) i-ḫu-uz-ma (73) i-nu-ma i-ḫu-zu-ši (74) ga-du-um (75) še-ri-iḳ-tim (76) šá bît a-bi-šá (77) a-na bît warad êkallim (78) ù lu warad muškênim (79) i-ru-ub-ma (80) iš-tu in-ne-im-du (81) bîtam i-pu-šú (82) bi-šá-am ir-šú-ú (83) wa-ar-ka-nu-um-ma (84) lu warad êkallim (85) ù lu warad muškênim (86) a-na ši-im-tim (87) it-ta-la-ak (88) mârat a-wi-lim (89) še-ri-iḳ-ta-šá (90) i-li-ki (91) ù mi-im-ma (92) šá mu-za ù ši-i [Column XIV, r.] (1) iš-tu in-ne-im-du (2) ir-šú-ú (3) a-na ši-ni-šú (4) i-zu-uz-zu-ma (5) mi-

of the slave shall take one half and the daughter of the gentleman shall receive one half for her children.

§ 176a. (10) If the daughter of the gentleman had no marriage portion, they shall divide (15) into two parts whatever her husband and she had acquired from the time when they joined hands; the owner of the slave shall receive one half and (20) the daughter of the gentleman shall receive one half for her children.

§ 177. If a widow, whose children are minors, have set her face to enter (25) another house, she shall not enter without the (30) consent of the judges. When she has entered another house the judges shall inquire into (35) the residue of her former husband's estate and they shall entrust the house of her (40) former husband to her later husband and that woman and cause them to receive (45) a deed. They shall administer the property and rear the minor children. Not an (50) utensil shall they sell for money. The purchaser that has bought a utensil belonging to the (55) sons of a widow shall lose his money, and shall return the property (60) to its owners.

§ 178. If a woman, who is a votary or a vowed one, whose father has granted her a (65) marriage portion, has written her a deed, in the deed that he has written

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iš-lam be-el wardim (6) i-li-ki (7) mi-iš-lam (8) mârat a-wi-lim (9) a-na mârî-šá i-li-ki

§ 176a. (10) šum-ma mârat a-wi-lim (11) še-ri-iḳ-tam la i-šú (12) mi-im-ma šá mu-za ù ši-i (13) iš-tu in-ne-im-du (14) ir-šú-ú (15) a-na ši-ni-šú (16) i-zu-uz-zu-ma (17) mi-iš-lam be-el wardim (18) i-li-ki (19) mi-iš-lam (20) mârat a-wi-lim (21) a-na mârî-šá i-li-ki

§ 177. (22) šum-ma almattum (?) (23) šá mârù-šá (24) ṣi-iḫ-ḫi-ru (25) a-na bîtim šá-ni-im (26) e-ri-bi-im (27) pa-ni-šá (28) iš-ta-ka-an (29) ba-lum da-a-a-ni (30) ú-ul i-ir-ru-ub (31) i-nu-ma (32) a-na bîtim šá-ni-im (33) i-ir-ru-bu (34) da-a-a-nu (35) wa-ar-ka-at (36) bît mu-ti-šá (37) pa-ni-im (38) i-par-ra-su-ma (39) bîtam šá mu-ti-šá (40) pa-ni-im (41) a-na mu-ti-šá (42) wa-ar-ki-im (43) ù sinništim šú-a-ti (44) i-pa-ak-ki-du-ma (45) tup-pa-am (46) ú-še-iz-zi-bu-šú-nu-ti (47) bîtam i-na-ṣa-ru (48) ù ṣi-iḫ-ḫi-ru-tim (49) ú-ra-ab-bu-ú (50) ú-ni-a-tim (51) a-na kaspim (52) ú-ul i-na-ad-di-nu (53) šá-a-a-ma-nu-um (54) šá ú-nu-ut (55) mârî almattim (?) (56) i-šá-am-mu (57) i-na kaspi-šú (58) i-te-el-li (59) namkurum a-na be-lí-šú (60) i-ta-ar

§ 178. (61) šum-ma entum išippatum (?) (62) ù lu (sinnišat) zi-ik-ru-um (63) šá a-bu-šá (64) še-ri-iḳ-tam (65) iš-ru-ku-ši-im (66) tup-pa-am (67) iš-tu-ru-ši-im (68) i-na tup-pí-im (69) šá iš-tu-

for her he has not, however, written that she may dispose (70) of her estate as she pleases, and has not given (75) her full discretion, after the father has gone to his fate (80) her brothers shall take her field and her garden and according to the value of her share they shall (85) give her grain, oil, and wool, and shall content her heart. If her brothers have not given her grain, oil, and wool, according to the value of (90) her share, and have not contented [Column XV, r.] (1) her heart, she may give field or her garden to any cultivator (5) she may please, and her cultivator shall maintain her. The field, garden, or (10) whatever else her father has given her she shall enjoy as long as she lives, she shall not (15) give it for money, she shall not transfer it to another. Her heritage (lit., sonship) belongs to her brothers.

§ 179. (20) If a woman, who is a votary or a vowed female, whose father has granted her a marriage portion, has written her (25) a deed, if in the deed which he has written for her he have written that she may dispose of her estate (30) as she pleases, and he have granted her full discretion, (40) after the father has gone to his fate she may give it to whomsoever she please after her. Her brothers have no claim upon her.

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ru-ši-im (70) wa-ar-ka-za (71) e-ma e-li-šá (72) ṭa-bu na-da-nam (73) la iš-ṭur-ši-im-ma (74) ma-la li-ib-bi-šá (75) la ú-šá-am-zi-ši (76) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (77) a-na ši-im-tim (78) it-ta-al-ku (79) eḳil-šá ù kirâ-šá (80) aḫ-ḫu-šá (81) i-li-ku-ma (82) ki-ma e-mu-uḳ (83) zi-it-ti-šá (84) epram piššatam ù lubûšam (85) i-na-ad-di-nu-šim-ma (86) li-ib-ba-šá (87) ú-ṭa-ab-bu (88) šum-ma aḫ-ḫu-šá (89) ki-ma e-mu-uḳ (90) zi-it-ti-šá (91) epram piššatam ù lubûšam (92) la it-ta-ad-nu-ši-im-ma [Column XV, r.] (1) li-ib-ba-šá (2) la uṭ-ṭi-ib-bu (3) eḳil-šá ù kirâ-šá (4) a-na ir-ri-ši-im (5) šá e-li-šá ṭa-bu (6) i-na-ad-di-in-ma (7) ir-ri-za (8) it-ta-na-áš-ši-ši (9) eḳlam kirâm (10) ù mi-im-ma (11) šá a-bu-šá (12) id-di-nu-ši-im (13) a-di ba-al-ṭa-at ì-kal (14) a-na kaspim (15) ú-ul i-na-ad-di-in (16) šá-ni-a-am (17) ú-ul ú-up-pa-al (18) ab-lu-za (19) šá aḫ-ḫi-šá-ma

§ 179. (20) šum-ma entum išippatum (?) (21) ù lu (sinnišat) zi-ik-ru-um (22) šá a-bu-šá (23) še-ri-iḳ-tam (24) iš-ru-ku-ši-im (25) ku-nu-kam (26) iš-tu-ru-ši-im (27) i-na tup-pí-im (28) šá iš-tu-ru-ši-im (29) wa-ar-ka-za (30) e-ma e-li-šá ṭa-bu (31) na-da-nam (32) iš-ṭur-ši-im-ma (33) ma-la li-ib-bi-šá (34) uš-tam-zi-ši (35) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (36) a-na ši-im-tim (37) it-ta-al-ku (38) wa-ar-ka-za (39) e-ma e-li-šá ṭa-bu (40) i-na-ad-di-in (41) aḫ-ḫu-šá (42) ú-ul i-ba-ag-ga-ru-ši

§ 180. If a father have not granted a marriage settlement to his daughter, who is (45) a votary or a vowed female, after the father has gone (50) to his fate she shall receive as her share in the goods of her father's house (55) the portion of a son, and she shall enjoy it as long as she lives. After her it belongs to her brothers.

§ 181. (60) If a father have vowed to a god a votary or a hierodule, and (65) have not given her a marriage portion, after the father has gone to his fate she shall receive as her share in the goods of her father's house (70) one third the portion of a son, and she shall enjoy it as long as she lives. (75) After her it belongs to her brothers.

§ 182. If a father have not granted a (80) marriage portion to his daughter a votary of Marduk of Babylon, and have not written for her a deed, after the father has gone (85) to his fate she shall receive (90) as her share with her brothers one third of the portion of a son, and shall pay no tax. A votary of Marduk, after her (death), may give (95) wherever it is good [Column XVI, r.] (1) to her.

§ 183. If a father (5) grant a marriage settlement to his daughter who is a concubine, and give her to a hus-

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§ 180. (43) šum-ma a-bu-um (44) a-na mârti-šú (45) išippat (?) gâgîm (46) ù lu (sinnišat) zi-ik-ru-um (47) še-ri-iḳ-tam (48) la iš-(ru)-uḳ-ši-im (49) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (50) a-na ši-im-tim (51) it-ta-al-ku (52) i-na namkur bît abim (?) (53) ṣi-it-tam ki-ma (54) ab-lim iš-te-en (55) i-za-az-ma (56) a-di ba-al-ṭa-at (57) i-ik-ka-al (58) wa-ar-ka-za (59) šá aḫ-ḫi-šá-ma

§ 181. (60) šum-ma a-bu-um (61) išippatam ḳadištam (62) ù lu zêrmašîtam (63) a-na ilim iš-ši-ma (64) še-ri-iḳ-tam (65) la iš-ru-uḳ-ši-im (66) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (67) a-na ši-im-tim (68) it-ta-al-ku (69) i-na namkur bît abim (?) (70) šalušta ablûti-šá (71) i-za-az-ma (72) a-di ba-al-ṭa-at (73) i-ik-ka-al (74) wa-ar-ka-za (75) šá aḫ-ḫa-šá-ma

§ 182. (76) šum-ma a-bu-um (77) a-na mârti-šú (78) išippat (?) (ilu) Marduk (79) šá Bâbili(ki) (80) še-ri-iḳ-tam (81) la iš-ru-uḳ-ši-im (82) ku-nu-kam (83) la iš-ṭur-ši-im (84) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (85) a-na ši-im-tim (86) it-ta-al-ku (87) i-na namkur bît abim (?) (88) šalušta ablûti-šá (89) it-ti aḫ-ḫi-šá (90) i-za-az-ma (91) il-kam (92) ú-ul i-il-la-ak (93) išippat (?) (ilu) Marduk (94) wa-ar-ka-za (95) e-ma e-li-šá (96) ṭa-bu [Column XVI, r.] (1) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 183. (2) šum-ma a-bu-um (3) a-na mârti-šú ŠÚ. GE-tim (4) še-ri-iḳ-tam (5) iš-ru-uḳ-ši-im (6) a-na mu-tim (7) id-di-iš-ši (8) ku-nu-

band and write a deed, (10) after the father has gone to his fate she shall not share in the goods of her father's house.

§ 184. (15) If a man have not granted a marriage settlement to his daughter by a concubine, and have not given her (20) to a husband, after the father has gone to his fate (25) her brothers, according to the fortune of her father's house, shall grant her a marriage settlement and (30) give her to a husband.

§ 185. If a man have taken a young child (35) to sonship, and have reared him, no one may bring claim for that child.

§ 186. If a man have taken (40) a young child to sonship, and when he has taken him he is rebellious against his (adopted) father and (45) mother, that adopted son shall return to the house of his father.

§ 187. One may not bring claim (50) for the son of a chamberlain, who is a palace warder, or for the son of a vowed woman.

§ 188. If an artisan have taken (55) a son for adoption, and have taught him his handicraft, no one may bring claim for that child.

§ 189. (60) If he have not taught him his handicraft that adopted son may return to his father's house.

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uk-kam (9) iš-ṭur-ši-im (10) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (11) a-na ši-im-tim (12) it-ta-al-ku (13) i-na namkur bît abim (?) (14) ú-ul i-za-az

§ 184. (15) šum-ma a-wi-lum (16) a-na mârti-šú (17) ŠÚ. GE-tim (18) še-ri-iḳ-tam (19) la iš-ru-uḳ-šim (20) a-na mu-tim (21) la id-di-iš-ši (22) wa-ar-ka a-bu-um (23) a-na ši-im-tim (24) it-ta-al-ku (25) aḫ-ḫu-šá (26) ki-ma e-mu-uḳ bît abim (?) (27) še-ri-iḳ-tam (28) i-šar-ra-ku-ši-im-ma (29) a-na mu-tim (30) i-na-ad-di-nu-ši

§ 185. (31) šum-ma a-wi-lum (32) ṣi-iḫ-ra-am (33) i-na me-e-šú (34) a-na ma-ru-tim (35) il-ki-ma (36) úr-ta-ab-bi-šú (37) tar-bi-tum ši-i (38) ú-ul ib-ba-aḳ-ḳar

§ 186. (39) šum-ma a-wi-lum (40) ṣi-iḫ-ra-am (41) a-na ma-ru-tim il-ki (42) i-nu-ma (43) il-ku-ú-šú (44) a-ba-šú (45) ù um-ma-šú (46) i-ḫi-a-aṭ (47) tar-bi-tum ši-i (48) a-na bît a-bi-šú (49) i-ta-ar

§ 187. (50) mâr manzaz pânim (51) mu-za-az êkallim (52) ù mâr (sinnišat) zi-ik-ru-um (53) ú-ul ib-ba-aḳ-ḳar

§ 188. (54) šum-ma mâr ummânim (55) mâram a-na tar-bi-tim (56) il-ki-ma (57) ši-pí-ir ga-ti-šú (58) uš-ta-ḫi-zu (59) ú-ul ib-ba-ḳar

§ 189. (60) šum-ma ši-pí-ir ga-ti-šú (61) la uš-ta-ḫi-zu (62) tar-bi-tum ši-i (63) a-na bît a-bi-šú (64) i-ta-ar

§ 190. (65) If a man have not numbered (70) with his sons the young child whom he has taken to his sonship and has reared, that adopted son may return to his father's house.

§ 191. (75) If a man, after he has taken a young child to sonship and reared him, (80) has made a house for himself and acquired children, have set his face to cut off the adopted son, (85) that son shall not go his way. The father who reared him (90) shall give to him of his goods one third of the portion of a son and he shall go. (95) He shall not give to him of field, garden, or house.

§ 192. If the son of a chamberlain [Column XVII, r.] (1) or the son of a vowed woman have said (5) to the father who reared him or to the mother who reared him, "Thou art not my father," "Thou art not my mother," they shall cut out his tongue.

§ 193. (10) If the son of a chamberlain or the son of a vowed woman have known his father's house, and have hated (15) the father that reared him and the mother that reared him, and (20) have gone back to his father's house, they shall pluck out his eye.

§ 194. If a man (25) have given his son to a wet-nurse, and that son have died in the hands of the wet-nurse, and

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§ 190. (65) šum-ma a-wi-lum (66) ṣi-iḫ-ra-am (67) šá a-na ma-ru-ti-šú (68) il-ku-šú-ma (69) ú-ra-ab-bu-šú (70) it-ti mârì-šú (71) la im-ta-nu-šú (72) tar-bi-tum ši-i (73) a-na bît a-bi-šú (74) i-ta-ar

§ 191. (75) šum-ma a-wi-lum (76) ṣi-iḫ-ra-am (77) šá a-na ma-ru-ti-šú (78) il-ku-šú-ma (79) ú-ra-ab-bu-ú-šú (80) bît-zu i-pu-uš (81) wa-ar-ka mârì (82) ir-ta-ši-ma (83) a-na tar-bi-tim na-sa-ḫi-im (84) pa-nam iš-ta-ka-an (85) mârum šú-ú ri-ku-zu (86) ú-ul it-ta-al-la-ak (87) a-bu-um mu-ra-bi-šú (88) i-na namkuri-šú (89) šalušti ablûti-šú (90) i-na-ad-di-iš-šum-ma (91) it-ta-la-ak (92) i-na eḳlim kirîm (93) ù bîtim (94) ú-ul i-na-ad-di- (95) iš-šum

§ 192. (96) šum-ma mâr manzaz pânim [Column XVII, r.] (1) ù lu mâr (sinnišat) zi-ik-ru-um (2) a-na a-bi-im (3) mu-ra-bi-šú (4) ù um-mi-im (5) mu-ra-bi-ti-šú (6) ú-ul a-bi at-ta (7) ú-ul um-mi at-ti iḳ-ta-bi (8) lišan-šú (9) i-na-ak-ki-su

§ 193. (10) šum-ma mâr manzaz pânim (11) ù lu mâr (sinnišat) zi-ik-ru-um (12) bît a-bi-šú (13) ú-we-id-di-ma (14) a-ba-am (15) mu-ra-bi-šú (16) ù um-ma-am (17) mu-ra-bi-zu (18) i-ṣi-ir-ma (19) a-na bît a-bi-šú (20) it-ta-la-ak (21) i-in-šú (22) i-na-za-ḫu

§ 194. (23) šum-ma a-wi-lum (24) mâr-šú a-na mu-še-ni-iḳ-tim (25) id-di-in-ma (26) mârum šú-ú (27) i-na ga-at mu-še-ni-iḳ-tim

the wet-nurse, (30) without consent of the father and mother, have substituted another child, they shall call her to account, and because (35) without the consent of the father and mother she has substituted another child they shall (40) cut off her breasts.

§ 195. If a man have struck his father, they shall cut off his hands.

B. Injuries (§§ 196–214)

1. *To Males* (§§ 196–208)

§ 196. (45) If a man have destroyed the eye of a gentleman, they shall destroy his eye.

§ 197. (50) If he have broken a gentleman's bone they shall break his bone.

§ 198. If he have (55) destroyed the eye of a freedman, or have broken the bone of a freedman, he shall pay one mina of silver.

§ 199. (60) If he have destroyed the eye of a gentleman's slave, or have broken the bone of a gentleman's slave, (65) he shall pay one half his price.

§ 200. If a man have knocked out the tooth of a man of his own rank, (70) they shall knock out his tooth.

§ 201. If he have knocked out the tooth of a freedman, he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

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(28) im-tu-ut (29) mu-še-ni-iḳ-tum (30) ba-lum a-bi-šú (31) ù um-mi-šú (32) mâram šá-ni-a-am-ma (33) ir-ta-ka-aš (34) ú-ka-an-nu-ši-ma (35) áš-šum ba-lum a-bi-[š]ú (36) ù um-mi-š[ú] (37) mâram šá-ni-a-a[m] (38) ir-ku-[su] (39) tulâ-šá (40) i-na-ak-ki-su

§ 195. (41) šum-ma mârum a-ba-šú (42) im-ta-ḫa-aṣ (43) ritta-šú (44) i-na-ak-ki-su

§ 196. (45) šum-ma a-wi-lum (46) i-in mâr a-wi-lim (47) úḫ-tap-pí-id (48) i-in-šú (49) ú-ḫa-ap-pa-du

§ 197. (50) šum-ma eṣmet a-wi-lim (51) iš-te-bi-ir (52) eṣemta-šú (53) i-še-ib-bi-ru

§ 198. (54) šum-ma i-in muškênim (55) úḫ-tap-pí-id (56) ù lu eṣmet muškênim (57) iš-te-bi-ir (58) I manê kaspim (59) i-šá-ḳal

§ 199. (60) šum-ma i-in warad a-wi-lim (61) úḫ-tap-pí-id (62) ù lu eṣmet warad a-wi-lim (63) iš-te-bi-ir (64) mi-ši-il šîmi-šú (65) i-šá-ḳal

§ 200. (66) šum-ma a-wi-lum (67) ši-in-ni a-wi-lim (68) me-iḫ-ri-šú (69) it-ta-di (70) ši-in-na-šú i-na-ad-du-ú

§ 201. (71) šum-ma ši-in-ni (72) muškênim it-ta-di (73) ⅓ manê kaspim (74) i-šá-ḳal

§ 202. (75) If a man have struck the person of a man, who is his superior, he shall receive sixty strokes with (80) an ox tail whip in public.

§ 203. If a man of gentle birth (85) have struck the cheek of another man of gentle birth who is his equal, he shall pay one mina of silver.

§ 204. If a freedman (90) have struck a freedman, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

§ 205. If a gentleman's slave [Column XVIII, r.] (1) have struck the cheek of a freedman they shall cut off his ear.

§ 206. If a man have struck a man (5) in a quarrel and have wounded him, (10) he shall swear, "I did not strike him intentionally," and he shall be responsible for the doctor.

§ 207. (15) If he die of the blows, he shall swear, and if he be of gentle birth he shall pay one half of a mina of silver.

§ 208. (20) If he be the son of a freedman, he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

2. *To Females with Child* (§§ 209–214)

§ 209. If a man (25) have struck a gentleman's daughter, and have caused her to drop what was in her

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§ 202. (75) šum-ma a-wi-lum (76) li-e-it a-wi-lim (77) šá e-li-šú ra-bu-ú (78) im-ta-ḫa-aṣ (79) i-na pu-úḫ-ri-im (80) i-na (mašak) ḳinaz alpim (81) I šú-ši im-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ

§ 203. (82) šum-ma mâr a-wi-lim (83) li-e-it mâr a-wi-lim (84) šá ki-ma šú-a-ti (85) im-ta-ḫa-aṣ (86) I manê kaspim (87) i-šá-ḳal

§ 204. (88) šum-ma muškênum (89) li-e-it muškênim (90) im-ta-ḫa-aṣ (91) X šiḳil kaspim i-šá-ḳal

§ 205. (92) šum-ma warad a-wi-lim (93) li-e-it mâr a-wi-lim [Column XVIII, r.] (1) im-ta-ḫa-aṣ (2) ú-zu-un-šú (3) i-na-ak-ki-su

§ 206. (4) šum-ma a-wi-lum a-wi-lam (5) i-na ri-is-ba-tim (6) im-ta-ḫa-aṣ-ma (7) zi-im-ma-am (8) iš-ta-ka-an-šú (9) a-wi-lum šú-ú (10) i-na i-du-ú (11) la am-ḫa-zu (12) i-tam-ma (13) ù âsâm i-ip-pa-al

§ 207. (14) šum-ma i-na ma-ḫa-zi-šú (15) im-tu-ut (16) i-tam-ma-ma (17) šum-ma mâr a-wi-lim (18) mišil manê kaspim (19) i-šá-ḳal

§ 208. (20) šum-ma mâr muškênim (21) ⅓ manê kaspim (22) i-šá-ḳal

§ 209. (23) šum-ma a-wi-lum (24) mârat a-wi-lim (25) im-ḫa-aṣ-

womb, (30) he shall pay ten shekels of silver for what was in her womb.

§ 210. If that woman have died, they shall put his daughter to death.

§ 211. (35) If, through blows, he have caused the daughter of a freedman to drop what was in her womb, (40) he shall pay five shekels of silver.

§ 212. If that woman have died, he shall pay one half a mina of silver.

§ 213. (45) If he have struck a gentleman's maidservant, and have caused her to drop that which was in her womb, (50) he shall pay two shekels of silver.

§ 214. If that maidservant have died, he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

C. Laborers and Labor (§§ 215–282)

1. *Free Labor* (§§ 215–277)

a. Skilled Labor (§§ 215–240)

§ 215. (55) If a doctor have operated with a bronze lancet on a man for a severe wound, and have cured the man, or (60) have removed a cataract, with a bronze lancet, for a gentleman, and have cured the eye of a gentleman, (65) he shall receive ten shekels of silver.

§ 216. If he (the patient) be the son of a freedman, he shall receive five shekels.

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ma (26) šá li-ib-bi-šá (27) uš-ta-di-ši (28) X šiḳil kaspim (29) a-na šá li-ib-bi-šá (30) i-šá-ḳal

§ 210. (31) šum-ma sinništum ši-i (32) im-tu-ut (33) mârat-zu (34) i-du-uk-ku

§ 211. (35) šum-ma mârat muškênim (36) i-na ma-ḫa-zi-im (37) šá li-ib-bi-šá (38) uš-ta-ad-di-ši (39) V šiḳil kaspim (40) i-šá-ḳal

§ 212. (41) šum-ma sinništum ši(-i) (42) im-tu-ut (43) mišil mânê kaspim (44) i-šá-ḳal

§ 213. (45) šum-ma amat a-wi-lim (46) im-ḫa-aṣ-ma (47) šá li-ib-bi-šá (48) uš-ta-ad-di-ši (49) II šiḳil kaspim (50) i-šá-ḳal

§ 214. (51) šum-ma amtum ši-i (52) im-tu-ut (53) ⅓ manê kaspim (54) i-šá-ḳal

§ 215. (55) šum-ma âsûm (56) a-wi-lam zi-im-ma-am kab-tam (57) i-na GIR. NI siparrim (58) i-pu-uš-ma (59) a-wi-lam ub-ta-al-li-iṭ (60) ù lu na-kab-ti a-wi-lim (61) i-na GIR. KAK (!) siparrim (62) ip-te-ma (63) i-in a-wi-lim (64) ub-ta-al-li-iṭ (65) X šiḳil kaspim (66) i-li-ki

§ 216. (67) šum-ma mâr muškênim (68) V šiḳil kaspim (69) i-li-ki

§ 217. (70) If he be a gentleman's slave, the owner of the slave shall give the doctor two shekels of silver.

§ 218. If a doctor have operated, with a bronze lancet, on a gentleman (75) for a severe wound, and have caused the gentleman's death, or have removed a cataract, (80) with a bronze lancet, and have destroyed the gentleman's eye, they shall cut off his hand.

§ 219. If a doctor have operated, with a bronze lancet, on (85) the slave of a freedman, for a severe wound and have caused his death, he shall render slave for slave.

§ 220. If he have removed a cataract, (90) with a bronze lancet, and have destroyed his eye, he shall pay in silver one half of his price.

§ 221. (95) If a doctor have set a broken [Column XIX, r.] (1) bone for a man, or have (5) cured a painful swelling (?), the patient shall give five shekels of silver to the doctor.

§ 222. (10) If he be the son of a freedman, he shall pay three shekels of silver.

§ 223. If he be the slave of a gentleman, the owner of the slave shall give two shekels of silver (15) to the doctor.

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§ 217. (70) šum-ma warad a-wi-lim (71) be-el wardim a-na âsîm (72) II šiḳil kaspim (73) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 218. (74) šum-ma âsûm a-wi-lam (75) zi-im-ma-am kab-tam (76) i-na GIR. NI siparrim (77) i-pu-uš-ma (78) a-wi-lam uš-ta-mi-it (79) ù lu na-kab-ti a-wi-lim (80) i-na GIR. NI siparrim (81) ip-te-ma i-in a-wi-lim (82) úḫ-tap-pí-id (83) ritta-šú i-na-ki-su

§ 219. (84) šum-ma âsûm zi-ma-am kab-tam (85) warad muškênim (86) i-na GIR. NI siparrim (87) i-pu-uš-ma uš-ta-mi-it (88) wardam ki-ma wardim i-ri-ab

§ 220. (89) šum-ma na-kab-ta-šú (90) i-na GIR. NI siparrim (91) ip-te-ma (92) i-in-šú úḫ-tap-da (93) kaspam mi-ši-il (94) šîmi-šú i-šá-kal

§ 221. (95) šum-ma âsûm (96) eṣmet a-wi-lim [Column XIX, r.] (1) še-bi-ir-tam (2) uš-ta-li-im (3) ù lu še-ir-ḫa-nam (4) mar-ṣa-am (5) ub-ta-al-li-iṭ (6) be-el ṣi-im-mi-im (7) a-na âsîm (8) V šiḳil kaspim (9) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 222. (10) šum-ma mâr muškênim (11) III šiḳil kaspim (12) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 223. (13) šum-ma warad a-wi-lim (14) be-el wardim (15) a-na âsîm (16) II šiḳil kaspim (17) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 224. If a veterinary doctor operate (20) on an ox or an ass for a severe wound, and save its life, the owner of the ox or ass shall give (25) one sixth of a shekel of silver to the doctor as his fee.

§ 225. If he operate on an ox or ass for a (30) severe wound, and cause its death, (35) he shall give to the owner of the ox or ass one fourth of its value.

§ 226. If a brander, without the consent of the owner of a slave, have (40) made a slave's mark unrecognizable, they shall cut off the hands of that brander.

§ 227. If a man have deceived a brander, and have caused him to make a slave's (45) mark unrecognizable, they shall put that man to death and bury him (50) in his house. The brander shall swear, "Not knowing, I branded him" (55) and shall go free.

§ 228. If a builder have built a house for a man, and have completed it, that man shall give him, as his fee, (60) two shekels of silver per SAR of house.

§ 229. If a builder have built a house (65) for a man, and have not made it strong, and the house built (70) have

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§ 224. (18) šum-ma âsû alpim (19) ù lu imêrim (20) lu alpam ù lu imêram (21) ṣi-im-ma-am kab-tam (22) i-pu-uš-ma (23) ub-ta-al-li-iṭ (24) be-el alpim ù lu imêrim (25) šedušti (?) kaspim (26) a-na âsim (27) idi-šú (28) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 225. (29) šum-ma alpam ù lu inêram (30) zi-im-ma-am kab-tam (31) i-pu-uš-ma (32) uš-ta-mi-it (33) ḫamušti šîmi-šú (34) a-na be-el alpim ù lu imêrim (35) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 226. (36) šum-ma gallâbum (37) ba-lum be-el wardim (38) ab-bu-ti (39) warad la še-e-im (40) ú-gal-li-ib (41) ritti gallâbim šú-a-ti (42) i-na-ak-ki-zu

§ 227. (43) šum-ma a-wi-lum (44) gallâbam i-da-aṣ-ma (45) ab-bu-ti (46) warad la še-e-im (47) ug-da-al-li-ib (48) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (49) i-du-uk-ku-šú-ma (50) i-na bâbi-šú (51) i-ḫa-al-la-lu-šú (52) gallâbum i-na i-du-ú (53) la ú-gal-li-bu (54) i-tam-ma-ma (55) ú-ta-áš-šar

§ 228. (56) šum-ma itinnu[1] (57) bîtam a-na a-wi-lim (58) i-pu-uš-ma (59) ú-šá-ak-li-il-šum (60) a-na I SAR bîtim (61) II šiḳil kaspim (62) a-na ki-iš-ti-šú (63) i-na-ad-di-iš-šum

§ 229. (64) šum-ma bânûm (65) a-na a-wi-lim (66) bîtam i-pu-uš-ma (67) ši-pí-ir-šú (68) la ú-dan-ni-in-ma (69) bît i-pu-šú (70)

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[1] The ideogram is DIM and is usually read bánûm, so also by Ungnad. Hrozny has, however, shown (*Revue sémitique*, July, 1908) that it was read itinnu in the Neo-Babylonian period. See further Bruno Meissner, *Orientalistische Literatur-zeitung*, 1912, No. 2, columns 58, 59.

fallen and have caused the death of the owner of that house, that builder shall be put to death.

§ 230. If he have caused the death of a son of the owner of the house, they shall put to death a (75) son of that builder.

§ 231. If he have caused the death of a slave of the owner of the house, he shall give to (80) the owner of the house slave for slave.

§ 232. If he have caused the loss of property, he shall restore whatever (85) he has caused to be lost. Further, because he did not make strong the house he built and it fell, he shall rebuild the house that fell (90) from his own goods (i. e., at his own expense).

§ 233. If a builder have built a house for a man, and have not joined (95) his work, and a wall have fallen, that builder, [Column XX, r.] (1) at his own cost, shall make good that wall.

§ 234. If a boatman have built a (5) boat of 60 GUR for a man, he shall give him two shekels of silver for his fee.

§ 235. (10) If a boatman have built a boat for a man, and have not made his work trustworthy and that boat meet with an injury (15) in the same year that he built

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im-ku-ut-ma (71) be-el bîtim uš-ta-mi-it (72) bânûm šú-ú id-da-ak

§ 230. (73) šum-ma mâr be-el bîtim (74) uš-ta-mi-it (75) mâr bânîm šú-a-ti (76) i-du-uk-ku

§ 231. (77) šum-ma warad be-el bîtim (78) uš-ta-mi-it (79) war-dam ki-ma wardim (80) a-na be-el bîtim (81) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 232. (82) šum-ma namkuram (83) úḫ-ta-al-li-iḳ (84) mi-im-ma (85) šá ú-ḫal-li-ku (86) i-ri-ab (87) ù áš-šum bît i-pu-šú (88) la ú-dan-ni-nu-ma (89) im-ku-tu (90) i-na namkur (91) ra-ma-ni-šú (92) bît im-ku-tu i-ip-pí-eš

§ 233. (93) šum-ma itinnu[1] bîtam (94) a-na a-wi-lim i-pu-uš-ma (95) ši-pí-ir-šú (96) la uš-te-is-bi-ma (97) igarum iḳ-tu-up (98) bânûm šú-ú [Column XX, r.] (1) i-na kasap ra-ma-ni-šú (2) igaram šú-a-ti (3) ú-dan-na-an

§ 234. (4) šum-ma malaḫum (5) elip LX kurrî (6) a-na a-wi-lim ip-ḫi (7) II šiḳil kaspim (8) a-na ki-iš-ti-šú (9) i-na-ad-di-iš-šum

§ 235. (10) šum-ma malaḫum (11) elippam a-na a-wi-lim (12) ip-ḫi-ma (13) ši-pí-ir-šú (14) la ú-ták-ki-il-ma (15) i-na šá-at-tim-ma

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[1] DIM; see note on § 228, line 56.

it, the boatman shall exchange (20) it or shall make it strong at his own expense and shall give a strong ship to (25) the owner of the ship.

§ 236. If a man have given his ship to a boatman (30) on hire, and the boatman have been careless, have grounded the ship or have caused it to be lost, (35) the boatman shall render ship for ship to the owner.

§ 237. If a man have (40) hired a boatman and a ship, and have freighted it with grain, wool, oil, dates, or any other kind of freight, and (45) that boatman have been careless and have grounded the ship or have lost what was in it, (50) the boatman shall render back the ship and whatever in it (55) he has caused to be lost.

§ 238. If a boatman have grounded a man's ship, and have refloated her, (60) he shall give money to the half of her price.

§ 239. If a man have hired a boatman, he shall give him six GUR of corn (65) per year.

§ 240. If a ship under way up stream have (70) struck a ship that is moving down stream and have sunk it, the owner of the ship whose ship was sunk shall (75) make a

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šú-a-ti (16) elippum ši-i (17) iz-za-bar (18) ḫi-ṭi-tam ir-ta-ši (19) malaḫum (20) elippam šú-a-ti (21) i-na-ḳar-ma (22) i-na namkur ra-ma-ni-šú (23) ú-dan-na-an-ma (24) elippam dan-na-tam (25) a-na be-el elippim (26) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 236. (27) šum-ma a-wi-lum (28) elippu-šú (29) a-na malaḫim (30) a-na ig-ri-im (31) id-di-in-ma (32) malaḫum i-gi-ma (33) elippam uṭ-te-bi (34) ù lu úḫ-ta-al-li-iḳ (35) malaḫum elippam (36) a-na be-el elippim (37) i-ri-a-ab

§ 237. (38) šum-ma a-wi-lum (39) malaḫam ù elippam (40) i-gur-ma (41) še'am šipâtam šamnam suluppî (42) ù mi-im-ma šum-šú (43) šá ṣi-nim (44) i-ṣi-en-ši (45) malaḫum šú-ú (46) i-gi-ma (47) elippam uṭ-te-ib-bi (48) ù šá li-ib-bi-šá (49) úḫ-ta-al-li-iḳ (50) malaḫum (51) elippam šá ú-te-ib-bu-ú (52) ù mi-im-ma (53) šá i-na li-ib-bi-šá (54) ú-ḫal-li-ku (55) i-ri-a-ab

§ 238. (56) šum-ma malaḫum (57) elip a-wi-lim (58) ú-te-ib-bi-ma (59) uš-te-li-a-áš-š[i] (60) kaspam mi-ši-i[l] šîmi-š[á] (61) i-na-ad-di-i[n]

§ 239. (62) šum-ma a-wi-[lum] (63) malaḫam [i-gur] (64) VI [kur še'im] (65) i-na šá-n[a-at] (66) i-na-a[d-di]-iš-[šum]

§ 240. (67) šum-ma el[ip] (68) šá ma-ḫi-ir-[tim] (69) elip šá mu-[uk]-ki-el-pí-[tim] (70) im-ḫa-aṣ-ma (71) uṭ-te-ib-bi (72) be-el elippim šá elippu-šú te-bi-a-at (73) mi-im-ma šá i-na elippi-šú ḫal-ku (74) i-na ma-ḫar i-lim (75) ú-ba-ar-ma (76) šá ma-ḫi-ir-tim (77) šá elip

declaration before the god, of whatever he has lost in the ship, and the owner of the ship under way up stream which sunk the ship moving down (80) shall render to him his ship and whatever was lost.

b. Unskilled Labor (§§ 241–277)

§ 241. If a man have seized an ox for debt, he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

§ 242. (85) If a man have hired a working ox for one year, he shall pay four GUR of grain as its hire.

§ 243. If a milch cow, he shall give (90) three GUR to its owner.

§ 244. [Column XXI, r.] (1) If a man have hired an ox or an ass, and a lion kill it in the field, (5) it is the owner's loss.

§ 245. If a man have hired an ox, and through neglect or blows have caused (10) its death, ox for ox to the owner shall he render.

§ 246. If a man have (15) hired an ox, and have crushed its foot or have cut its nape, ox for ox (20) to the owner shall he render.

§ 247. If a man have hired an ox, and have caused the loss of its eye, (25) he shall pay one half its price to the owner.

šá mu-uk-kí-el-pí-tim (78) ú-te-ib-bu-ú (79) elippa-šú ù mi-im-ma-šú ḫal-ga-am (80) i-ri-a-ab-šum

§ 241. (81) šum-ma a-wi-lum (82) alpam a-na ni-pu-tim (83) it-te-pí (84) ⅓ manê kaspim i-šá-ḳal

§ 242. (85) šum-ma a-wi-lum (86) a-na šattim I i-gur (87) idi GUD. DA. ÚR. RA (88) IV kur še'im

§ 243. (89) idi GUD. LID. ÚD. SAG (90) III kur še'im a-na be-lí-šú (91) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 244. [Column XXI, r.] (1) šum-ma a-wi-lum (2) alpam imêram i-gur-ma (3) i-na ṣi-ri-im (4) nêšum id-du-uk-šú (5) a-na be-lí-šú-ma

§ 245. (6) šum-ma a-wi-lum (7) alpam i-gur-ma (8) i-na me-gu-tim (9) ù lu i-na ma-ḫa-zi-im (10) uš-ta-mi-it (11) alpam ki-ma alpim (12) a-na be-el alpim (13) i-ri-a-ab

§ 246. (14) šum-ma a-wi-lum (15) alpam i-gur-ma (16) šêp-šú iš-te-bi-ir (17) ù lu la-bi-a-an-šú (18) it-ta-ki-is (19) alpam ki-ma alpim (20) a-na be-el alpim (21) i-ri-a-ab

§ 247. (22) šum-ma a-wi-lum (23) alpam i-gur-ma (24) 'în-šú úḫ-tap-(pí)-id (25) kaspam mi-ši-il šîmi-šú (26) a-na be-el alpim (27) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 248. If a man have hired an ox, and have broken (30) its horn, cut off its tail, or have injured its nostril (lit., the place where the ring passes), (35) he shall pay a fifth (?) of its price.

§ 249. If a man have hired an ox, and the god have struck it and it (40) have died, the man who hired the ox shall swear before the god and go free.

§ 250. If a savage bull, (45) in his charge, have gored a man and have caused his death, (50) that case has no remedy.

§ 251. If an ox given to goring belong to a man, and have shown (55) to him this vice that he is given to goring, but he have not bound up his horns, and have not shut up his ox, and (60) that ox have gored a man of gentle birth, and have killed him, he shall (65) pay one half of a mina of silver.

§ 252. If he be a gentleman's slave he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

§ 253. If a man have (70) hired a man to oversee his field, and have furnished him with seed-grain, have intrusted him (75) with oxen, and have contracted with him to cultivate that field, and that man have stolen the seed or the provender and it be found (80) in his hands, they shall cut off his hands.

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§ 248. (28) šum-ma a-wi-lum (29) alpam i-gur-ma (30) ḳaran-šú iš-bi-ir (31) zibbat-zu it-ta-ki-is (32) ù lu šîr pasumti-šú (33) it-ta-sa-ag (34) kaspam ḫamušti (?) šîmi-šú (35) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 249. (36) šum-ma a-wi-lum (37) alpam i-gur-ma (38) i-lum im-ḫa-zu-ma (39) im-tu-ut (40) a-wi-lum šá alpam i-gu-ru (41) ni-iš i-lim (42) i-za-kar-ma (43) ú-ta-áš-šar

§ 250. (44) šum-ma alpum su-ga-am (45) i-na a-la-ki-šú (46) a-wi- (47) ik-ki-ip-ma (48) uš-ta-mi-it (49) di-nu-um šú-ú (50) ru-gu-um-ma-am (51) ú-ul i-šú

§ 251. (52) šum-ma alap a-wi-lim (53) na-ak-ka-p[í]-m[a] (54) ki-ma na-ak-k[a]-pu-ú (55) ba-ab-ta-šú (56) ú-še-di-šum-ma (57) ḳar-ni-šú (58) la ú-šar-ri-im (59) alap-šú la ú-sa-an-ni-ik-ma (60) alpum šú-ú (61) mâr a-wi-lim (62) ik-ki-ip-ma (63) uš-[ta]-mi-it (64) mišil [ma]nê kaspim (65) i-[na]-ad-di-in

§ 252. (66) [šum-m]a warad a-wi-lim (67) ⅓ manê kaspim (68) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 253. (69) šum-ma a-wi-lum a-wi-lam (70) a-na pa-ni eḳli-šú (71) ú-zu-uz-zi-im (72) i-gur-ma (73) aldâ-am (74) [i-]ki-ip-šú (75) [a]lpî [i]p-ki-zum (76) [a-na e]ḳlim e-ri-ši-im ú-ra-ak-ki-zu (77) [š]um-ma a-wi-lum šú-ú (78) zêram ù lu ukullâm (79) iš-ri-iḳ-ma (80) i-na ga-ti-šú (81) it-ta-aṣ-ba-at (82) ritta-šú i-na-ak-ki-su

§ 254. If he have taken the seed-grain, (85) starved the oxen, from the seed which he has hoed he shall restore.

§ 255. If he have (90) hired out the man's oxen, or have stolen the seed, and have not made it grow in the field, they shall call that man to account and (95) he shall measure out 60 GUR of grain per GAN.

§ 256. If he be not able to pay his compensation, they shall cause him to (100) remain in that field with the cattle.

§ 257. If a man [Column XXII, r.] (1) have hired a field laborer, he shall give him eight GUR of corn per year.

§ 258. (5) If a man have hired an ox-driver, he shall give him six GUR of corn per year.

§ 259. (10) If a man have stolen a watering machine in a field, he shall give five shekels of silver to the owner (15) of the watering machine.

§ 260. If a man have stolen a watering bucket or a harrow (? plow), he (20) shall pay three shekels of silver.

§ 261. If a man have hired a herdsman for the cows or a shepherd for the sheep, (25) he shall give him eight GUR of grain per year.

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§ 254. (83) šum-ma aldâ-am (84) il-ki-ma alpì (85) ú-te-en-ni-iš (86) ta-a (?)-na še'im (?) šá (?) im-ri-ru (87) i-ri-ab

§ 255. (88) šum-ma alpì (89) a-wi-lim a-na ig-ri-im (90) it-ta-di-in (91) ù lu zêram iš-ri-iḳ-ma (92) i-na eḳlim la uš-tab-ši (93) a-wi-lam šú-a-ti (94) ú-ka-an-nu-šú-ma (95) i-na eb[ûrim 1] GAN. E (96) LX ku[r] še'im i-[m]a-ad-da-ad

§ 256. (97) šum-[ma] pí-ḫa-zu (98) a-p[a]-lam la i-li-i (99) i-na eḳlim šú-a-ti i-na alpì (100) im-ta-na-áš-šá-ru-šù

§ 257. (101) šum-ma a-wi-lum [Column XXII, r.] (1) ikkaram (?) i-gur (2) VIII kur še'im (3) i-na šattim I (kam) (4) i-na-ad-di-iš-šum

§ 258. (5) šum-ma a-wi-lum (6) LIB. GUD i-gur (7) VI kur še'im (8) i-na šattim I (kam) (9) i-na-ad-di-iš-šum

§ 259. (10) šum-ma a-wi-lum (11) narṭabam i-na ugarim (12) iš-ri-iḳ (13) V šikil kaspim (14) a-na be-el narṭabim (15) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 260. (16) šum-ma narṭab TUK. KIN (17) ù lu maḳaddam (18) iš-ta-ri-iḳ (19) III šikil kaspim (20) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 261. (21) šum-ma a-wi-lum (22) nâḳidam a-na alpì (23) ù ṣênî (24) ri-im i-gur (25) VIII kur še'im (26) i-na šattim I (kam) (27) i-na-ad-di-iš-šum

§ 262. If a man, an ox, or a sheep (30) to [this section is defaced and six lines are wanting].

§ 263. If he have lost an ox or a sheep, which was given him, (40) ox for ox, sheep for sheep, shall he render to their owner.

§ 264. If a herdsman, to whom (45) oxen or sheep have been given to pasture, (50) have received his hire, whatever was agreed, and his heart has been contented, yet has (55) diminished the cows, diminished the sheep, or lessened the birth rate, he shall (60) give offspring and produce according to his contracts.

§ 265. If a herdsman, to whom oxen and sheep have been given (65) to pasture, have been dishonest or have changed their price, or have sold them, (70) they shall call him to account, and he shall (75) render to their owner cows and sheep tenfold what he has stolen.

§ 266. If in a sheepfold a stroke of god have fallen, or a lion have killed, the herdsman shall declare himself innocent before the god and the owner of the fold shall face (80) the damage of the fold.

§ 267. If a herdsman have been careless, and have brought about a loss in the fold, the shepherd shall make good the fault of the loss (85) which he have

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§ 262. (28) šum-ma a-wi-lum (29) alpam ù lu immeram (30) a-na [. . .] [Six lines wanting.]

§ 263. (37) šum-ma a[lpam] ù lu [immeram] (38) šá in-na-ad-nu-[šum] (39) úḫ-ta-al-li[ik] (40) alpam ki-ma [alpim] (41) immeram ki-ma [immeram] (42) a-na be-lí-[šú-nu] (43) i-ri-a-[ab]

§ 264. (44) šum-ma [rê'ûm] (45) šá al[pù] (46) ù lu ṣê[nù] (47) a-na r[i-im] (48) in-na-[ad-n]u-šum (49) idi-šú g[a-a]m (?)-ra-tim (50) ma-ḫi-ir (51) li-i[b-b]a-šú ṭa-ab (52) alpì (53) u[ṣ-ṣ]a-aḫ-ḫi-ir (54) ṣênì (55) uṣ-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir (56) ta-li-it-tam um-ta-ṭi (57) a-na pî ri-ik-sa-ti-šú (58) ta-li-it-tam (59) ù bi-il-tam (60) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 265. (61) šum-ma rê'ûm (62) šá alpù (63) ù lu ṣênù (64) a-na ri-im (65) in-na-ad-nu-šum (66) ú-sa-ar-ri-ir-ma (67) ši-ím-tam ut-ta-ak-ki-ir (68) ù a-na kaspim (69) it-ta-di-in (70) ú-ka-an-nu-šú-ma (71) a-du X-šú šá iš-ri-ku (72) alpì (73) ù ṣênì (74) a-na be-lí-šú-nu (75) i-ri-a-ab

§ 266. (76) šum-ma i-na tarbaṣim (77) li-pí-it ilim it-tab-ši (78) ù lu nêšum id-du-uk rê'ûm ma-ḫar ilim (79) ú-ub-ba-am-ma (80) mi-ki-it-ti tarbaṣim (81) be-el tarbaṣim i-maḫ-ḫar-šú

§ 267. (82) šum-ma rê'ûm i-gu-ma (83) i-na tarbaṣim pí-ṣa-tam uš-tab-ši (84) rê'ûm ḫi-ṭi-it pí-ṣa-tim (85) šá i-na tarbaṣim ú-šá-ab-

caused in the fold, and shall pay cows or sheep and give to the owner.

§ 268. (90) If a man have hired an ox for threshing, twenty KA of grain is its hire.

§ 269. If he have hired an ass for threshing, ten KA of grain (95) is its hire.

§ 270. If he have hired a young animal for threshing, one KA of grain is its hire.

§ 271. If a man have hired (100) oxen, a wagon, and a driver, he shall pay [Column XXIII, r.] (1) one hundred and eighty KA of grain per day.

§ 272. If a man have hired a wagon (5) only, he shall pay forty KA of grain per day.

§ 273. If a man have hired a laborer, (10) from the beginning of the year till the fifth month, he shall pay six ŠE of silver per day; (15) from the sixth month to the end of the year he shall pay five ŠE [1] of silver per day.

§ 274. (20) If a man shall hire an artisan—

(a) the wage of an artisan.....five ŠE of silver

(25) (b) the wage of a brickmaker.....five ŠE of silver

(c) the wage of a tailor.....five ŠE of silver

[1] A *še* was $\frac{1}{180}$ of a shekel.

šú-ú (86) alpì û ṣêmì (87) ú-šá-lam-ma (88) a-na be-lí-šú-nu (89) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 268. (90) šum-ma a-wi-lum alpam (91) a-na di-a-ši-im i-gur (92) 20 ḳû še'im idi-šú

§ 269. (93) šum-ma imêram (94) a-na di-a-ši-im i-gur (95) 10 ḳû še'im idi-šú

§ 270. (96) šum-ma lalâm (97) a-na di-a-ši-im i-gur (98) I ḳû še'im idi-šú

§ 271. (99) šum-ma a-wi-lum (100) alpì erikḳam (101) û mu-úr-te-di-šá i-gur [Column XXIII, r.] (1) i-na ûmim I (kam) 180 ḳâ še'im (2) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 272. (3) šum-ma a-wi-lum (4) erikḳam-ma (5) a-na ra-ma-ni-šá i-gur (6) i-na ûmim I (kam) 40 ḳâ še'im (7) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 273. (8) šum-ma a-wi-lum (9) (awîl) agram i-gur (10) iš-tu ri-eš šá-at-tim (11) a-di ḫa-am-ši-im warḫim(im) (12) VI ŠE kaspim (13) i-na ûmim I (kam) (14) i-na-ad-di-in (15) iš-tu ši-ši-im warḫim(im) (16) a-di ta-aḳ-ti-it šá-at-tim (17) V ŠE kaspim (18) i-na ûmim I (kam) (19) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 274. (20) šum-ma a-wi-lum (21) mâr ummânim (22) i-ig-ga-ar (23) idi (awîl)[. . .] (24) V ŠE kaspim (25) idi (awîl)GAB A (26) V [ŠE kas]pim (27) i[di (aw]îl)KAD (28) [. . . ŠE] kaspim

(d) the wage of a stone cutter . . . (30) ŠE of silver
(e) the wage of a. . . . . ŠE of silver
(f) the wage of a. . . . . ŠE of silver
(35) (g) the wage of a carpenter. . . . . four ŠE of silver
(h) the wage of a leather worker. four ŠE of silver
(i) the wage of a ship builder. . . . (40) ŠE of silver
(j) the wage of a builder. . . . . ŠE of silver
so much per day shall he pay.

§ 275. (45) If a man have a (? ship), its hire is three ŠE of silver per day.

§ 276. If he have hired a *ship*, sailing up stream, (50) he shall give two and a half ŠE of silver per day as its hire.

§ 277. If a man have hired a ship of sixty GUR (tonnage), (55) he shall give one sixth of a shekel per day as its hire.

2. *Slaves* (§§ 278–282)

§ 278. If a man have bought a male or female slave, and the slave have not completed (60) his month, and the *bennu* fever fall on him, he shall return him to the seller, and the buyer shall receive the (65) money which he paid.

§ 279. If a man have bought a male or female slave, and there be a claim upon him, (70) his seller shall be responsible for the claim.

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(29) [idi pur]ḳullim (?) (30) [. . . ŠE ka]spim (31) [idi . . .] . . . (32) [. . . ŠE ka]spim (33) [idi (awîl)napp]âḫim (34) [. . . ŠE ka]spim (35) [idi] naggârim (36) IV (?) ŠE kaspim (37) idi SÁ (38) [. . .] ŠE kaspim (39) idi addubim (40) [. . .] ŠE kaspim (41) [idi] bânîm (42) [. . . ŠE ka]spim (43) [i-na ûmim] I (kam) (44) [i-na-ad-d]i-in

§ 275. (45) [šum-ma a-w]i-lum (46) [. . .] i-gur (47) i-na ûmim I (kam) (48) III ŠE kaspim idi-šá

§ 276. (49) šum-ma ma-ḫi-ir-tam i-gur (50) II ½ ŠE kaspim idi-šá (51) i-na ûmim I (kam) (52) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 277. (53) šum-ma a-wi-lum (54) elip LX kurrî i-gur (55) i-na ûmim I (kam) (56) šedušti (?) kaspim idi-šá (57) i-na-ad-di-in

§ 278. (58) šum-ma a-wi-lum (59) wardam amtam i-šá-am-ma (60) waraḫ-šú la im-la-ma (61) bi-en-ni e-li-šú (62) im-ta-ku-ut a-na na-di-na- (63) ni-šú ú-ta-ar-ma (64) šá-a-a-ma-nu-um (65) kasap iš-ku-lu (66) i-li-ki

§ 279. (67) šum-ma a-wi-lum (68) wardam amtam i-šá-am-ma (69) ba-aḳ-ri ir-ta-ši (70) na-di-na-an-šú (71) ba-aḳ-ri i-ip-pa-al

§ 280. If a man have purchased a male or female (75) slave of a man in a foreign land, and if, when he come back to his own land, (80) the owner of the male or female slave recognize his male or female slave, if the male or female slave be natives, (85) without price he shall grant them their freedom.

§ 281. If they be natives of another land, the purchaser shall declare (90) before the god the money which he paid for them, and the owner of the male or female slave shall (95) give to the merchant the money that he had paid and he shall receive his male or female slave.

§ 282. If a slave have said to his master, "Thou art not my master," (100) they shall call him to account as his slave, and his master shall cut off his ear.

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§ 280. (72) šum-ma a-wi-lum (73) i-na ma-at (74) nu-ku-úr-tim (75) wardam amtam šá a-wi-lim (76) iš-ta-am (77) i-nu-ma (78) i-na li-ib-bu mâtim (79) it-ta-al-kam-ma (80) be-el wardim ù lu amtim (81) lu warad-zu ù lu amat-zu (82) ú-te-id-di (83) šum-ma wardum ù amtum šú-nu (84) mârù ma-tim (85) ba-lum kaspim-ma (86) an-du-ra-ar-šú-nu (87) iš-šá-ak-ka-an

§ 281. (88) šum-ma mârù ma-tim šá-ni-tim (89) šá-a-ma-nu-ma (90) i-na ma-ḫar i-lim (91) kasap iš-ku-lu (92) i-ga-ab-bi-ma (93) be-el wardim ù lu amtim (94) kasap iš-ku-lu a-na tamḳarim (95) i-na-ad-di-in-ma (96) lu warad-zu lu amat-zu i-pa-ṭar

§ 282. (97) šum-ma wardum a-na be-lí-šú (98) ú-ul be-lí at-ta (99) iḳ-ta-bi (100) ki-ma warad-zu (101) ú-ka-an-šú-ma (102) be-el-šú ú-zu-un-šú i-na-ak-ki-is

EPILOGUE

[Column XXIV, r.] (1) The righteous laws, which Hammurapi, the wise king, (5) established, and confirmed to the land a just law and a gracious rule. Hammurapi, (10) the perfect king, am I. The people,[1] whom Ellil presented to him, and whose rule Marduk gave me, (15) I was not careless of them, nor was I neglectful.

[1] Literally, the *black-headed*.

[Column XXIV, r.] Di-na-a-at mi-šá-ri-im šá Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí šar-ru-um li-ú-um (5) ú-ki-in-nu-ma ma-tam ú-sa-am ki-nam ù ri-dam dam-ga-am ú-šá-aṣ-bi-tu Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí (10) šar-ru-um gi-it-ma-lum a-na-ku a-na ṣalmât ḳakkadim šá (ilu) Illil iš-ru-kam ri-ú-zi-na (ilu) Marduk i-din-nam (15) ú-ul e-gu a-ḫi ú-ul ad-di áš-ri

A dwelling place of peace I provided for them. (20) I opened up difficult barriers, I made the light to stream over them. With the powerful weapon which Zamama and Nana (25) entrusted to me, with the keenness of vision which Ea assigned me, with the wisdom which Marduk gave me, (30) I drove out the enemies above and below, I made an end of fighting. To the land I brought prosperity, I made (35) the people to dwell in security, I suffered no disturber among them.

(40) The great gods have called me, and I am the shepherd that brings good, whose staff is (45) righteous, and my good shadow is spread over my city. In my bosom (50) I protect the people of Sumer and Akkad; under my protection I let their brethren (55) work in peace; in my wisdom I hide them, that the strong may (60) not hurt the weak, that orphans and widows may be protected in Babylon, the city of Anu and Bel may lift up (65) the head; in Esagila, the temple whose foundations stand like heaven and earth. (70) To pronounce the justice of the land, to decide questions, to right the wrong, my precious words have I written (75) upon my monument, and established them before my image as king of righteousness.

The king, who is (80) powerful among kings, am I. My words are well considered, my wisdom has not a

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šú-ul-mi-im eš-te-i-ši-na-šim pu-uš-ki wa-[áš]-tu-tim (20) ú-[p]i (!)-it-ti n[u-r]a-am ú-še-zi-ši-na-ši-im i-na kakkim da-an-nim šá (ilu) Zamà-mà ù (ilu) Innanna (25) ú-šá-at-li-mu-nim i-na ḫasîsim šá (ilu) En-ki i-ši-ma-am i-na li-ú-tim šá (ilu) Marduk id-di-nam (30) na-ak-ri e-li-iš ù šá-ap-li-iš az-zu-úḫ ga-ab-la-tim ú-bi-el-li ši-ir ma-tim ú-ti-ib (35) ni-ši da-ad-mi a-bu-úr-ri ú-šar-bí-iṣ mu-gal-li-tam ú-ul ú-šar-ši-ši-na-ti (40) ilù rabûtum ib-bu-ú-nin-ni-ma a-na-ku-ma rê'ûm mu-šá-al-li-mu-um šá ḫaṭṭu-šú (45) i-šá-ra-at ṣi-lí ṭa-bu-um a-na âli-ja ta-ri-iṣ i-na ut-li-ia (50) ni-ši mât Su-me-rí-im ù Ak-ka-di-im ú-ki-il i-na la-ma-zi-ia aḫ-ḫi-šá (55) i-na šú-ul-mi-im at-tab-ba-al-ši-na-ti i-na ne-me-ki-ia uš-tap-ṣi-ir-ši-na-ti dan-nu-um en-šá-am (60) a-na la ḫa-ba-lim ekêm almattim (?) šú-te-šú-ri-im i-na Babili(ki) âlim šá Anum ù Illil (65) ri-ši-šú ú-ul-lu-ú i-na Ê-sag-ila bîtim šá ki-ma šá-me-e ù ir-ṣi-tim išdâ-šú ki-na (70) di-in ma-tim a-na di-a-nim pu-ru-zi-e ma-tim a-na pa-ra-si-im ḫa-ab-lim šú-te-šú-ri-im a-wa-ti-ia šú-ku-ra-tim (75) i-na narê-ia áš-ṭur-ma i-na ma-ḫar ṣalmi-ia šar mi-šá-ri-im ú-ki-in šarrum šá in šarri(ri) (80) šú-

rival. By the command of Shamash, (85) the great judge of heaven and earth, righteousness shall be established in the land. By the order of (90) Marduk, my lord, destruction shall not come upon my statue; in Esagila, which I love, shall my name [Column XXV, r.] (1) forever be had in remembrance. Let him who is (5) oppressed, but has a cause, come before my image as king of righteousness, (10) read my inscription, heed my precious words, (15) my monument shall make him to know his cause, he shall find justice, and make his heart merry. (He will say) (20) "Hammurapi is a lord, who is a father unto his subjects, who has kept the (25) words of Marduk his lord, who has obtained the victory of Marduk above and (30) below, who has rejoiced the heart of Marduk, his lord, and brought peace (35) unto the people for all time, and set the land in order." Then shall he (40) pray with a full heart before Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanit, my lady, (45) and the protecting deities, the gods of entrance (50) of Esagila, within Esagila be favorable to his wishes before (55) Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanit, my lady.

In the days that are (60) to come, forever and ever, the king who is in the land shall attend unto the words

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tu-ru a-na-ku a-wa-tu-ú-a na-aš-ga li-ú-ti šá-ni-nam ú-ul i-šú i-na ki-bí-it (ilu) Šamaš (85) da-a-a-nim ra-bi-im šá šamê ù ersetim mi-šá-ri i-na mâtim li-iš-te-pí i-na a-wa-aṭ (90) (ilu) Marduk be-lí-ia ú-zu-ra-tu-ú-a mu-šá-zi-kam a ir-ši-a i-na Ê-sag-ila šá a-ra-am-mu šú-mi i-na da-mi-iḳ-tim [Column XXV, r.] a-na da-ar li-iz-za-ki-ir a-wi-lum ḫa-ab-lum šá a-wa-tam (5) i-ra-áš-šú-ú a-na ma-ḫa-ar ṣalmi-ia šar mi-šá-ri-im li-il-li-ik-ma nârî (10) šá-aṭ-ra-am li-iš-ta-áš-si-ma a-wa-ti-ia šú-ku-ra-tim li-iš-me-ma (15) nârî a-wa-tam li-kál-lim-šú di-in-šú li-mu-úr li-i[b]-ba-šú l[i-n]a-ap-pí-iš-ma (20) [Ḫa]-am-mu-ra-pí-mi be-lum šá ki-ma a-bi-im wa-li-di-im a-na ni-ši i-ba-áš-šú-ú (25) a-na a-wa-at (ilu) Marduk be-lí-šú uš-ta-aḳ-ti-iṭ-ma ir-ni-ti (ilu) Marduk e-li-iš (30) ù šá-ap-li-iš ik-šú-ud li-ib-bi (ilu) Marduk be-lí-šú ú-ti-ib ù ši-ra-am ṭa-ba-am (35) a-na ni-ši a-na da-ar i-ši-im ù ma-tam uš-te-še-ir da-ni-tam (40) li-iḳ-bi-ma i-na ma-ḫar (ilu) Marduk be-lí-ia (ilu) Ṣar-pa-ni-tum be-el-ti-ia (45) i-na li-ib-bi-šú ga-am-ri-im li-ik-ru-ba-am še-du-um la-ma-zum ilù e-ri-bu-ut (50) Ê-sag-ila libitti Ê-sag-ila i-gi-ir-ri-e ûmi(mi)-šá-am i-na ma-ḫar (55) (ilu) Marduk be-lí-ia (ilu) Ṣar-pa-ni-tum be-el-ti-ia li-dam-mi-ku a-na wa-ar-ki- (60) a-at ûmi a-na ma-ti-ma šarrum, šá

(65) of righteousness, which I have written upon my monument. (70) The law of the land, which I have given, the decisions which I have pronounced, he shall not alter, nor efface my image. (75) If that man have wisdom, if he wish to keep his land in order, he shall take heed to the words which I have written upon my monument. (80) The procedure, the administration, and the law of the land, which I have given, the decisions which I have pronounced, this monument (85) will show unto him. He shall so rule his subjects, pronounce judgment, (90) give decisions, drive the wicked and evildoers from the land, and promote his people's prosperity.

(95) Hammurapi, the king of righteousness, whom Shamash has endowed with justice, am I. My words are well considered, (100) my deeds have no rival, exalted, noble (?), grand (?). They are for the wise, [Column XXVI, r.] (1) a model, to attain unto glory.

If that man give (5) heed to my words, which I have written upon my monument, do not (10) efface my law, do not deface my words, do not alter my monument, so may Shamash (15) prolong his reign, that he may rule his people in righteousness as he has mine, who am king of righteousness.

If that man do not give heed to my words, (20) which

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i-na mâtim ib-ba-áš-šú-ú a-wa-a-at (65) mi-šá-ri-im šá i-na narê-ia áš-tu-ru li-ṣur di-in ma-tim šá a-di-nu (70) pu-ru-zi-e mâtim šá ap-ru-su a ú-na-ak-ki-ir ú-zu-ra-ti-ia a ú-šá-zi-ik (75) šum-ma a-wi-lum šú-ú ta-ši-im-tam i-šú-ma ma-zu šú-te-šú-ra-am i-li-i a-na a-wa-a-tim šá i-na narê-ia áš-tu-ru li-ḳul-ma (80) ki-ib-sa-am ri-dam di-in mâtim šá a-di-nu pu-ru-zi-e mâtim šá ap-ru-su na-ru-um šú-ú (85) li-kál-lim-šú-ma ṣa-al-ma-at ga-ga-di-šú li-iš-te-še-ir di-in-ši-na li-di-in pu-ru-za-ši-na (90) li-ip-ru-uš i-na ma-ti-šú ra-ga-am ù ṣi-nam li-zu-úḫ ši-ir ni-ši-šú li-ṭi-ib (95) Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí šar mi-šá-ri-im šá (ilu) Šamaš ki-na-tim iš-ru-ku-šum a-na-ku a-wa-tu-ú-a na-aš-ga (100) ip-še-tu-ú-a šá-ni-nam ú-ul i-šá-a e-la-a na-la-ḫa zi-im-ri-ga (105) a-na im-ki-im [Column XXVI, r.] a-na ta-na-da-tim šú-ṣa-a šum-ma a-wi-lum šú-ú a-na a-wa-ti-ia šá i-na narê-ia áš-tu-ru (5) i-ḳul-ma di-ni la ú-šá-az-zi-ik a-wa-ti-ia la uš-te-pi (!)-el ú-zu-ra-ti-iá (10) la ú-na-ki-ir a-wi-lum šú-ú ki-ma ia-ti šar mi-šá-ri-im (ilu) Šamaš ḫaṭṭu-šú (15) li-ir-ri-ik ni-ši-šú i-na mi-šá-ri-im li-ri šum-ma a-wi-lum šú-ú a-wa-ti-ia (20) šá-i-na narê-ja áš-tu-ru

I have written upon my monument, if he despise my curses, and fear not (25) the curse of the god, if he blot out the law which I have given, (30) deface my words, alter my images, blot out my name, and write (35) his own name, or on account of these curses commission another to do so—as for that man, (40) whether he be king, or lord, or patesi, or commoner, whatever name he bear, may (45) the great Anu, the father of the gods, who has established my reign, may he take from him the glory of royalty, break (50) his staff and curse his fate. May Ellil, the lord, who fixes destinies, (55) whose command is not changed, who has made my kingdom great, set up a rebellion, which his hand cannot control, (and) make (60) the wind (?) of his downfall to blow upon his dwelling, may he fix as his destiny, a reign of sighs, (65) a short life, years of famine, darkness without light, (70) and sudden death. The destruction of his city, the scattering of his subjects, (75) the wresting away of his dominion, the blotting out of his name and memory in the land, may Bel (80) command with his powerful order.

May Belit, the great mother, whose command is powerful in Ekur, (85) the lady who has heard my wishes, in the place of justice and decision, make his (90) affairs evil before Ellil; may she put in (95) Ellil's mouth, the

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la i-ḳul-ma ir-ri-ti-ia i-me-eš-ma (25) ir-ri-it ì-lí la i-dur-ma di-in a-di-nu up-ta-az-zi-is a-wa-ti-ia (30) uš-te-pi(!)-el ú-zu-ra-ti-ja ut-ta-ak-ki-ir šú-mi šá-aṭ-ra-am ip-ši-iṭ-ma (35) šum-šú iš-ta-ṭar áš-šum ir-ri-tim ši-na-ti šá-ni-a-am-ma uš-ta-ḫi-iz a-wi-lum šú-ú (40) lu šarrum lu bêlum lu iššakkum ù lu a-wi-lu-tum šá šú-ma-am na-bi-a-at (45) Anum ra-bu-um a-bu ì-lí na-bu-ú palê-ia melim šar-ru-tim li-te-ir-šú (50) ḫaṭṭu-šú li-iš-bi-ir ši-ma-ti-šú li-ru-ur (ilu) Illil be-lum mu-ši-im ši-ma-tim (55) šá ki-bí-zu la ut-ta-ka-ru mu-šar-bu-ù šar-ru-ti-ia te-ši la šú-ub-bi-im (60) ga-ba-ra-aḫ ḫa-la-ki-šú i-na šú-ub-ti-šú li-šá-ap-pí-ḫa-áš-šum palê ta-ne-ḫi-im (65) û-mi i-zu-tim šá-na-a-at ḫu-šá-aḫ-ḫi-im ik-li-it la na-wa-ri-im (70) mu-ut ni-ṭi-il i-nim a-na ši-im-tim li-ši-im-šum ḫa-la-aḳ âli-šú na-aš-pu-úḫ ni-ši-šú (75) šar-ru-zu šú-pí-lam šum-šú ù zi-kir-šú i-na ma-tim la šú-ub-šá-a-am i-na pî-šú ḳab-tim (80) li-iḳ-bi (ilu) Bêlit ummum ra-bí-tum šá ki-bí-za i-na Ekurrim kab-ta-at (85) rubâtum mu-dam-mi-ga-at i-gi-ir-ri-ia a-šar ši-ip-ṭi-im ù pu-ru-zi-im i-na ma-ḫar (ilu) Illil (90) a-wa-zu li-li-mi-in šú-ul-pu-ut ma-ti-šú ḫa-la-aḳ ni-ši-šú ta-ba-ak na-piš-ti-šú ki-ma me-e (95) i-na

run of his land, the destruction of his people, the pouring out of his life like water!

May Ea, the great prince, whose decrees (100) take precedence, the leader of the gods, who knows everything, who prolongs [Column XXVII, r.] (1) the days of my life, deprive him of knowledge and wisdom, lead him (5) into oblivion, lock up his rivers at their sources, and permit not grain, the life of the people, to grow (10) in his land.

May Shamash, the great judge of (15) heaven and earth, who rules all living creatures, the lord of courage, break (20) his kingdom in pieces, grant him not his right, make his way disturbed, destroy the foundation of his troops, and (25) bring into his dreams evil omens of the uprooting of the foundation of his throne (30) and the ruin of his land.

May the curse of Shamash sweep him away quickly, may he cut him off above (35) among the living; below, in the earth, may he deprive him (40) of water.

May Sin, the lord of heaven, the father, who begat me, whose scimetar shines among the gods, take from him (45) crown and royal throne, and lay upon him heavy guilt and great sin, which (50) shall not depart from him. May he bring to an end the days, months, and years of his reign in sighs (55) and tears, may he multiply

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pî (ilu) Illil šar-ri-im li-šá-áš-ki-in (ilu) En-ki rubûm ra-bi-um šá ši-ma-tu-šú (100) i-na maḫ-ra i-la-ka apkal ì-lí mu-di mi-im-ma šum-šú mu-šá-ri-ku [Column XXVII, r.] û-um ba-la-ṭi-ia uz-nam ù ne-me-ga-am li-te-ir-šú-ma (5) i-na mi-ši-tim li-it-ta-ar-ru-šú nârâtî-šú i-na na-aḳ-bi-im li-iṣ-ki-ir (10) i-na ir-ṣi-ti-šú ašnân na-pí-iš-ti ni-ši a ú-šá-aḫ-ši (ilu) Šamaš da-a-a-nu-um ra-bi-um (15) šá šá-me-e ù ir-ṣi-tim mu-uš-te-še-ir šá-ak-na-at na-pí-iš-tim be-lum tu-kúl-ti (20) šar-ru-zu li-is-ki-ip di-in-šú a i-di-in ú-ru-úḫ-šú li-ši išdì um-ma-ni-šú (25) li-iš-ḫi-[e]l-zi i-na bi-ri-šú šîram lim-nam šá na-sa-aḫ išdì šar-ru-ti-šú (30) ù ḫa-la-aḳ ma-ti-šú li-iš-ku-un-šum a-wa-tum ma-ru-uš-tum šá (ilu) Šamaš ar-ḫi-iš li-ik-šú-zu e-li-iš (35) i-na ba-al-tu-tim li-iz-zu-úḫ-šú šá-ap-li-iš i-na ir-ṣi-tim eṭemmu-šú (40) me-e li-šá-aṣ-mi (ilu) Sin be-el šá-me-e ilum ba-ni-i šá še-ri-zu i-na ì-lí šú-pa-a-at (45) agâm kussâm šá šar-ru-tim li-te-ir-šú ar-nam kab-tam še-ri-zu ra-bi-tam šá i-na zu-um-ri-šú (50) la i-ḫal-li-ku li-mu-zu-ma ûmi(mi) warḫî šá-na-a-at palê-šú i-na ta-ne-ḫi-im (55) ù di-im-ma-tim li-šá-aḳ-ti kam-ma-al šar-

the burdens of sovereignty, a life (60) like unto death may he fix as his destiny.

May Ramman, the lord of fruitfulness, (65) the prince of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of the rain from heaven, and the water floods (70) from the springs, destroy his land in hunger (75) and want, thunder furiously over his city and make his land (80) into heaps.

May Zammama, the great warrior, the first-born son of Ekur, (85) who goes at my right hand, break his weapons on the field of battle, turn his day into night, make (90) his enemy to triumph over him.

May Ishtar, goddess of battle and conflict, who takes hold of (95) my weapons, my gracious protector, who loves my reign, curse his dominion with great fury in her (100) angry heart and turn his grace (105) into evil. [Column XXVIII, r.] (1) May she break his weapons on the field of battle and conflict. (5) May she create disorder and rebellion for him; strike down his warriors and let the earth drink up (10) their blood. May she cast the bodies of his troops in heaps (15) upon the field. As for him, may she not grant him a life of pity, (but) give him into (20) the hand of his enemies, to bring him bound into the land of his enemies.

May Nergal, (25) powerful among the gods, the war-

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ru-tim li-šá-ad-di-il-šú ba-la-ṭam (60) šá it-ti mu-tim ši-ta-an-nu a-na ši-im-tim li-ši-im-šum (ilu) Rammânum be-el ḫegallim (65) gugal šá-me-e ù ir-ṣi-tim ri-zu-ú-a zu-ni i-na šá-me-e mi-lam (70) i-na na-ak-bi-im li-te-ir-šú ma-zu i-na ḫu-šá-aḫ-ḫi-im ù bu-bu-tim (75) li-ḫal-li-ik e-li âli-šú iz-zi-iš li-is-si-ma ma-zu a-na til a-bu-bi-im (80) li-te-ir (ilu) Za-mà-mà ḳar-ra-du-um ra-bi-um mârum ri-eš-tu-um šá Ekurrim (85) a-li-ku im-ni-ia a-šar tám-ḫa-ri-im kakka-šú li-iš-bi-ir û-ma-am a-na mu-ši-im li-te-ir-šum-ma (90) na-ki-ir-šú e-li-šú li-iš-zi-iz (ilu) Innanna be-li-it taḫâzim ù ḳablim pa-ti-a-at (95) kakki-ia la-ma-zi da-mi-iḳ-tum ra-i-ma-at palê-ia i-na li-ib-bi-šá (100) ag-gi-im i-na uz-za-ti-šá ra-bí-a-tim šar-ru-zu li-ru-ur dam-ga-ti-šú (105) a-na li-im-ne-tim li-te-ir [Column XXVIII, r.] (li-te-ir) a-šar taḫâzim ù ḳablim kakka-šú li-iš-b[i]-ir (5) i-ši-tam za-aḫ-ma-áš-tam li-iš-ku-un-šum ḳar-ra-di-šú li-šá-am-ki-it (10) da-mi-šú-nu ir-ṣi-tam li-iš-ki gu-ru-un šá-al-ma-at um-ma-na-ti-šú (15) i-na ṣi-ri-im li-it-ta-ad-di ummân-šú r[i-m]a-am a-i ú-šar-ši šú-a-ti (20) a-na ga-at na-ak-ri-šú li-ma-al-li-šú-ma a-na ma-at nu-ku-úr-ti-šú ka-mi-iš li-ru-šú (ilu) Nergal (25) dan-nu-um i-na ì-lí ga-ba-al

rior without a rival, who grants victory to me, may he bind up his subjects (30) with great power, as in strong vessel of reeds; (35) with his powerful arms beat him down, and break his members like an earthen image.

(40) May Nintu, the exalted mistress of the lands, the mother of births, deny him a son; grant him (45) no name, and in the settlements of his subjects permit no heir to be born.

(50) May Nin-karrasha, the daughter of Anu, who promises me grace, bring upon his members, in Ekur, a (55) terrible disease, an evil fever, sore wounds, which may not be healed, whose character (60) is unknown to the physician, which he cannot heal with bandages, which, like the sting of death, cannot be put away (65) till his life go away, and he lament over life's power.

(70) May the great gods of Heaven and Earth, the Anunnaki, all of them, (75) the Genius of the temple, and of the walls of Ebarra, cover with irresistible curses, him, his seed, his land, his army, (80) his subjects, and his soldiers. May Ellil curse him (85) out of his mouth with a mighty curse which cannot be altered, which (90) shall come speedily upon him.

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la ma-ḫa-ar mu-šá-ak-ši-du ir-ni-ti-ia i-na ka-šú-ši-šú (30) ra-bi-im ki-ma i-šá-tim iz-zi-tim šá a-pí-im ni-ši-šú li-iḳ-me (35) in kakki-šú dan-nim li-šá-ti-šú-ma bi-ni-a-ti-šú ki-ma ṣa-lam ṭi-ṭi-im li-iḫ-pu-uš (40) (ilu) Nin-tu rubâtum ṣi-ir-tum šá ma-ta-tim ummum ba-ni-ti ablam li-te-ir-šú-ma (45) šú-ma-am a ú-šar-ši-šú i-na kir-bi-it ni-ši-šú zêr a-wi-lu-tim a ib-ni (50) (ilu) Nin-kar-ra-šà mârat Anim(nim) ga-bi-a-at dum-ki-ia i-na Ekurrim (55) mur-ṣa-am kab-tam asakkam li-im-nam zi-im-ma-am mar-ṣa-am šá la i-pa-áš-še-ḫu âsûm ki-ri-ib-šú (60) la i-lam-ma-du i-na zi-im-di la ú-na-aḫ-ḫu-šú ki-ma ni-ši-iḳ mu-tim la in-na-za-ḫu i-na bi-ni-a-ti-šú (65) li-šá-ṣi-a-áš-šum-ma a-di na-pí-iš-ta-šú i-bi-el-lu-ú a-na id-lu-ti-šú li-id-dam-ma-am (70) ilù rabûtum šá šá-me-e ù ir-ṣi-tim (ilu) Anunnaki i-na napḫari-šú-nu (75) še-id bi-tim libitti Êbarrim šú-a-ti zêr-šu ma-zu ṣâb-šú (80) ni-ši-šú ù um-ma-an-šú ir-ri-tam ma-ru-uš-tam li-ru-ru ir-ri-tim (85) da-ni-a-tim (ilu) Illil i-na pî-šú šá la ut-ta-ak-ka-ru li-ru-ur-šú-ma (90) ar-ḫi-iš li-ik-šú-da-šú

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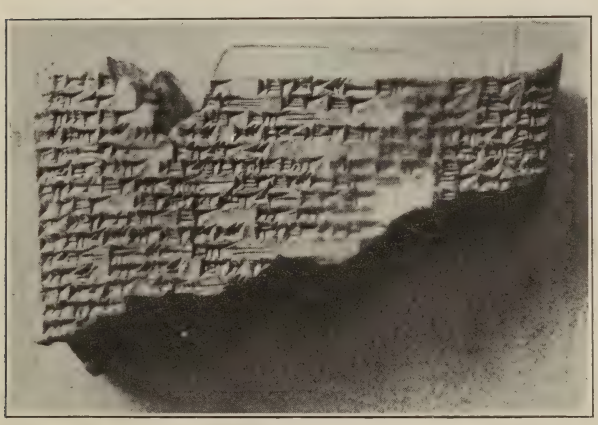
ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE NO. 1

Fragment of the First Tablet of Creation. British Museum, K. 5419 C. Size of the original, 3⅛ by 1⅞ inches. It is translated pages 3–10. Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

Obverse



Reverse

Plate No. 1

PLATE NO. 2

The Second Tablet of Creation. British Museum, Number 40,559. It is translated pages 10–16.

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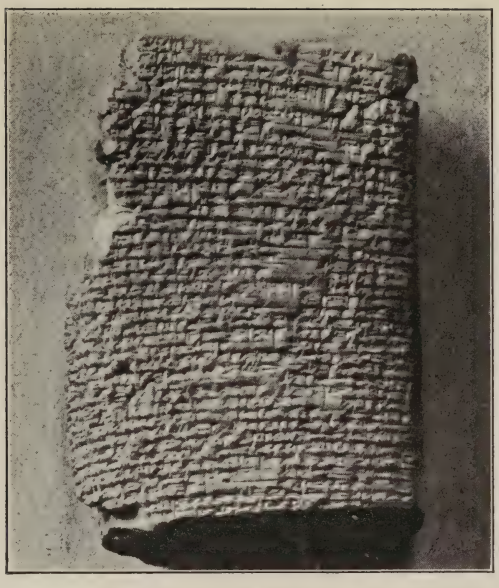

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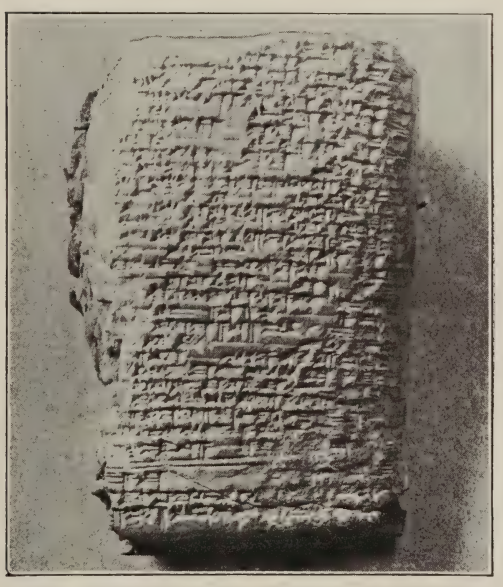

REVERSE

PLATE NO. 2

PLATE NO. 3

The Third Tablet of Creation. British Museum, Number 93,017. It is translated pages 16–24.

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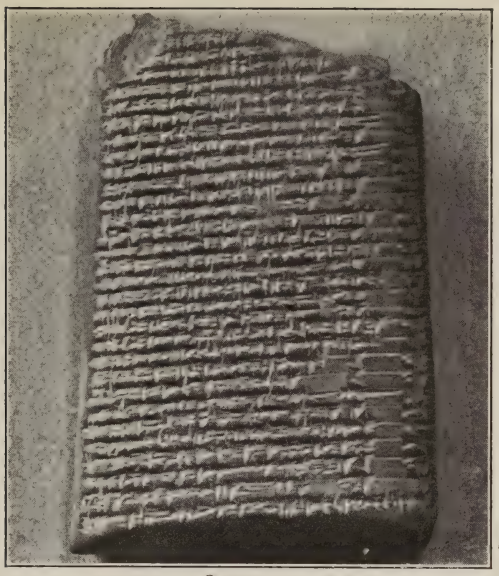

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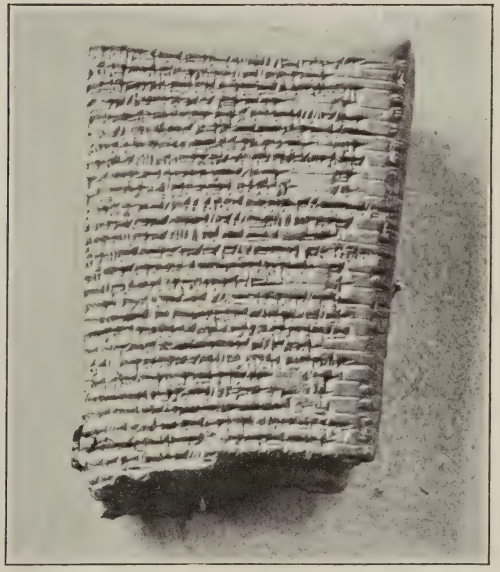

REVERSE

PLATE No. 3

PLATE NO. 4

The Fourth Tablet of Creation. British Museum, Number 93,016. It is translated pages 24–32.

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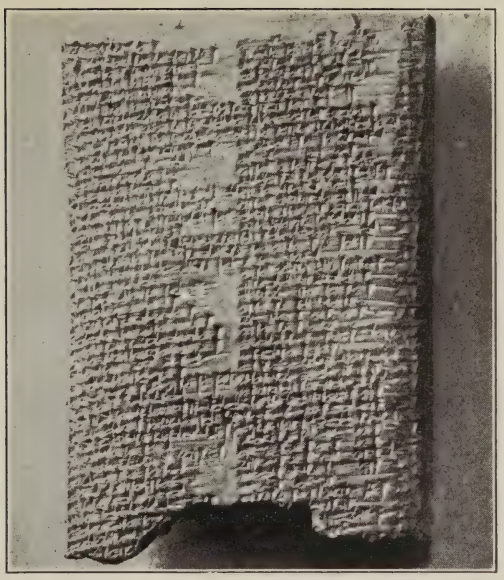

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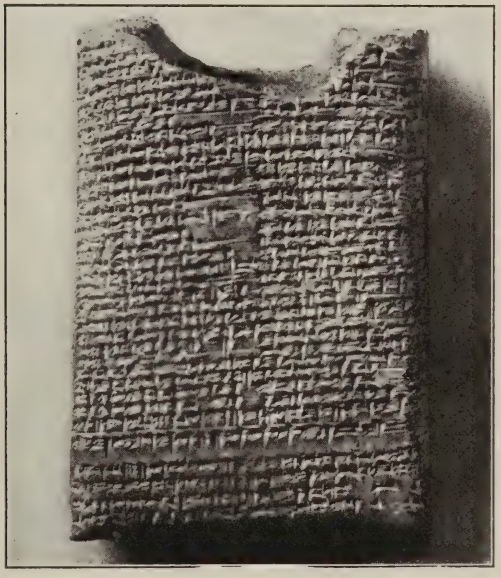


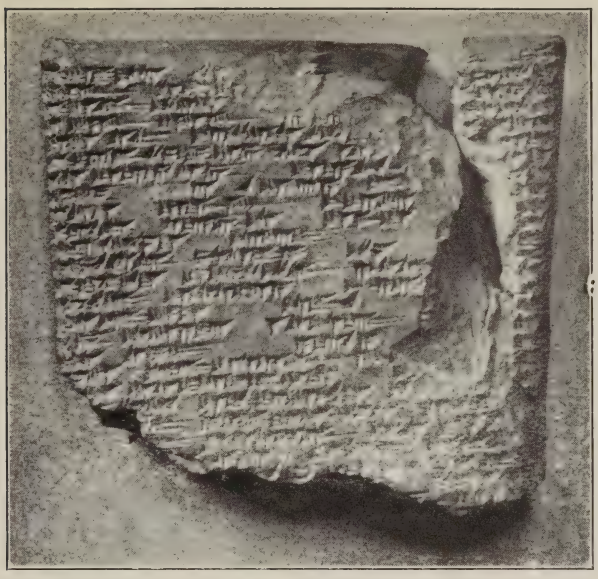
Reverse

Plate No. 4

PLATE NO. 5

The Fifth Tablet of Creation. British Museum. Size of the original $2\frac{3}{16}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, K. 3567 joined to K. 8588. It is translated pages 32–36.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.



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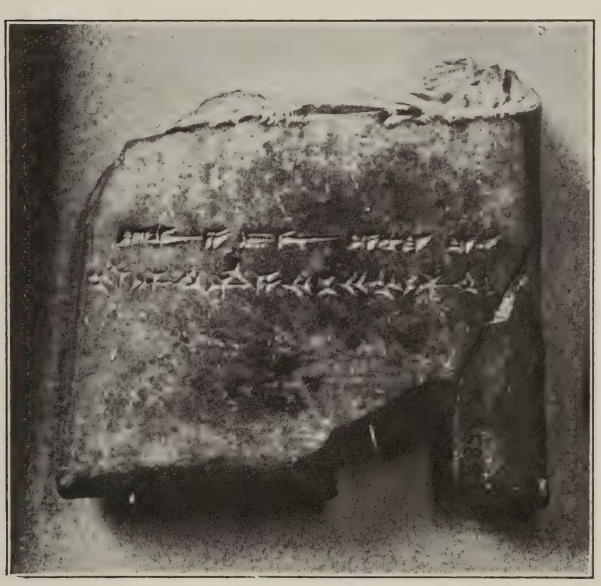


Reverse

Plate No. 5

PLATE NO. 6

The Sixth Tablet of Creation. British Museum, Number 92,629. It is translated pages 36, 37.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

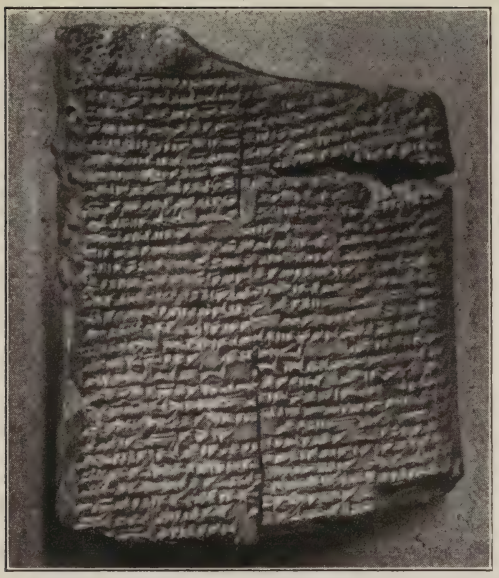
Obverse

Reverse

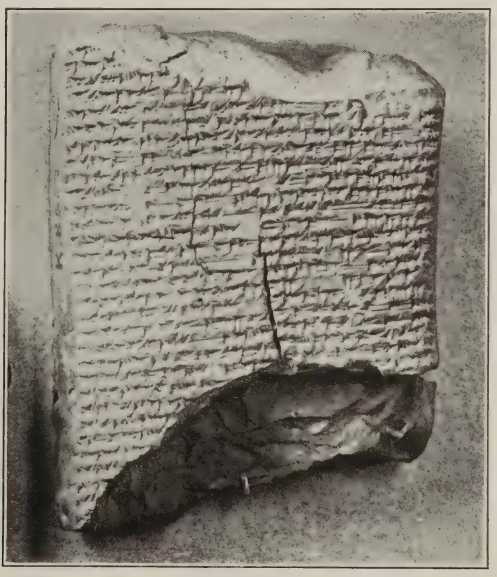
Plate No. 6

PLATE NO. 7

The Seventh Tablet of Creation. British Museum K. 8522. Size of the original, 3⅛ by 2½ inches. It is translated pages 38–44.
Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.



OBVERSE



REVERSE

PLATE NO. 7

PLATE NO. 8

Conflict between a god, as the representative of Cosmos, and a horned dragon, as the representative of Chaos. In the early mythology it was Ellil who thus destroyed the dragon. In the later mythology it was Marduk who assumed this role, and when the Hebrews caught up these mythological ideas the role of destroyer was taken by Jahweh. See Psalm 89. 8–12, and compare Rogers, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1908, pp. 133, 134.

The original is in the British Museum. Limestone slabs, Numbers 28 and 29.

Illustration from L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1903, by kind permission of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.

PLATE No. 8

PLATE NO. 9

The Story of the Deluge. Assyrian clay tablet in the British Museum, K. 2252 + K. 2602 + K. 3321 + K. 4486 + Sm. 1881. Size of the original, 8½ by 5⅞ inches. Obverse. It is translated pages 90–101. Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

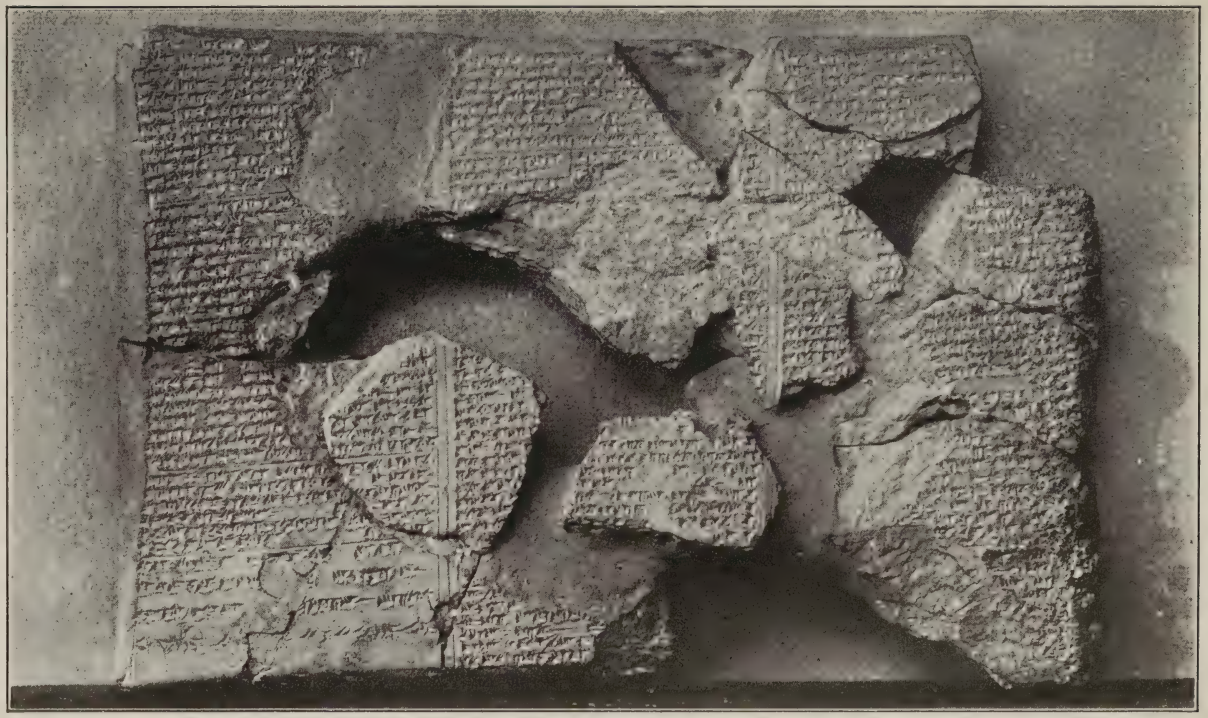


PLATE No. 9

PLATE NO. 10

The Story of the Deluge. Reverse.
Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

PLATE No. 10

PLATE NO. 11

The Story of the Deluge. Assyrian clay tablet in the British Museum. Size of the original, 5¾ by 5¼ inches. Obverse. This tablet is, in part, a duplicate of that shown in Plate No. 10.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

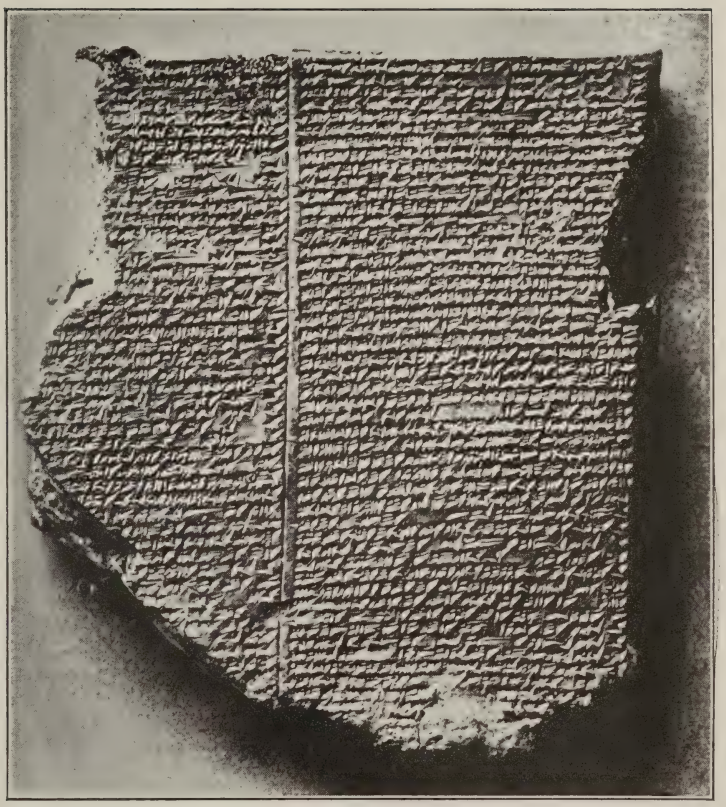


PLATE No. 11

PLATE NO. 12

The Story of the Deluge. Reverse.
Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

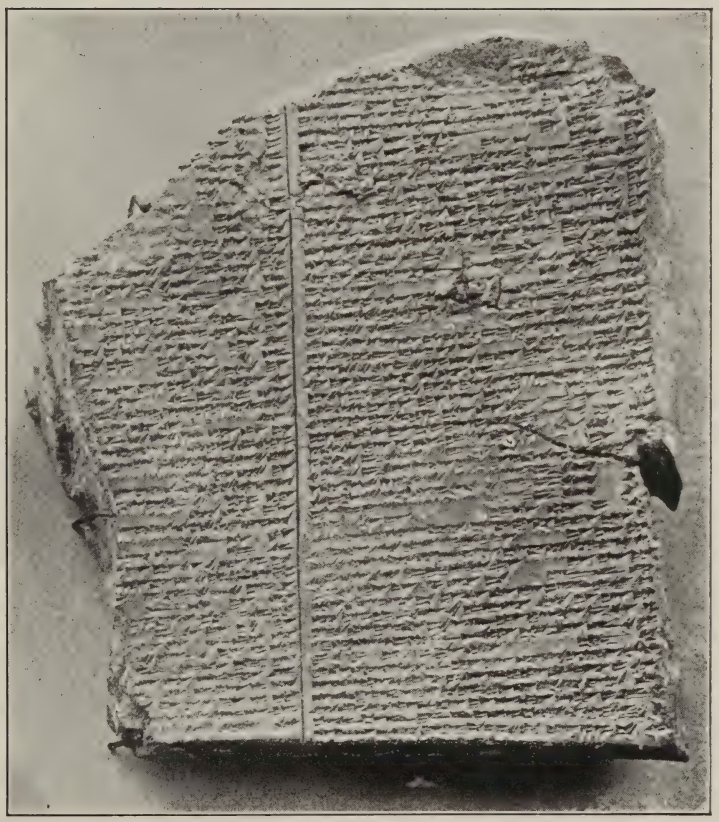


PLATE No. 12

PLATE NO. 13

Assyrian representation of Gilgamesh, depicted as strangling a lion Found by Botta at Khorsabad. See Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, Vol. I, Plate 41. Now preserved in the Louvre, Paris.

Illustration reproduced from *Ninive und Babylon*, von Carl Bezold, 3te Auflage, Leipzig, 1909.

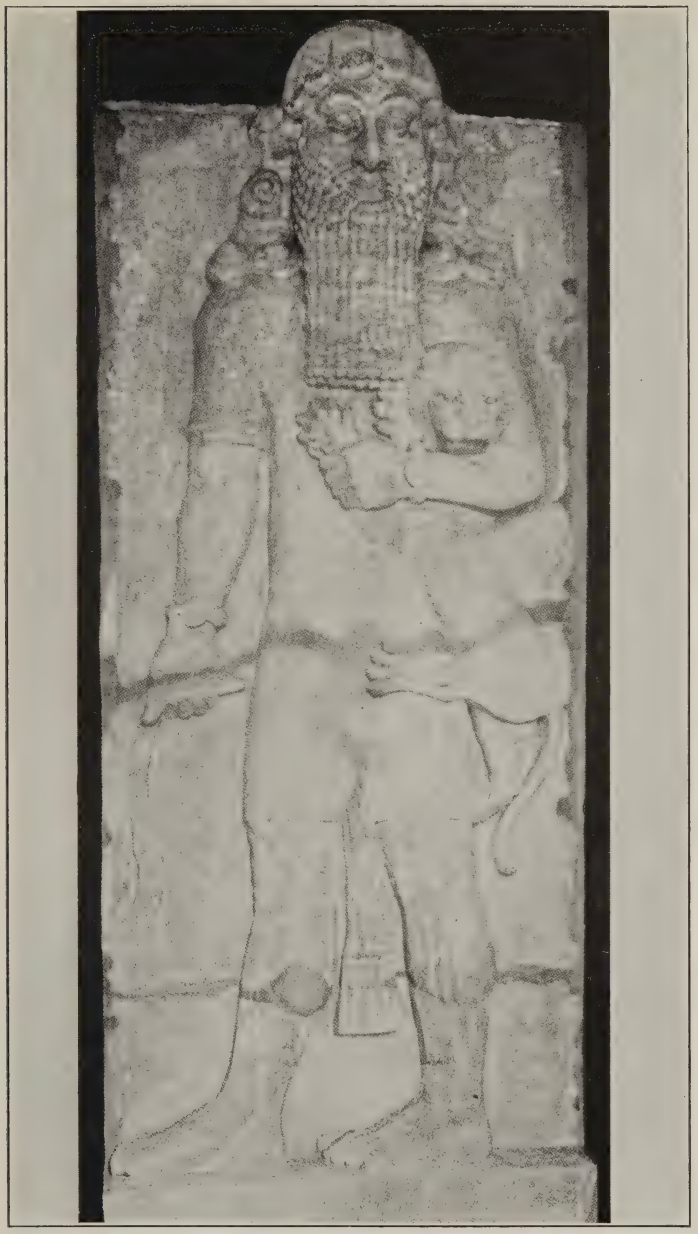


PLATE No. 13

PLATE NO. 14

Seal Cylinders.

Figure 1. Seal cylinder depicting scenes from the Gilgamesh Epic, representing Gilgamesh and Engidu in conflict with the lion and the bull.

Figure 2. Seal cylinder depicting a scene from the Gilgamesh Epic. Gilgamesh is journeying by boat to the underworld, where he meets Ut-napishtim.

Figure 3. Seal cylinder depicting Ut napishtim in his ship (the ark), portrayed as a house-like structure surrounded by wavy lines to represent water.

Illustrations from *Cyrus*, von Ernest Lindl, München, 1903.

PLATE No. 14

Figure 1. Figure 2. Figure 3.

PLATE NO. 15

The Descent of Ishtar to Hades. Assyrian clay tablet in the British Museum. Size of the original, 9⅞ by 3½ inches. Obverse. It is translated pages 121–131.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

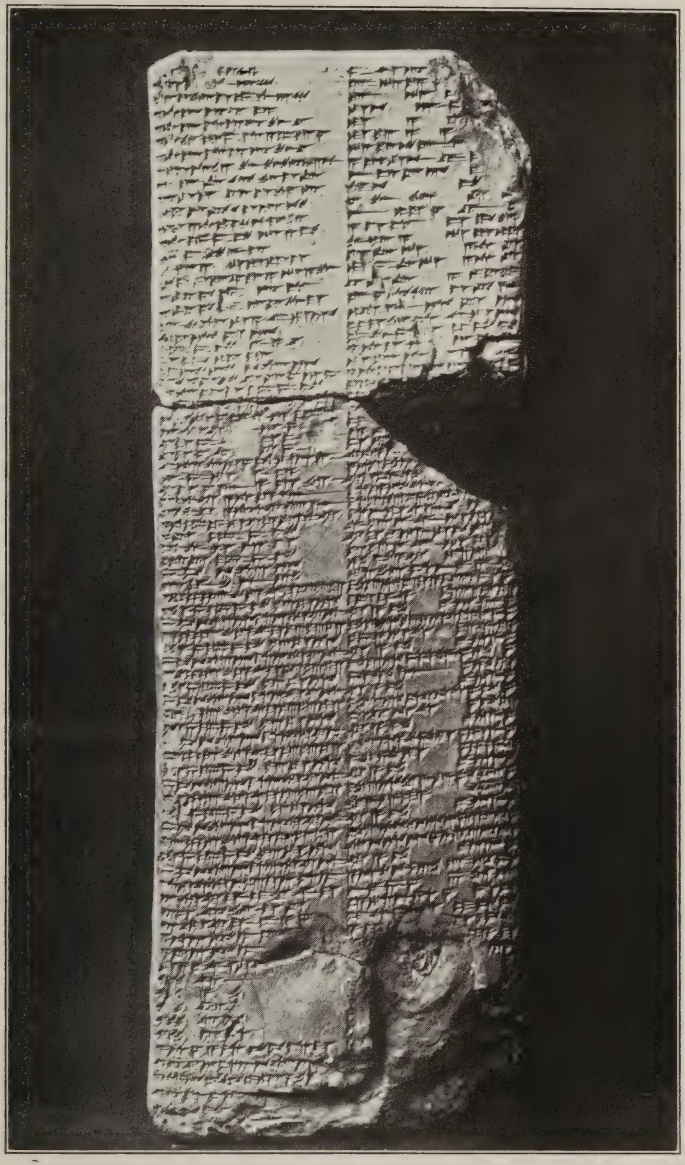


PLATE NO. 15

PLATE NO. 16

The Descent of Ishtar to Hades. Reverse.
Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

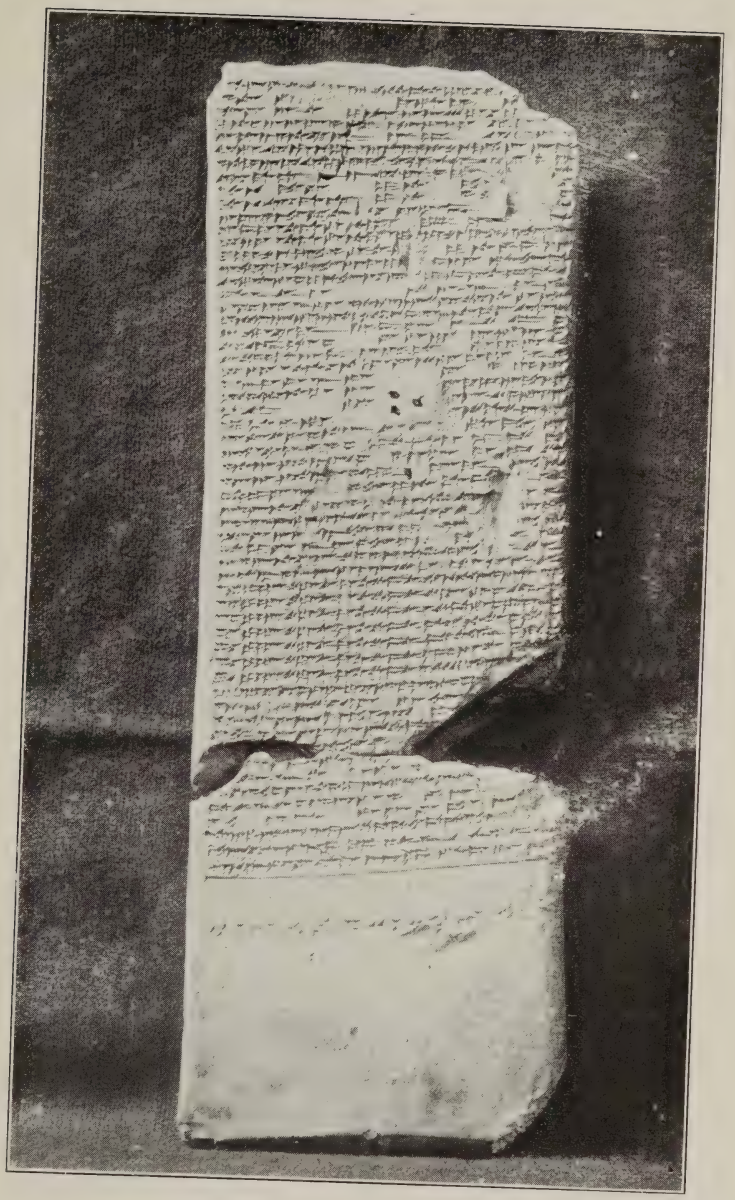


PLATE No. 16

PLATE NO. 17

Seal Cylinders, which were used by the Babylonians to certify documents. The seal was rolled over the clay while still soft and left the impression which is here shown.

Figure 1. Babylonian cylinder seal of the reign of Ur-Engur, king of Ur about 2500 B. C. It is inscribed with an address to the king and with the name of its owner. The scene represents Sin, the moon god, seated, to whom a worshiper, probably Khaskamer, the owner of the seal, is being introduced. British Museum, Number 89,126.

Figure 2. Persian cylinder seal depicting Darius, king of Persia (521-485 B.C.), hunting lions in a palm plantation. Above is the emblem of the god Ahuramazda, and at the end is the king's name and titles in Persian, Susian, and Babylonian. British Museum, Number 89,132.

Figure 3. Babylonian cylinder seal, probably about 2500 B C., inscribed with the name of Adda the scribe as its owner. On the left is the goddess Ishtar with a bow and at her feet a lion; between the mountains is Shamash rising, or setting. British Museum, Number 89,115.

The illustrations are from *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*. 2d Edition, 1908. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate No. 17

PLATE NO. 18

Seal Cylinders.

Figure 1. Seal cylinder depicting the goddess Ishtar, with the bow in her hand, and the Venus star above her head.

Figure 2. Seal cylinder formerly incorrectly supposed to represent the Babylonian tradition of the temptation.

Figure 3. Seal cylinder depicting two women picking dates from the palm tree. The crescent, symbol of the moon god Sin, appears between two of the figures.

Illustrations from *Cyrus*, von Ernest Lindl, München, 1903.

PLATE No. 18

Figure 1. Figure 2. Figure 3.

PLATE NO. 19

Shamash, the sun god, in his shrine. Stone tablet of Nabu-pal-iddin, king of Babylonia (about 885-854 B. C.). The god is represented as seated within his shrine, in front of which is his symbol, before which are three figures, the first a priest conducting the king, Nabu-pal-iddin, who is second, and is in turn followed by the goddess Â, who intercedes for the king. This beautiful slab, 11½ by 7 inches, was found in an earthenware casket at Sippar by Hormuzd Rassam and is now in the British Museum.

Illustration from Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, with an introduction by Robert W. Rogers, Cincinnati, 1897.

PLATE NO. 19

PLATE NO. 20

Statue of the god Nabu. This statue was one of four made by Beltarṣi-iluma, governor of the city of Calah, and dedicated to the god for the purpose of securing a long life to the King Adad-nirari IV and his mother Sammuramat (Semiramis). For the translation of the text which belts the statue see page 307. The statue was discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in the mound of Nimroud, the site of ancient Calah. See Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, with an introduction by Rober W. Rogers, Cincinnati and New York, 1897. Illustration taken from this book.

PLATE No. 20

PLATE NO. 21

Babylonian Demons. Now preserved in the British Museum.

Illustration from *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London, 1903, by kind permission of Luzac & Co.

PLATE No. 21

PLATE NO. 22

Clay tablet containing a Babylonian Chronicle, now preserved in the British Museum (Number 92,502). It is translated pages 208–219.

Illustration from *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*. 2d Edition. London, 1908. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

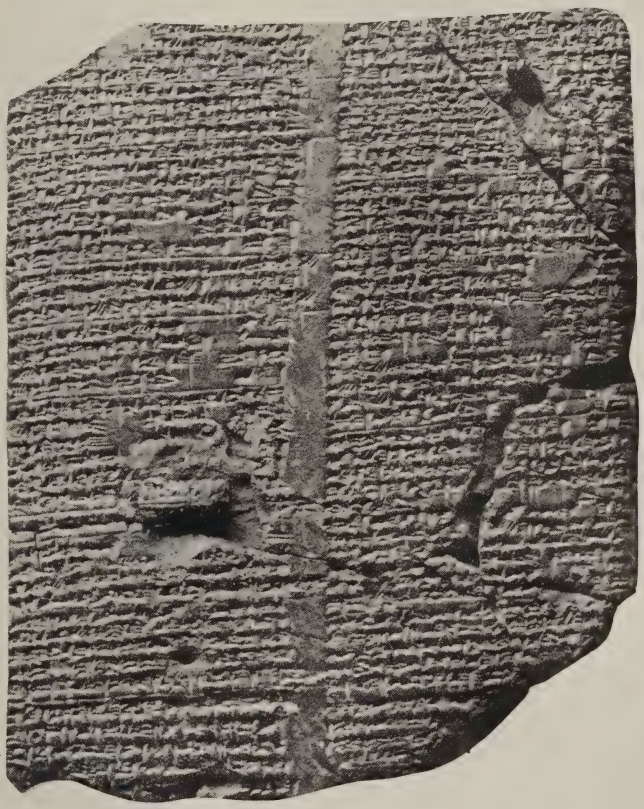


PLATE NO. 22

PLATE NO. 23

Building brick stamped with an inscription of Kudur Mabuk, translated pages 247, 248. It is preserved in the British Museum, Number 900.541.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

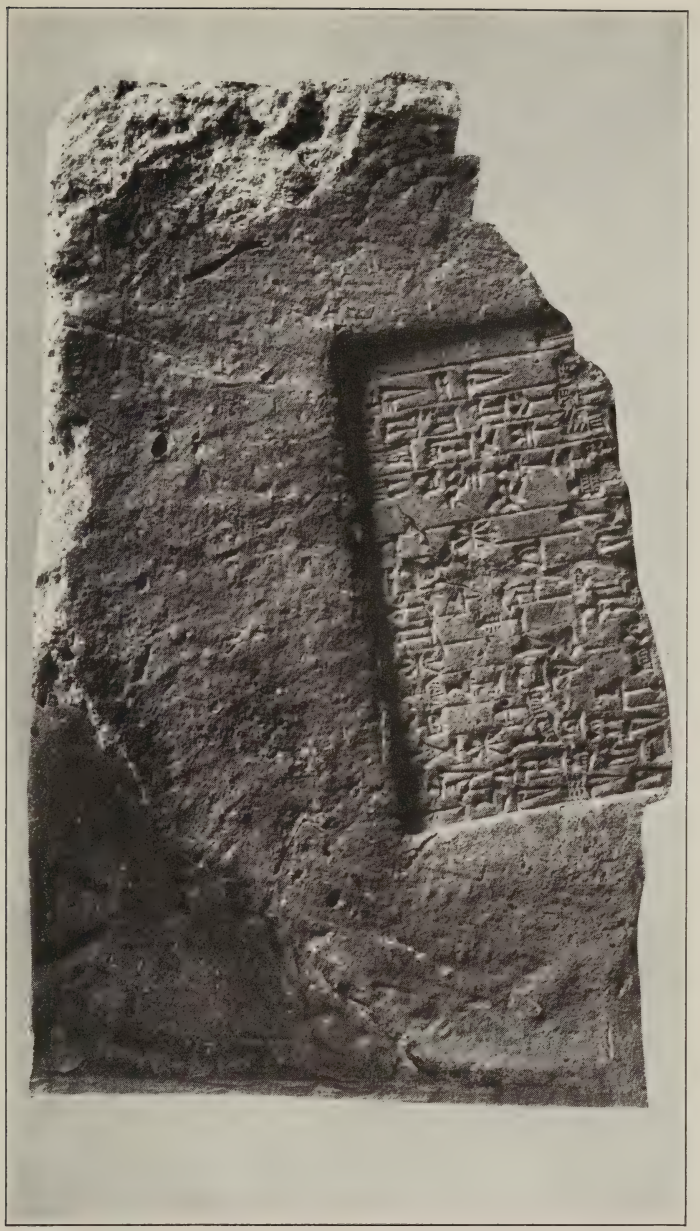


PLATE No. 23

PLATE NO. 24

Bronze figure, canephore, of Arad-Sin (Eri-Aku), king of Larsa. British Museum, Number 91,144.

The illustration is from *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities.* 2d Edition, 1908. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

PLATE No. 24

PLATE NO. 25

Relief from a Theban grave now in Berlin Museum, depicting Amenophis IV. See page 252f.

Illustration from Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 307.

PLATE No. 25

PLATE NO. 26

Ikh-en-Aton (Amenophis IV), with his wife Nefertiti (Tatukhepa) and his six daughters, sacrifices to the Solar Disk, whose rays stream toward him, each ray terminating in a hand. The inscriptions give only the names and titles of the divine principle thus worshiped, and of the members of the royal family.

The illustration is from Adolf Erman, *Aegypten und ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, Tübingen, n. d. I, p. 76.

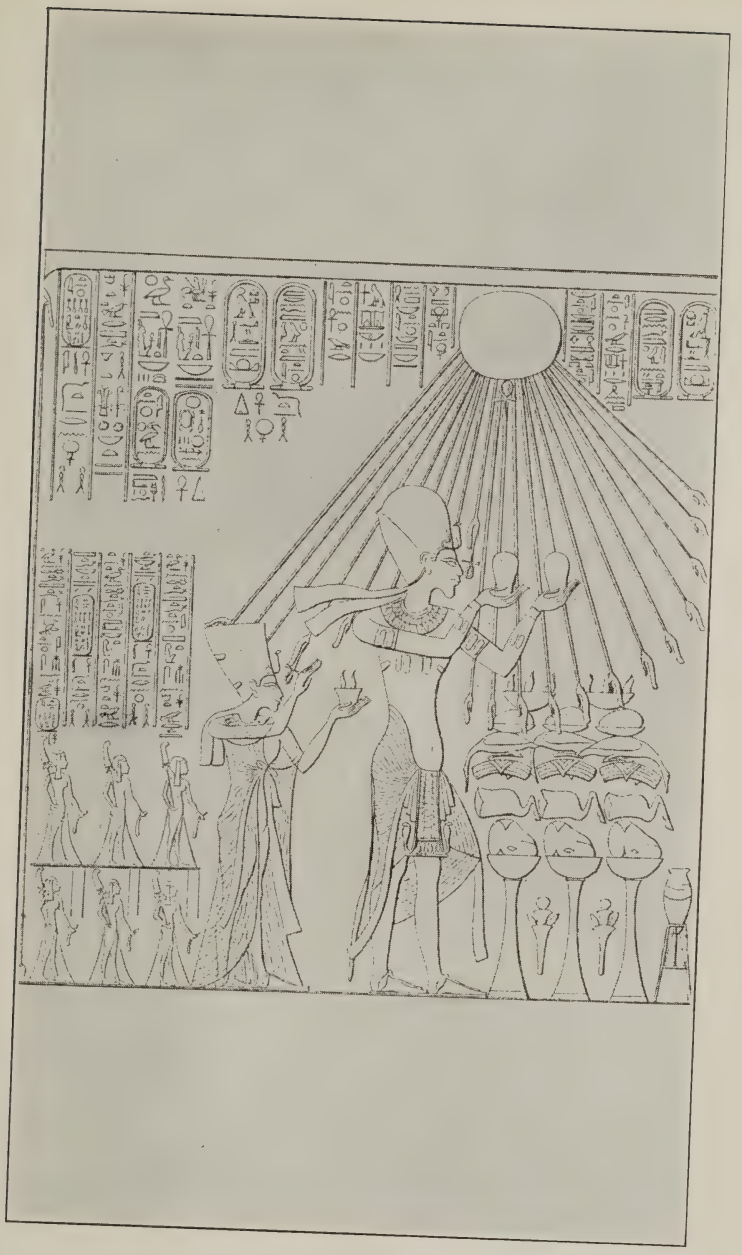


PLATE No. 26

PLATE NO. 27

Relief from Tell-el-Amarna in Berlin Museum, depicting Amenophis IV and his family.

Illustration from Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1906, p, 308.

PLATE No. 27

PLATE NO. 28

Clay tablet, measuring 8¾ by 4⅞ inches, from Tell-el-Amarna, containing a letter from Tushratta, king of Mitanni, to Amenophis III, king of Egypt, and preserved in the British Museum (BU. 88-10-13, 70). It is not the same as the letter translated on pages 263, 264, though with somewhat similar contents.

Illustration from *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*. 2d Edition, London, 1908. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

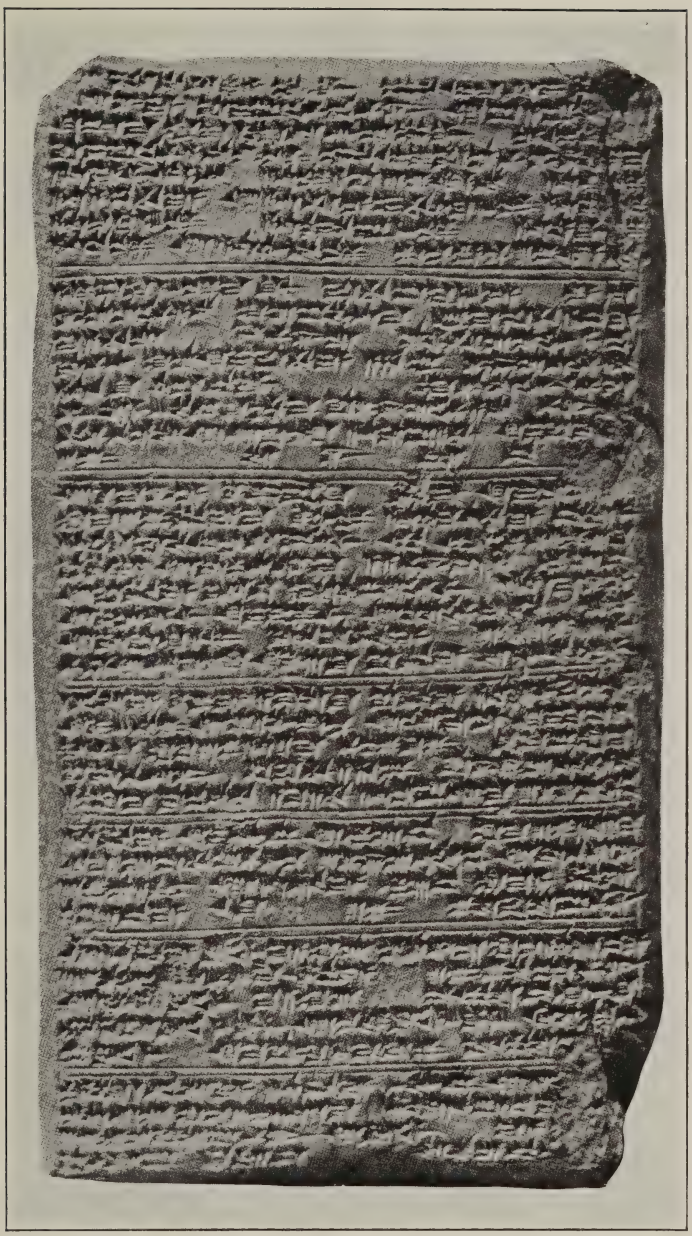


PLATE No. 28

PLATE NO. 29

Figure 1. Tablet from the Tell-el-Amarna collection. One of the letters of Abdi-Khiba, of Jerusalem, now preserved in the Royal Museum of Berlin. For translations, see page 268f. (Photograph supplied by W. A. Mansell & Co.)

Figures 2 and 3. Basalt statue of Shalmaneser III (859-825 B. C.), found by the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft December 18, 1903, east of the zikkurat of the city of Asshur, the ancient capital of Assyria. When complete the statue measured about 2½ metres in height. The beard shows well the typical Assyrian plaited treatment. The belt contains two dirks, and suspended about the neck is a cord with astrological symbols, of which we may still discern Shamash (the sun's disk with four cross-formed sun's rays and four narrow flames), the corona, and Ishtar (the sun's disk with eight rays). The text which covers the statue is translated on pages 298, 299.

Illustration from *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*, No. 21, March, 1904, pp. 40, 41.

PLATE No. 29

Figure 1. Figure 2. Figure 3.

PLATE NO. 30

Colossal figure from the doorway of the palace of Ashurnazirpal, king of Assyria (885-860 B. C.), excavated at Calah in 1847 by Sir Austin Henry Layard, and now in the British Museum. The figure is composite, with the head of a man, the wings of an eagle, and the body of a lion.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

WINGED MAN-HEADED LION FROM A DOORWAY IN THE PALACE OF AS-UR-NASIR-PAL,
NIMRUD (CALAH)
KING OF ASSYRIA, B.C. 885-860.
EXCAVATED BY SIR A.H. LAYARD, 1847.

PLATE NO. 30

PLATE NO. 31

Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (859-825 B. C.) found in the central building at Nimroud (Calah) and now in the British Museum. It is beautifully inscribed on all four sides with an account of the expeditions of the king during thirty-one years of his reign. On the four sides there are in all twenty small reliefs in five series, each series containing four portions of a scene representing the payment of tribute of a certain country. The relief at the top of each side forms one series, the second relief, on each side, forms another, and so on. The scenes are as follows.

1. The tribute of Shua of Gilzan.
2. The tribute of Jehu of the land of Omri (Israel).
3. The tribute of the land of Musri.
4. The tribute of Marduk-apal-usur of the land of Sukhu.
5. The tribute of Kalparuda of Patin.

Illustration from *Assyrian Sculptures*. H. Kleinmann & Co., London.

PLATE No. 31

PLATE NO. 32

Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (859-825 B. C.), enlargement of the upper four reliefs on one side. The relief here shown as the first represents Shalmaneser receiving the submission of Jehu, king of Israel. The signs visible beneath this relief contain the words: "Tribute of Jehu, of the land of Omri: silver." For the translation of the entire legend, which continues upon the three remaining sides of the Obelisk, see page 304.

Illustration from *Assyrian Sculptures*, II, Kleinmann & Co., London.

PLATE NO. 32

PLATE NO. 33

Monolith of Shalmaneser III, inscribed with an account of his campaigns, portions of which are translated pages 294ff. British Museum.

The illustration is from Carl Bezold, *Ninive und Babylon*, 3te Auflage, Leipzig, 1909.

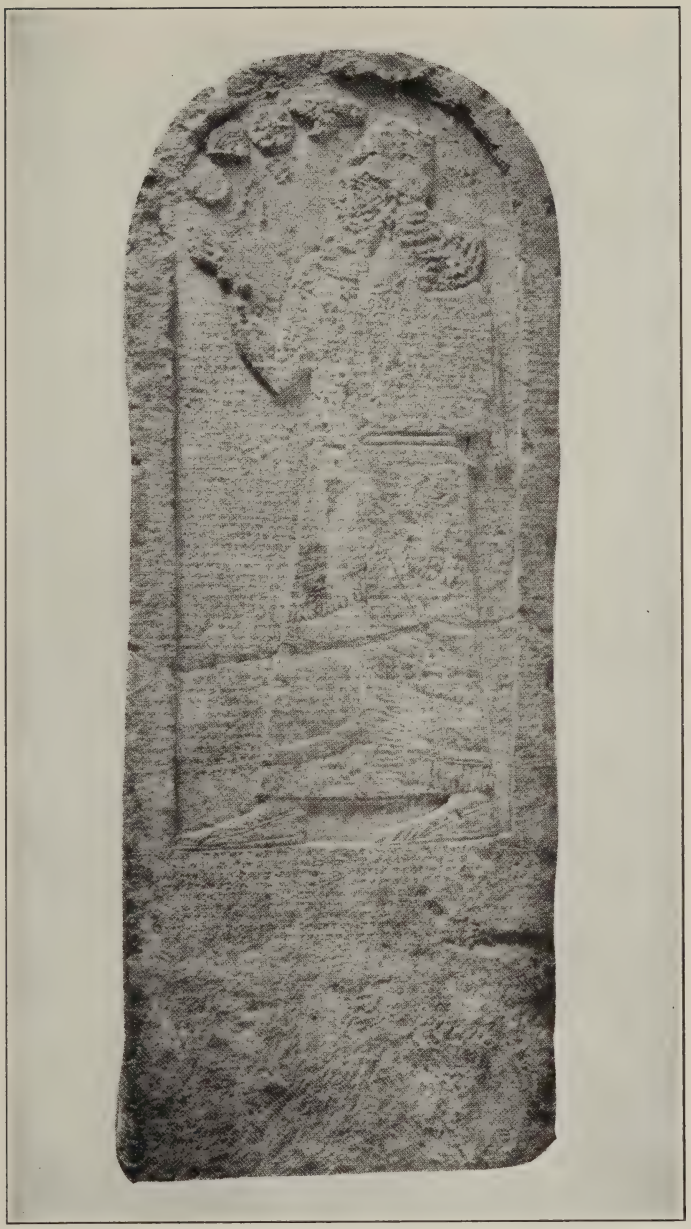


PLATE NO. 33

PLATE NO. 34

Stele of Shalmaneser III carved out of the native rock on the bank of Dog River (Nahr el-Kelb, the Lykos of the Greeks) north of Beirut. On the right of the picture is shown the large stele of Rameses II (1292-1225 B. C.), king of Egypt, whose example the Assyrian king followed in setting up this memorial.

The illustration is from Carl Bezold, *Ninive und Babylon*, 3te Auflage, Leipzig, 1909.

PLATE NO. 34

PLATE NO. 35

Portion of a clay tablet, 9⅜ by 7 inches, with an inscription of Tiglath-pileser IV, king of Assyria (745-727 B. C.), and generally known as the Nimroud tablet. A portion of it is translated on page 322, containing the mention of Ahaz, king of Judah—the first mention of Judah in the Assyrian inscriptions. The original is preserved in the British Museum, and is numbered K. 3751. See Bezold's *Catalogue*, II, page 561, and note that in the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, 2d Edition, 1908, p. 59, the number is incorrectly given as K. 2751, so also in *Mansell's Catalogue*, p. 13.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

PLATE No. 35

PLATE NO. 36

Six-sided baked clay prism of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (704-682 B. C.), preserved in the British Museum, Number 91,032, and popularly known as the Taylor Cylinder. The illustration shows the first three columns, and the portion translated on page 340f. begins in column II, line 34, beginning after the line visible in the illustration nearly half way down the middle column.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

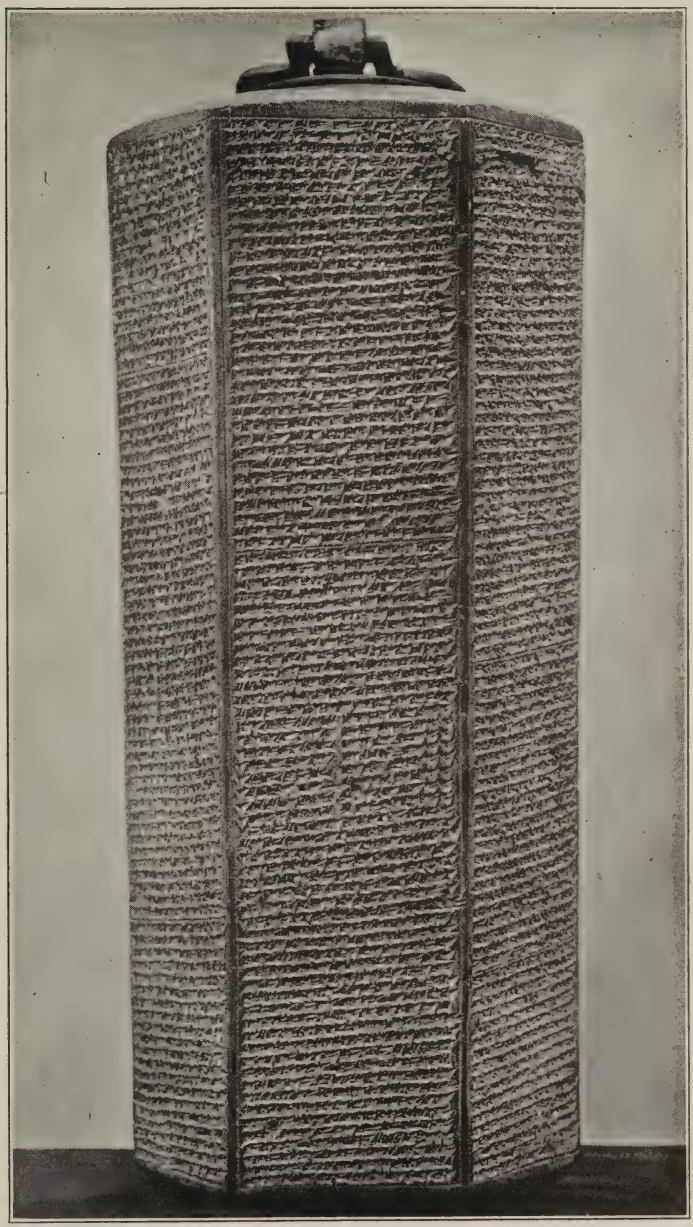


PLATE NO. 36

PLATE NO. 37

Limestone slab with relief depicting the siege of Lachish by the troops of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (704-682 B. C.).

Illustration from *Assyrian Sculptures*, V, H. Kleinmann & Co., London.

PLATE NO. 37

PLATE NO. 38

Sennacherib at Lachish (701 B. C.). A relief representing the king seated upon his portable throne, which has been set near some vines and fig trees outside the city. His officers are reporting to him the events of the siege, and behind them are the representatives of the conquered city. The four lines of cuneiform text in front of the king are translated on page 345.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

PLATE NO. 38

PLATE NO. 39

Relief from the top of a Kudurru, or boundary stone, containing a portrait of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, who is represented in the act of conferring title to landed property upon one of his nobles. Above the king's head is a two-line inscription: "The portrait of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon." At the top is a series of symbols of gods, representing (from left to right) (1) Nabu, (2) Ninkharsag, or Ninlil, (3) Ea, and (4) Marduk. The stone is now in the Berlin Museum (V. A. 2663).

The illustration is from Carl Bezold, *Ninive und Babylon*, 3te Auflage, Leipzig, 1909.

PLATE NO. 39

PLATE NO. 40

Diorite stele of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (680-668 B. C.), found at Sinjirli and now in the Berlin Museum. It is the largest Assyrian monolith yet discovered, measuring 3.46 meters in height and 1.35 meters in width. Above and in front of the king's head are a number of symbols of gods which, beginning at the left, represent (1) Bearded figure, Ashur; (2) Goddess on lion, Belit; (3) Ellil, with hands extended and riding on an animal; (4) Ramman, with lightning in left hand. The second group by the king's hand: (5) The spearhead, Marduk; (6) Double staff, Nabu; (7) Staff with ram's head bent over, Ea; (8) Mace with two dog's heads, Ninib. Then, at the top on the right: (9) Crescent, Sin; (10) Winged disk, Shamash; (11) The sixteen-pointed star, Ishtar; and, finally, at the extreme left above the king's head, (12) the seven stars, the Sibitti.

At the feet of the king are King Tirhaka of Egypt, the small figure, and King Baal of Tyre, the large bearded figure.

Photograph supplied by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

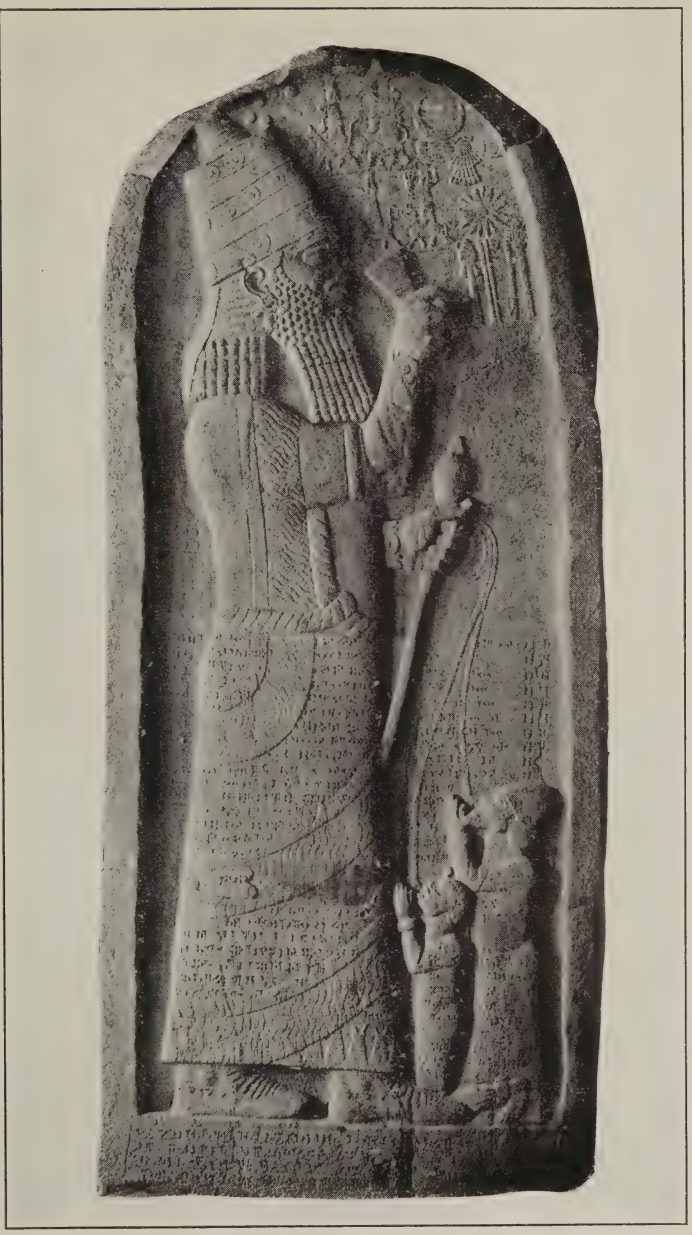


PLATE NO. 40

PLATE NO. 41

Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria (668-625 B. C.), represented mounted and drawing the bow. British Museum.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

PLATE NO. 41

PLATE NO. 42

Baked clay ten-sided prism of Ashurbanipal (668-625 B. C.), king of Assyria. A brief extract from column IX is translated pages 359, 360. British Museum, Number 91,026. The illustration is from *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*. 2d Edition, 1908. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

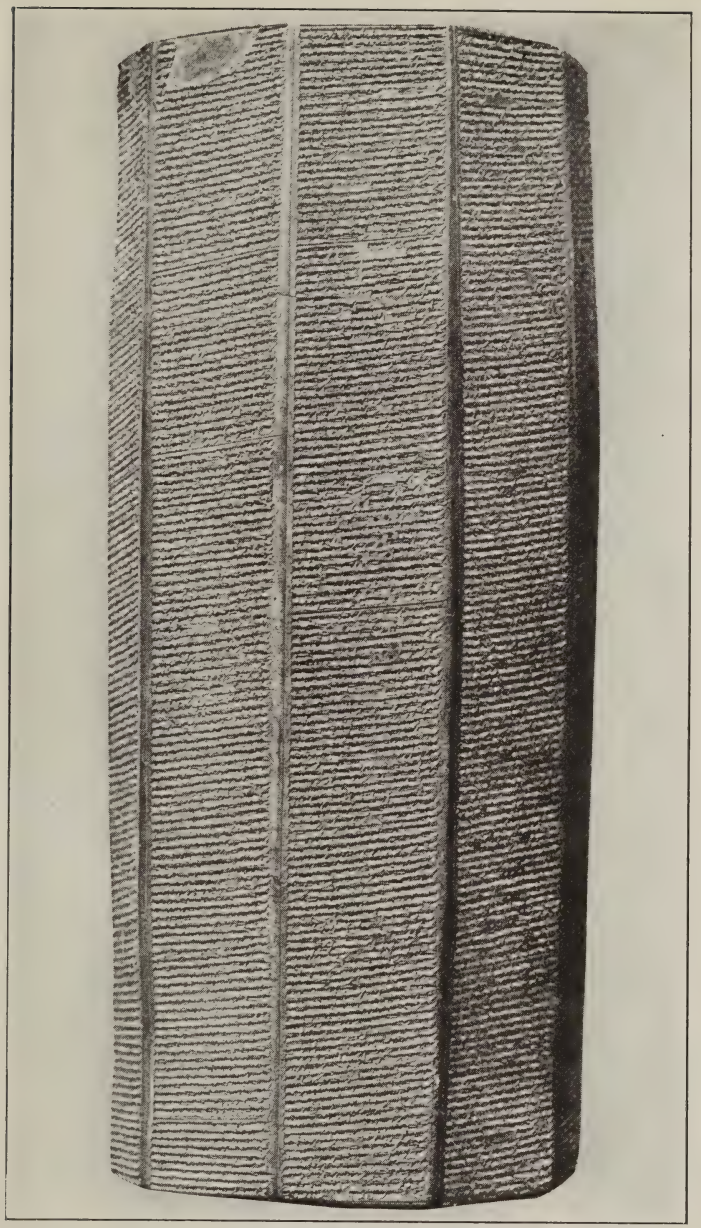


PLATE NO. 42

PLATE NO. 43

Assyrian relief, soldiers in full armor, a masterly work of art, and interesting as showing the type of men, and of weapons, who conquered Western Asia. The period is that of Ashurbanipal (668-625 B. C.). British Museum.

The illustration is from *Assyrian Sculptures*, V, Kleinmann & Co., London.

PLATE NO. 43

PLATE NO. 44

Figure 1. Cylinder of Nabonidus (555-538 B. C.). One of four found in the corners of the temple of Sin (the moon-god) at Mugheir (anciently Ur of the Chaldees). It is preserved in the British Museum, Number 91,125. It is translated pages 378, 379.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

Figure 2. Cylinder of Nebuchadrezzar II (604-562 B. C.). One of the series in the British Museum containing building inscriptions of the king, similar to that translated on pages 368, 369. The one here illustrated is Number 91,142, and the photograph is by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

Figure 3. Cylinder of Nabonidus, containing an account of his building operations, and mentioning Naram Sin. See Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 318, 319. The original is in the British Museum, Number 91,109, and the photograph is by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

PLATE NO. 44

Figure 1. Figure 2. Figure 3.

PLATE NO. 45

Broken cylinder of Cyrus, king of Babylonia (538-529 B. C.). It is of baked clay, inscribed in the Babylonian cuneiform script, and is preserved in the British Museum, Number 90,920. It is translated pages 380-384.

Photograph supplied by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

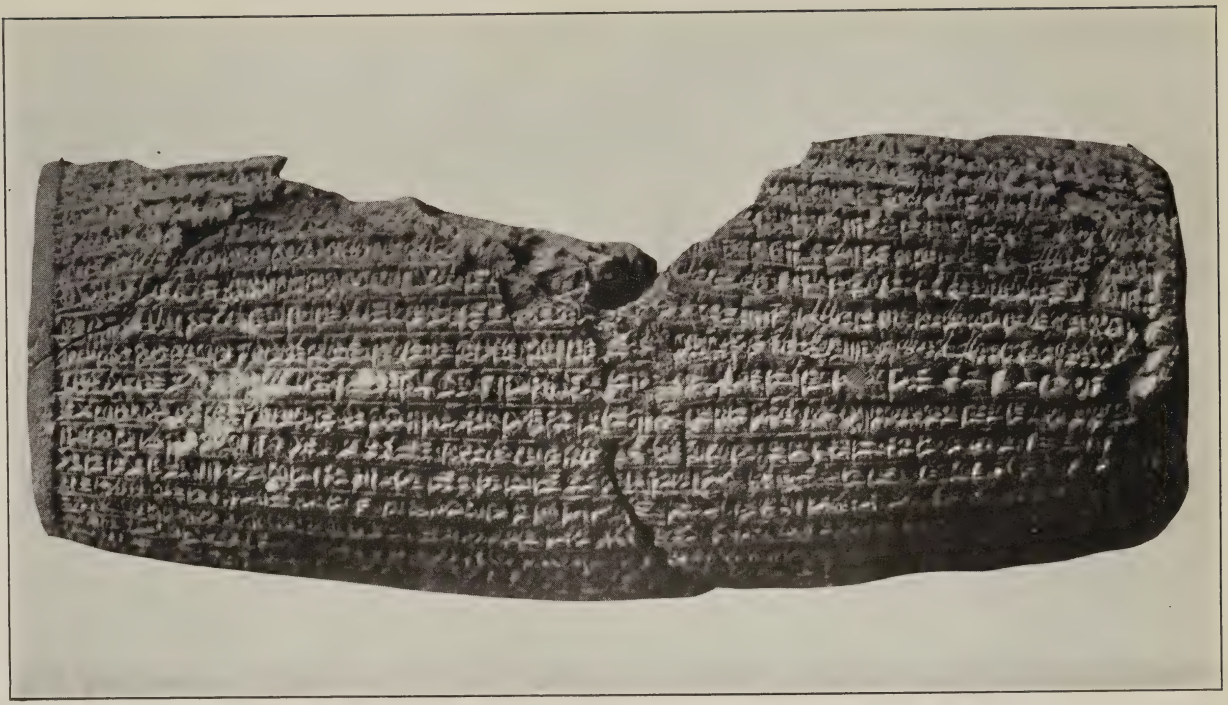


PLATE NO. 45

PLATE NO. 46

Figure 1. Kudurru, or Boundary Stone, found at Nippur in February, 1896, and now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. It is a conical block of black limestone, 49 centimeters (about 19¼ inches) in height and 73.2 centimeters (about 28¾ inches) in circumference about the center. It is translated on pages 387-393, and is fully described and elaborately discussed in W. J. Hinke. *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1907, from which this illustration is taken.

Figure 2. Stone mace-head with inscription in archaic Babylonian character dedicated to Shamash (the sun god) in Sippar by Sargon I, king of Agade. British Museum, Number 91,146. This was the first inscription of Sargon ever found. See King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, pp. 217, 218. On the date of Sargon see Plate 44, Figure 3.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

PLATE No. 46

Figure 1. Figure 2.

PLATE NO. 47

The Symbols of the Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur. See Plate 38, Figure 1.

The symbols as enumerated by Professor W. J. Hinke (*A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur*) are as follows: (1) Shrine with Marduk's spearhead, and before it a crouching dragon with the head broken off. (2) Pointed shaft, symbol of Nabu (?). (3) Scepter with knob and an animal at center. (4) Shrine with tiara, symbol of Anu. (5) Neck and head of lion, symbol of Nergal. (6) Scepter like No. 3. (7) Shrine with tiara, symbol of Ellil. (8) Head and neck of vulture above shrine, symbol of Zamama. (9) Scepter like Nos. 3 and 6. (10) Shrine with yoke-shaped figure, symbol of Ninkharsag (?) (11) Scorpion, symbol of Ishkhara. (12) Crescent, symbol of Sin, partly surrounding (13) a five-pointed star, the symbol of Ishtar. (14) Sitting dog, symbol of Gula. (15) Sun disk, symbol of Shamash. (16) Lightning fork of Ramman, ending in two serpents. (17) Unknown figure, perhaps a censer. (18) Tortoise above the partly effaced dragon of Marduk. (19) Serpent, winding over the head of the stone. (20) Bird perched on a pole alongside of the serpent.

Illustration from Hinke, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

PLATE NO. 47

PLATE NO. 48

Basalt stele, inscribed with the Code of Laws of Hammurapi, king of Babylon (circa 1950 B. C.), nearly eight feet in height and seven in circumference. On the upper part is a relief representing Shamash, the sun god, seated upon his throne with his feet resting upon the mountains. Upon his head is a horned head-dress of power, and in his right hand the ring and staff emblematic of sovereignty, while from his shoulders rise flames of fire. Before him stands the king receiving the code of laws inscribed below, his right arm bared and raised, and his posture indicating worship. The code entire is translated on pages 398-465.

Photograph supplied by W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

PLATE NO. 48

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

RULERS OF BABYLONIA

FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON

	Years of Reign	
Sumu-abu	(14)	circa 2060 B. C.
Sumu-la-ilu	(36)	
Sabum	(14)	
Apil-Sin	(18)	
Sin-muballit	(20)	
Hammurafi	(43)[1]	circa 1950 B. C.
Samsu-iluna	(38)	
Abeshu (Ebishum)	(28)	
Ammi-ditana	(37)	
Ammi-saduka	(21)	
Samsu-ditana	(31)	

SECOND DYNASTY OF BABYLON

(Dynasty of the Sea-Land)

Iluma-ilu [see Chronicle No. 3, p. 207]
Ittili-nibi
Damik-ilishu
Ishki-bal
Shushshi
Gulkishar[2] circa 1800 B. C.
Peshgal-daramash
Adara-kalama
Akur(Ekur)-ulanna
Melam-kurkura
Ea-gamil[3]

THIRD DYNASTY OF BABYLON

(Cassites)

Gandash	(16)	circa 1746–1731 B. C.
Agum I	(22)	
Kash-tiliash I	(22)	
Ushshi	(8)	
Abi-rattash		
Tazzi-gurumash		
Kharba-shipak		
The Eighth King (name unknown)		
Agum II		
Kurigalzu I		
Meli-shipak I		
Nazimaruttash I		
Burnaburiash I		
Kuri-galzu II		
Kara-indash I		
Kadashman-Ellil I		
	(23)	
Kashtiliash II		
Agum III		
Burnaburiash II[4]		
Kara-indash II		
Kadashman-kharbe I		
Kurigulzu III		
Nazi-maruttash III (son)	(26)	
Kadashman-turgu (son)	(17)	
Kadashman-Ellil II	(6)	
Kudur-Ellil (son)	(9)	
Shagurakti-shuriash[5] (son)	(13)	
Kash-tiliash III[6] (son)	(8)	circa 1260
Ellil-nadin-shum (son)	(1½)	
Kadashman-kharbe II	(1½)	
Adad-shum-iddin	(6)	
Adad-nadin-akhi[7] (or Adad-shum-usur)	(30)	
Meli-shipak II	(15)	
Marduk-pal-iddin	(13)	
Ilbaba-shum-iddin	(1)	circa 1175
Bel-nadin [akhi]	(3)	

SECOND DYNASTY OF ISIN

RULERS OF ASSYRIA

Ititi
Ushpia, Kikia } about 2300 B. C.
Zariku
Enlil-kapkapu
Puzur-Ashir I
Shalim-akhum
Ilu-shuma[14] circa 2060 B. C.
Irishum (or Erishum)[15] circa 2040 B. C.
Ikunum (son)
Sharrukin I circa 2000
Puzur-Ashir II
Akhi-Ashir
Rim-sin
Irishum II
Shamshi-Adad I[16] (son) circa 1820 B. C.
Ishme-Dagan I
[. . . . .] asshat
Rimush
Adasi
Bel-bani
Sabai
Sarma-Adad I
Gizil-Sin
Zimzai
Lullai
Shi-Ninua
Sharma-Adad II
Irishum III
Shamshi-Adad II
Ishme-Dagan II
Shamshi-Adad III
Puzur-Ashir III
Enlil-nasir I
Nurili
Ishme-Dagan III
Ashir-nirari I
Puzur-Ashir IV
Enlil-nasir
Ashir-rabi I
Ashir-nirari II
Ashir-bel-nisheshu
Ashir-rim-nisheshu[17] (brother)
Ashur-nadin-akhi
Erba-Adad (son)
Ashur-uballit (son)
(father-in-law of Kara-khardash of Babylonia)
Ellil-nirari (son)
Arik-den-ilu (son)
Adad-nirari I (son)
Shalmaneser I (son) circa 1280–1261
Tukulti-Ninurta I[18] (son) circa 1260
Ashur-nadin-apli (son)
Ashur-nirari III
Ellil-kudur-usur
Ninurta-apal-ekur I
Ashur-dan I[19] circa 1175
Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur
Mutakkil-Nusku

NOTES

Names of kings who are certainly known to be contemporaries are connected by [illegible]

[1] In an inscription of Nabonidus (*I R*, 69, b. 4–8) Hammurapi is located seven hundred years before Burnaburiash. This is, of course, a round number and is probably too high, perhaps one hundred years too high.

[2] The Boundary Stone of Ellil-nadin-pal (Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Vol. i, part i, Plate 30, text 83) places Gulkishar 696 years before his time. This looks like an exact number resting, perhaps, upon the chronological lists which were before the writer, but may have been based upon the usual round-number system. (See King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, i, p. 89.)

[3] Ea-gamil, last king of the Sea-Land dynasty, was defeated by Ulam-Buriash, brother of the Cassite king, Kash-tiliash. See pp. 207, 208 (Chronicle No. 3).

[4] Burnaburiash was a contemporary of Amenophis III (1411–1375 B. C.) and Amenophis IV (1375–1358 B. C.), coming to the throne near the end of the reign of the former. See his letter to the latter king on pages 262, 263. The synchronism with Egypt is extremely valuable, for the Egyptian chronology in this period is good.

[5] In an inscription of Nabonidus (V R, 64, c. 27–30. Compare Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, p. 307). Shagarakti-shuriash is placed 800 years before his time, that is, about 1355 B. C. This is quite clearly a round number and much too high.

[6] Contemporaneous with Tukulti-Ninib I. See King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib*, p. 86f. (Note that in this work of King, Kashtiliash is read Bibeashu.)

[7] Contemporaneous with Ellil-kudur-usur. (See King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib*, p. 105.)

[8] See King, Nabu-shum-libur, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, June, 1907, p. 221.

[9] Contemporaneous with Ashurnazirpal II. See Annals of Ashurnazirpal, Column iii, line 19 (Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, i, p. 351) and also with Shalmaneser III. See Synchronistic History, Column iii, 22–25 (Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, pp. 200, 201).

[10] Contemporaneous with Shalmaneser III. (See Obelisk line 73ff. Schrader, *op. cit.* i, pp. 134, 135.)

[11] Contemporaneous with Shamshi-Adad IV. (See *Synchronistic History, Fragment S*, lines 7–9. Schrader, *op. cit.* i, pp. 200, 201.)

[12] Contemporaneous with Tiglathpileser III. See page 208 (*Babylonian Chronicle*, Column i, 1–5). With Nabu-nasir (Nabonassar) begins the Ptolemaic Canon (see page 239).

[13] Contemporaneous with Tiglathpileser III. (See King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, i, p. 64.)

[14] Contemporaneous with Sumu-abu. See page 205 (Chronicle No. 3, line 14).

[15] Reigned 159 years before Shamshi-Adad. (See Building Inscription of Shalmaneser I, Column ii, line 37. Compare Andræ, *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 21, pp. 30ff., and Lehmann-Haupt, *Beitrage zur alten Geschichte*, iv, 1, p. 112, Note 3, and King, *op. cit.* i, p. 120.)

[16] Reigned 580 years before Shalmaneser I (see references in Note 15) and 641 years before Ashur-dan I. See Tiglathpileser I, Cylinder Inscription, Column vii, lines 60–70. Compare Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, i, p. 95.

[17] Contemporaneous with Kara-indash. (See *Synchronistic History*, Column i, 1–4, Schrader, *op. cit.* i, pp. 194, 195.)

[18] Reigned 600 years before Sennacherib. (See King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, p. 106. Compare also *ib.* p. 60f.)

[19] Reigned 60 years before Tiglathpileser I. (See reference in Note 16.)

[20] Contemporaneous with Marduk-nadin-akhi. (See *Synchronistic History*, Column ii, 14–24. Schrader, *op. cit.* i, p. 198, 199.) According to Sennacherib (III R, 14, 48–50, Schrader, *op. cit* ii, p. 119) Marduk-nadin-akhi took away two gods during the reign of Tiglathpileser, which Sennacherib restored "after a lapse of 418 years." This 418 years is dated from the destruction of Babylon in 689 and brings us to 1107 B. C. as a year in the reign of Marduk-nadin-akhi. On a boundary stone of Marduk-nadin-akhi (III R, 43, Column i, lines 5, 27, 28) there is a mention of a victory over Assyria in the tenth year of his reign which may quite well be the date of the removal of these gods. See further Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, pp. 320, 321.

[21] Contemporaneous with Marduk-shapik-zer-mati. See *Synchronistic History*, ii, 25–28, and was the son-in-law of Adad-pal-iddin. *Ib.*, lines 33–35. Schrader, *op. cit.* pp. 198, 199.

[22] Contemporaneous with Shamash-mudammik. (See *Synchronistic History*, iii, 1–7. Schrader, *op. cit.* pp. 200, 201. Also contemporaneous with Nabu-shum-ishkun, i, *ib.* lines 10, 11.)

[23] See Notes No. 9 and No. 10.

[24] See Note No. 11.

[25] See Notes No. 12 and No. 13.

SECOND DYNASTY OF ISIN

Marduk-shapik-zeri			
Ninurta-nadin-shumi			
Nebuchadrezzar I		1146–1123	Ashur-resh-ishi I — circa 1127
Ellil-nadin-pal (son)			
Marduk-nadin-akhi[20]		circa 1117–1101	Tiglath-pileser I[20] (son) — circa 1115–1103
Itti-marduk-balati			Ninurta-apal-ekur II
Marduk-shapik-zer-mati			Ashur-bel-kala[21] (son) — circa 1092–1086
Ramman-pal-iddin	(22)		Enlil-rabi
(father-in-law of Ashur-bel-kala, king of Assyria)			Ashur-bel-kala II
Marduk-akhi-erba	(1½)		Eriba-[. . .]
Marduk-zer [ ]	(12)		Shamshi-Adad IV (brother)
Nabu-shum-libur[8]	(8 ?)		Ashurnazirpal I (son)

THE DYNASTY OF THE SEA LAND

Simmash-shipak	(18)	circa 1040 B. C.	Shalmaneser II (son)
Ea-mukin-shumi	(5 months)		
Kashshu-nadin-akhi			

THE DYNASTY OF BAZI

			Adad-nirari IV
			Ashur-rabi II
			Ashur-rish-ishi II
E-ulmash-shakin-shum	(17)	circa 1020 B. C.	Tiglath-pileser II — circa 966–934
Ninurta-kudur-usur I	(3)		
Shiriktu-Shukamuna	(3 months)		

THE ELAMITE DYNASTY

Mar-biti-apal-usur	(6)	

DYNASTY II.

Nabu-mukin-pal		circa 990–?	
Ninurta-Kudurri-usur II			
Mar-biti-akhe-iddin			
Shamash-mudammik			Ashur-dan II — 933–912
Nabu-shum-ukin I		circa 910	Adad-nirari II — 911–891
Nabu-pal-iddin[9]		circa 885–854	Tukulti-Ninurta II — 890–885
Marduk-zakir-shum[10]		circa 854–824	Ashur-nazir-pal II — 884–860
Marduk-balatsu-ikbi		circa 823–820 (?)	Shalmaneser III — 859–825
			Shamshi-Adad V — 824–812
			Semiramis — 811–808
			Adad-nirari III — 807–783
			Shalmaneser IV — 782–773
			Ashur-dan III — 772–764
			Adad-nirari IV — 763–755
			Ashur-nirari V — 754–747

Here follows a brief interregnum

Bau-akhi-iddin[11]			
Unknown King comes here			
Nabu-mukin-zeri			
Marduk-bel [. . . . .]			
Marduk-apal-iddin II			
Eriba-Marduk			
Nabu-shum-ishkun		753–748 B. C.	
Nabu-nasir[12]	(14)	747–734	
Nabu-nadin-zer (son)	(2)	733–732	
Nabu-shum-ukin II[13]	(1 month)	732	Tiglath-pileser III[25] — 746–727

VARIOUS RULERS, CHIEFLY ASSYRIAN

Ukin-zer	(3)	732–730 B.C.	
Pulu (=Tiglathpileser III)	(2)	729–727	
Ulula (=Shalmaneser V) (son)	(5)	727–722	Shalmaneser V (son) — 727–723
Marduk-pal-iddin III	(12)	721–710	
Sargon II	(5)	709–705	Sargon II — 722–706
Sennacherib (son)	(2)	704–702	
Marduk-zakir-shum II	(1 month)	702	
Marduk-pal-iddin III	(9 months)		
Bel-ibni	(3)	702–700	
Ashur-nadin-shum	(6)	699–694	Sennacherib (son) — 705–681
(son of Sennacherib)			
Nergal-ushezib	(1½)	693–692	
Mushezib-Marduk	(4)	692–689	
Sennacherib	(8)	688–681	
Esarhaddon	(12)	680–669	Esarhaddon (son) — 680–669
Shamash-shum-ukin	(20)	668–648	Ashurbanipal (son) — 668–626
Kandalanu		647–626	Ashur-etil-ilani (son) } 626–612
			Sin-shum-lishir }
			Sin-shar-ishkun }

(Nineveh taken by Medes 612 B. C.

THE NEO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

Nabopolassar		625–604 B. C.
Nebuchadrezzar II (son)		604–561
Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach) (son)		561–559
Nergal-shar-usur (brother-in-law)		559–556
Labashi-Marduk (son)		556
Nabu-naidu (Nabonidus)		555–539

Ashur-uballit becomes king of the Assyrians at Harran

PERSIAN RULERS

Cyrus	539–529 B. C.
Cambyses (son)	529–522
Darius I (Hystaspis)	522–486
Xerxes I (son)	486–465
Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) (son)	465–424
Xerxes II	(45 days)
Darius II	424–404
Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) (son)	404–359
Artaxerxes III (Ochos) (son)	359–338
Arses (son)	338–336
Darius III (Codomanus)	336–331

(Babylon taken by Alexander the Great 331 B. C.)

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